Selected readings from: The Golden Legend

Richard Stracke

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. SATURNINE

Chapter 173 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and glosses.

SATURNINUS OF TOULOUSE

Saturnine was ordained bishop of the disciples of the apostles, and was sent into the city of Toulouse, and when he entered into the city, the devils ceased to give answers, and then one of the paynims said but if they slew Saturnine they should have none answer of their gods. And they took Saturnine which would not do sacrifice, and bound him to the feet of a bull and drew him unto the highest place of the capitol and cast him down the degrees and steps to the ground, so that his head was all to-broken and the brain sprang out, and so he accomplished his martyrdom. And two women took his body and buried it in a deep place for fear of the paynims, and afterwards his successors took up the body and transported it into a more honourable place.

SATURNINUS OF ROME

There was another Saturnine whom the provost of Rome held long in prison, and after, he raised him in the torment named Eculee, and did do beat him with sinews, rods, and scorpions, and after, did do burn his sides, and then took him down and smote off his head, about the year of our Lord two hundred and ninety under Maximian.

SATURNINUS OF CARTHAGE

And yet there was another Saturnine in Africa which was brother of S. Satyra, S. Revocata, and S. Felicity his sister, and S. Perpetua, which was of noble lineage, which all suffered death together, of whom the passion is holden another time. And when the provost said to them that they should do sacrifice to the idols, they refused it

utterly, and he then put them in prison. And when the father of S. Perpetua heard that, he came to the prison weeping, and said: Daughter, thou hast dishonoured all thy lineage, for till now was never none of thy lineage put in to prison. And when he knew that she was christian, he ran upon her and would have scratched out her eyes with his fingers, and crying loud and issued out. And the blessed Perpetua saw a vision which in the morning she said to her fellows:

> "I saw," said she, a ladder of gold of a marvellous height erect to heaven, and was so strait that no man might go but one alone, and coulters and swords of sharp iron were fixed on the right side and left side, so that he that went up might neither look here nor there, but behoved always to behold right up to heaven. And a dragon of horrible great form lay under the ladder, which made every man to dread and fear to mount up." And she saw Satyra ascending by the same unto above and looking to upward, and said: "Doubt ye nothing this dragon, but come up surely that ye may be with me."

And when they heard this vision, they all gave thankings to our Lord God, for they knew then that they were called to martyrdom, and on the morn they were all presented to the judge, and after, he said to them: "It behoveth you to be presented to the gods and do sacrifice to them."

But when they would do no sacrifice, he made S. Saturnine to be taken from the women, and to be put among the other men, and he said to S. Felicity: "Hast thou a husband?"

She said: "I have one, but I set not by him."

And then he said to her: "Have mercy on thyself, woman, and live, specially sith thou hast a child in thy belly."

To whom she said: "Do to me what thou wilt, for thou mayst never draw me to thy will."

The father and mother of S. Perpetua, and her husband, ran to her and brought her child to her, which yet sucked. And when her father saw her standing tofore the provost, he fell down and said to her: "My most sweet daughter, have mercy on me, and on thy sorrowful mother, and also of this most wretch thy husband, which may not live after thee."

And she stood still without moving, and then her father cast his arms about her neck, and he, her mother, and her husband, kissed her, saying: "Daughter, have pity of us, and live with us."

And then she put the little child from her, and them also, saying: "Depart ye, and go ye from me, mine enemies, for I know you not."

And then when the provost saw her constancy he made her long to be beaten, and afterwards to be put in prison. And then the other saints were sorrowful for S. Felicity, which had yet months to come of her childing, and prayed to God for her, and anon she began to travail and was delivered of a child alive and quick.

Then one of her keepers said to her: "What wilt thou do when thou comest tofore the provost, which art yet so grievously tormented?"

And Felicity answered: "I shall here suffer pain for myself, and God shall suffer there for me."

And then were these saints drawn out of prison, and were despoiled and led by the streets, and to them were let go beasts, and Satyra and Perpetua were devoured of lions, and Revocata and Felicity were slain of leopards, and S. Saturnine had his head smitten off. And this was about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-six, under Valerian and Galien, emperors.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. STEPHEN PROTOMARTYR

Chapter 8 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Stephen was one of the seven deacons in the ministry of the apostles. For when the number grew of people converted, some began to murmur against the Jews that were converted because that the widows and wives of them were refused to serve or because they were more grieved every day than the other in service. For the apostles did this because they should be more ready to preach the word of God.

When the apostles saw their great murmur, they assembled them all together, and said, "It is not right that we leave the word of God for to administer and serve at the tables." (And the Gloss saith that the feeding of the soul is better than the meat of the body.) "And consider ye fair brethren, men of good renown among you, that be replenished of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, what we shall establish upon this work so that they administer and serve, and we shall be in prayer and preaching."

And this word pleased to them all, and they chose seven men, of whom the blessed Stephen was the first and the master, and sith he brought them to the apostles, and they set their hands upon them, and ordained them.

ST. STEPHEN'S PREACHING OUTRAGES THE JEWS

And Stephen, full of grace and strength made great demonstrances and great signs to the people. Then the Jews took him and would surmount him in disputing, and assailed him for to overcome him in three manners, that was by bringing witnesses, by disputations, and by torments. And in every each one of them was aid and help given to him from heaven. In the first, the Holy Ghost administered his

words; in the second, the angelic face that feared the false witnesses. In the third, he saw Jesu Christ ready to help him, which comforted him to his martyrdom.

In every battle he had three things; the assault in battle, the aid given, and the victory. And in advising and beholding shortly the history, we may well see all these things.

HIS FIRST BATTLE: DISPUTATION

As the blessed Stephen did many things, and preached oft to the people, the Jews made the first battle to him for to overcome him by disputations. And some arose of the synagogue called libertines, of a religion so named of them that were the sons of them that had been in bondage and were made free, and thus they that first repugned against the faith were of a bond and thrall lineage, and also they of Cyrenia and Alexandria, and of them that were of Cilicia and Asia, all these disputed with Stephen. This was the first battle, and then he putteth the victory after, and they might not resist his wisdom, for the Holy Ghost spake in him: and when they saw that by this manner they might not overcome him they returned maliciously.

HIS SECOND BATTLE: FALSE WITNESSES

And at the second time because they might overcome by false witnesses, they brought two false witnesses for to accuse him of four blames, and brought him to the judgment. And then the false men accused him of four things, that was of blaspheming of God, in the law of Moses, in the tabernacle, and in the temple, and this was the second battle. And then all they that were in judgment saw the face of St. Stephen like as the face of an angel: and this was by the help of God, and this was the victory of the second battle. For when the false witnesses had all said, the prince of the priests said to him, What sayst thou?

Then Stephen excused him by order of all that which the false witnesses had said.

And first of the blaspheming of God, saying, "God that spake to our fathers and prophets, that is God of glory. . . ." and praised him in three things after this word glory, which is expounded right sweetly. The God of glory is given of glory, as it is said in the book of Kings: "Whosoever shall see my name, I shall glorify him." The God of glory may be said, "containing glory," as is said in the Proverbs, the eighth chapter, "Riches and glory be with me, the God of glory, to whom glory is due." And thus praised he God in three manners; in that he is glorious, glorifying, and to be glorified.

And after he excused him of the blame in Moses, in praising him much, and especially in three things, that is to wit: of fervour of love, for he slew the Egyptian that smote the Hebrew, and of the miracles that he did in Egypt or desert, and of the familiarity of God, when he spake to him many times amiably.

And after this he excused him of the third blame that was in the Law, in praising the Law in three manners; first because of the giver, that was God; the second of the minister, which was Moses, that was a great prophet; and the third because of the for it giveth life perdurable.

And after, he purged him of the blame of the tabernacle, and of the temple, in praising the tabernacle in four manners, one was because he was commanded of God to make it, and was showed in vision it was accomplished by Moses, and that the ark of witness was therein, and he said that the temple succeeded tabernacle.

THE THIRD BATTLE: TORMENTS

And the blessed Stephen purged him of that which was laid to him, of which the Jews saw they might not overcome him in that manner. And then they took the third battle against him, that they should surmount him by torments. And when the blessed St. Stephen saw this, he would keep the commandment of our Lord, and enforced him to them in three manners; that was by shame, by dread, and by

love. First by shame in blaming the hardness of their hearts, and said to them: "Ye contrary alway the Holy Ghost by your hard heads, and hearts not piteous. Like as your fathers that persecuted the prophets, and slew them that showed the coming of God." And the Gloss saith that in three manners they were malicious….

{Here there is a gap in the text. In the original Latin, the Legend continues with the death of Stephen, his burial by Gamaliel and Nicodemus (members of the council who spoke for the Christians), and the ensuing persecution of Christians in Judea.}

MIRACLES OF ST. STEPHEN

{The part left out begins the section on the miracles ascribed to St. Stephen in later years. According to St. Augustine six dead persons were raised to life. Flowers that were laid on St. Stephen's altar had the power to cure the sick. Also,} clothes taken from the altar and laid on them that were sick, were a medicine to many.

For as it is said in the eighth chapter of the same book, these flowers taken upon the altar of St. Stephen were laid on the eyes of a woman that was blind, and anon she had again her sight.

The Healing of a Pagan Named Marcial

And also said he in the same book that a man that was master of a city, and was named Marcial, and was a paynim and would not be converted; and it happed that he was strongly sick, and his son in law that was a right good man, came into the church of St. Stephen, and took the flowers, and laid them under the head of his lord; and anon, when he had slept thereupon, on the morning he cried that the bishop should be brought to him, and the bishop was not in the town, but the priest came to him and bade him to believe in God, and baptized him; and ever as long as he lived after he had alway in his mouth, "Jesu Christ receive my spirit." And yet he wist not that those words were the words that St. Stephen last spake.

The Lady and the Ring

And also he rehearseth another miracle in the same place, that a lady called Petronia had been sick much grievously, and had sought many remedies for to be healed of her malady, but she felt no heal. But in the end she had counsel of a Jew, which gave to her a ring with a stone, and that she should bind this ring with a lace to her bare flesh, and by the virtue of that stone she should be whole. And when she saw that this helped her not, she went to the church of the protomartyr, and prayed the blessed St. Stephen for her health, and anon, without breaking of the lace or of the ring, the ring fell down to the ground, and she felt herself anon all whole.

The Brother and Sister Cursed by Their Mother

Item, the same recounteth another miracle, not less marvellous: that in Cæsarea of Cappadocia, was a lady much noble, of whom the husband was dead, but she had ten children, seven sons and three daughters. And on a time, when they had angered their mother, she cursed them, and the divine vengeance ensued suddenly the malediction of the mother, so that all the children were smitten with one semblable and horrible sickness on all their members.

For which thing they might not dwell in the country for shame and for the sorrow that they had, and began to go follily through the world. And in whatsoever country they went, ever each man beheld them.

And it happed that two of them, that is to wit a brother and a sister came to Hippo, and the brother was named Paul, and the sister Palladia. And there they found Austin the bishop and told to him and recounted what was happed. Then they haunted the church of St. Stephen by the space of fifteen days, and it was tofore Easter, and they prayed strongly the saint for their health.

And on Easter-day when the people was present Paul entered suddenly within the chancel and put him to prayer by great devotion, and with great reverence tofore the altar, and as they that were there abode upon the end of the thing, he arose up apparently all

whole of his trembling. Then St. Austin took him and showed him to the people, and said that on the morn he would tell them the case. And as he spake to the people the sister was there trembling on all her members, and she arose up and entered into the chancel of St. Stephen, and anon she slept, and after arose suddenly all whole, and was showed to the people as was done tofore of her brother, and then graces and thankings were given to St. Stephen for the health of them both.

When Orosius came from Jerusalem he brought to St. Austin of the relics of St. Stephen of whom many miracles were showed and done.

WHY HIS FEAST IS IN AUGUST

It is to wit that the blessed St. Stephen suffered not death on the day of his feast, but it was on the day that his Invention is on, in the month of August. And if it be demanded why the feast is changed, it shall be said when his Invention shall be said. And this may suffice you for this present, for the church will also ordain the feasts which follow the nativity of Jesu Christ, for two causes. The first is to Jesu Christ which is head and spouse, to the end that the accompanies be joined to him, for Jesu Christ spouse of the church in this world adjoineth to him three companies, of which companies is said in the Canticles: My white soul and ruddy, chosen of thousands. The white is as to St. John the Evangelist, a precious confessor, and the ruddy or red is as to St. Stephen the first martyr, and chosen of thousands, is to the virginal St. John company of the innocents. The second reason is that the church assembleth also together, the manners of the martyrs, the same by will and by work, the second by will and not by deed, the third by deed and not by will. The first was the blessed Stephen, the second was in St. John the Evangelist, the third was in saints and glorious innocents which for God suffered passion.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

From William Caxton's 1483 translation and expansion of the Golden Legend (1275). This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and glosses for hard words.

St. Thomas Aquinas, of the Order of the Friars Preachers, was a right sovereign doctor, high and of noble lineage, which was born in the realm of Sicily, and tofore that he was born he was shewed by divine purveyance. For in those parts there was a holy man in work and in renomee which with many other hermits led a right holy life, and all the people had him in great reverence. This holy man, replenished of the Holy Ghost, came to the lady and mother of this holy child, not yet born, and with great joy said to her that she had conceived a son, and she supposed that she had not conceived. Then the holy man said to her: Lady, be thou glad, for thou shalt bring forth a child which shall be called Thomas, and shall have great name and renomee through all the world in science and in holy life, and he shall be of the Order of the Friars Preachers.

All the which things like as the holy hermit has said were accomplished in the name of the Saviour of the world, and to the glory of his glorious saint.

THOMASÂ□□S BROTHERS OPPOSE HIS ENTRY INTO THE DOMINICAN ORDER

When the child was born he was called Thomas by his right name. He had the world and the vanity thereof in despite, and for to live in the more holy and clean life he entered into the Order of the Friars Preachers, and after he was drawn out thereof by his brethren and was closed up in a chamber in a tower two years. And because that by menaces ne fair words his brethren might not change his good purpose ne revoke it in no manner, they put in to his chamber a young damsel to the innocent child, for to subvert his good courage,

and anon he took a brand of fire, and drove the damsel out of the chamber, which was come for to deceive him.

And after that, he put him in humble prayers, devoutly beseeching our Lord that by his benign grace he would always maintain his chastity. Anon as he had made his prayers two angels in marvellous habit appeared to him, saying that his prayer was heard of God, and they distrained him by the reins, saying: Thomas, we be sent to thee by the commandment of God, and in his name we gird thee with the girdle of chastity, which shall never depart from thee, ne shall be broken.

The which gift was given to him of special grace, and was in him so fast and firm that he never after felt pricking of his flesh, and so kept him as long as he lived, as it appeared hereafter in his life. When he surmounted one of his adversaries with his ministers, his good mother considering and having mind of that which the good man had told to her, and shewed how he should be of the order of the friars preachers, and let him to be led to them peaceably, notwithstanding that tofore his brethren would have empeshed him of the entering in to the order, and of his study.

For when he was returned in to the Order by consent of his good mother he began to study, which was as sweet to him as it is to the bee to make the honey, and like as of the bee the honey is multiplied, right so in like wise was by this glorious doctor the honey of holy scripture. Whereof he made marvellous books in theology, logic, philosophy, natural and moral, upon the Evangiles, in so much that the holy church throughout all the world of his holy science is replenished. And as he thus profited he was sent to Paris.

Then his brethren heard that he should depart, anon came after him, saying that it appertained not that a child of so great lineage as he was, should be in the order of mendicants ne of truants, and all to-rent his coat and cope, and would have taken him away from his good purpose.

HIS DEVOTION TO PRAYER AND SCHOLARSHIP

And when he was restored to the order to serve and give praising to our Lord, he set all his intent to study, in thinking on God when he was in contemplation that his thought was replenished with great joy. For many times were, as he was in a secret place and set all his intent in prayer, he was seen lifted up many times without aid of anything corporal. This then is well a holy doctor, for thus as he set not his thought in this world, he set all his heart and his thought toward God, and was enhanced as he that had not had no flesh ne bone, ne any weight.

We read that the blessed doctor desputed, read, or wrote, or argued, or did some other virtuous thing, and after when his prayer was past, anon he had in his mouth that which he should dispute or write as if he had tofore long studied in many books. All which things he shewed secretly to his fellow, named friar Reynold. To whom privily he shewed all his other secrets as long as he lived, and would that none other should know it, to the end that the vain glory of the world should not surprise him. For the science that he had was not of human study, but was of the administration divine by the prayers and service that he did to our Lord.

This holy man is then as Moses was, which was given to the daughter of Pharaoh. For like as he was taken out of the sea and saved and rendered unto the said daughter, right so the blessed doctor, not withstanding that he was born of the great lineage of the Earl of Alquin was by the purveyance of God rendered to his mother holy church, and cast out of the flood of this world, and enhanced and nourished by the paps and mammels of the scripture of holy church. And like as Moses made many marvellous signs tofore the children of Israel, in like wise hath this blessed doctor and his science and blessed doctrine in destroying errors always preached verity and truth, as his holy life witnesseth.

As on a night this glorious doctor was in his orisons and prayers, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul appeared to him and induced him

in holy scripture, and especially of the prophecy of prophets all entirely and holy. This then is a holy doctor to whom the chancellor of heaven and the doctor of divine scripture have opened the gate; and he that was ravished to heaven hath shewed to him the secret of all the verity. And thus this blessed doctor is taken from the world and made burgess of heaven he being yet in the earth.

On another time as he was in the convent of his order at Naples, being in the church in devout prayers he was enhanced and lifted up from the ground the height of two cubits and more. Then a friar that saw him was much abashed and amarvelled, and after, was heard a clear voice of the image of the crucifix tofore whom the holy man was turned and made his prayer, the which voice said unto him: O Thomas, thou hast written of me, what reward wilt thou have for thy labour?

St. Thomas answered to him: Lord, I will none other reward but thyself.

For he himself wrote in his time and made the service and office of the precious sacrament of the altar. And for as much as on a time a question was moved among the scholars of Paris how the accidents might by right be without subject, and hereof made they doubt, and determined all wholly unto that which the glorious doctor should say, which thing he clearly shewed to them. And for so much as said is that the demand or question was moved of our Lord, it was given to understand of the end of his life which was nigh.

And as he was sent for of the Pope Gregory the tenth, he went by Champagne into the realm of Sicily, he began to be sick in such wise that he lost entirely his appetite. And in passing by the abbey called Fossenew of the order of the Cistercians, he was prayed greatly of the monks that it would please him to come to their abbey. His sickness began for to increase from day to day, and yet notwithstanding his malady, he ceased not to sow and spread his holy doctrine of divine scripture and sapience, and then he was prayed of the monks for to expound to them the canticles.

HIS DEATH

And that time it happed that in that monastery was seen a star three days tofore his death in manner of a sun, whereof they were abashed what it might signify, but certainly it signified that the holy man should depart out of this world within three days, and that appeared well, for when the holy man was dead the star was no more seen, and it was in the year of our Lord twelve hundred and fifty-four. And anon brother Reynold, his fellow, witnessed in truth, part saying and openly preaching in this wise; I, friar Reynold, have heard many times and now, the confession of this glorious doctor, and have always found him clean and net as a child of five years of age, for he never consented ne had will in mortal ne deadly sin.

And it is not to be forgotten what marvellous tokens were shewed when the blessed doctor should depart out of this world and of the entry of the perdurable felicity which was granted to him. For a friar, much devout, saw in the hour of his death the holy doctor reading in the school, and St. Paul entering into him. And St. Thomas demanded him if he had had good and true understanding in his epistles. Then St. Paul answered to him: Yea, as good as any creature living might have.

And above that St. Paul said to him: I will that thou come with me and I shall lead thee to a place where thou shalt have of all things more clear understanding.

And it seemed to the friar that St. Paul drew St. Thomas out of the school by his cope. Then this friar began to cry, saying: Help brethren, for friar Thomas is taken from us.

And by the voice of this friar the other friars awoke and demanded that friar what he had. Then he told to them and expounded this said vision, and the friars made inquisition of the truth, and found that it was so as the friar had said, for in the same hour that the friar had so cried, the holy doctor departed out of this world. And like as he had had in divine sapience and science a doctor and teacher,

right so in his passing he had a leader unto the glory perdurable.

And long after that he was put in his sepulchre, the monks doubted that the holy corpse should have been taken away against their will, for the glorious doctor had commanded that his body should be borne to Naples, forasmuch as he was of that place. Wherefore the monks translated his body from one place to another, wherefore the prior of the abbey was in the night grievously reproved in a vision of St. Thomas. The prior, which doubted the judgment and sentence divine, commanded that the body of the Saint should be remised in the place that they had taken it from, and as soon as the sepulchre was opened there issued so great and sweet an odour that all the cloister was replenished therewith, and it seemed not that anybody had been buried there, but it seemed that there had been all manner of spices, which body they found all whole in all his members. The habit of his order, his cope, his scapulary and coat, were all without any evil corruption, and the odour of his precious body and his habit were sweet smelling by evident witnesses seven years after that he was translated, and the body was translated all whole.

Our blessed Lord hath honoured his blessed saint with many marvellous signs and miracles. By his benefits and merits he hath raised some from death and some from wicked spirits, and from the puissance of the fiend, and many from divers maladies, which have been brought to health by the grace of God and the merits of this glorious saint.

We read also that there was a friar much devout, called brother Albert, which on a day was much devoutly in prayers tofore the altar of the Virgin Mary, and two reverend persons, marvellously shining, appeared to him. That one of those twain was in the habit of a bishop and the other in the habit of friars preachers, which had a crown on his head round beset with precious stones, and about his neck two collars, one of silver, the other of gold, and on his breast he had a great stone which of his brightness cast out many rays of clearness and illumined all the church, his cope that he had on was

full of precious stones, his coat and scapulary were all shining of whiteness. When the friar saw this sight he marvelled much.

Then he, that was in the habit of a bishop, said to him: I am Austin, that am sent to thee to the end that I may show the glory of brother Thomas Aquinas which is in heaven in glory like unto me, but he precedeth me in the order of virginity, and I him in dignity pontifical.

Many other signs and miracles hath our Lord showed unto the honour and glory of his glorious saint, St. Thomas, whose merits be unto us aidant and helping. Amen.

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SAINT ANASTASIA OF ROME

Chapter 7 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), . This "reader's version" of the text is translated from The Latin Library by Richard Stracke with the addition of section headings and paragraph breaks.

Anastasia was a most noble Roman woman, the daughter of Praetaxatus, who was distinguished but a pagan. She learned faith in Christ from her Christian mother Fantasta and from blessed Chrysogonus.

HER MARRIAGE TO PUBLIUS

She was given in marriage to one Publius, but she abstained from having relations with him, feigning illness. He heard that she was going around with a servant girl dressed as a poor person and visiting Christians in prison, ministering to them in their need. So he had her locked up and refused her any food, wishing to put an end to her so he could enjoy her large fortune. Thinking she was going to die, she wrote sad letters to Chrysogonus, and he replied with letters of consolation. Then her husband died and she was freed from prison.

THE THREE CHRISTIAN SERVING GIRLS

She had three beautiful serving girls who were sisters. One was called Agapete, the second Thionia, and the third Irenia. Because they were Christians they refused the advances of a certain prefect, so he shut them up in a little room where the cooking utensils were kept. Hot with love, the prefect went there to have his way with them. In his folly he thought he was grasping young women as he kissed and embraces the pots, pans, kettles, and the like. When he was sated, he left the room with his face all sooty and his clothes in tatters.

When the servants who were outside waiting saw him looking like

that, they thought he had changed into a demon and they gave him a beating and ran away, leaving him alone. When he went to the emperor to complain some people beat him with rods and others threw mud and dirt at him, thinking he had gone mad. His eyes had been affected, so he did not see his own deformity; it seemed to him that he and everyone else were wearing white garments. Thus he was astonished that they were all were laughing at him â□□ him who was accustomed to being so honored. When their taunting made him realize that his appearance had changed, he thought that the girls must have done it to him by magic art, and he ordered that they be brought before him undressed so he could see them nude. But at once their clothing adhered to their bodies so that there was no way that it might be removed. Amazed at this, the prefect fell into a deep sleep. They shook him, but he could not be awakened. Finally the young women were crowned with martyrdom.

ANASTASIA IS GIVEN TO ANOTHER PREFECT

The emperor gave Anastasia to a certain prefect to have as his wife if he could make her perform the sacrifices. When the prefect led her into the bedroom and wished to embrace her, he was suddenly struck blind. He went to the gods and asked if he could be cured. They answered, â□□Because you have afflicted Anastasia you will be handed over to us and in a little while you will be tortured with us in hell.â□□ And as he was heading home, he died in the hands of his servants.

SHE IS GIVEN TO YET ANOTHER PREFECT

Then Anastasia was given to another prefect to be detained by him. Now this one had heard that she had a great many possessions, so privately he said to her, â□□Anastasia, if you want to be a Christian you may do what your God ordains. It was he who said, â□□He who has not forsaken everything that he owns, etc.â□□ So give me everything you have, go where you wish, and you will be a true Christian.â□□ She answered him, â□□My God teaches this: â□□Sell everything you have and give it to the poor, not to the rich.â□□ Since you are rich, I would be going against the precepts

of God if I gave you anything.â□□ Then Anastasia was put into a terrible prison to suffer starvation. But St. Theodora, who had previously been crowned with martyrdom, brought her heavenly food for two months.

HER MARTYRDOM

Finally she was taken with two hundred virgins to the Palmarian islands, where many had been exiled for the name of Christ. After a few days the prefect called them all before him and had Anastasia tied to poles and burned to death. The others he executed with various tortures. There was one of these, who for the name of Christ had suffered the loss of great riches. He told them, â□□At least you cannot take Christ away from me.â□□

Apollonia buried the body of St. Anastasia in a garden, where a church was built in her honor. She died in the reign of Diocletian, which began about the year of Our Lord 287.

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THE LIFE OF ST. LOYE

William Caxton added this Life to his 1483 edition of the Golden Legend. The content derives mostly from Dado of Rouen's 7th-century *vita* .

St. Loye was born in the country of Limoges. His father was named Eucherius and his mother Terrigia. What time his mother was conceived with him, she saw in her sleep, an eagle fly over her bed, and thrice bowed and inclined to her, and promised to her something. And with the voice of the eagle she awoke and was much abashed, and began to think what her dream might signify.

And when the time came of childing, and that she should be delivered, she was in great peril, and anon she sent for an holy man to come and pray for her. When the good man was come, anon he said to her: Have no doubt dame, ne dread, for this child shall be holy and much great in the church.

LOYE ENTERS THE GOLDSMITH'S CRAFT

And after that he was born, this child grew in virtue, and his father set him to goldsmith's craft; and when he knew well the craft and art of goldsmithery he came into France and dwelt with a goldsmith that made work for the king. It happed that time that the king sought for one that could make for him a saddle of gold and of precious stones. Then the master of St. Loye said to the king that he had found a workman that should right well make whatsomever he would. The king delivered to him a great mass of gold, which mass the master delivered to St. Loye, whereof he made two right fair saddles and presented that one to the king and that other he retained himself.

When the king saw this saddle so fair he and all his people marvelled much thereof and the king rewarded him much largely. Then after this, St. Loye presented to the king that other saddle,

saying to him that, of the remnant of the gold he had made the same, and then was the king more amarvelled than he was tofore and demanded how he might make these two saddles of that weight that was delivered to him.

St. Loye said: Well by the pleasure of God.

HIS GENEROSITY TO THE POOR

Then grew the name and fame of him in the king's court. St. Loye loved well poor people, for all that he won and might win he distributed it to them, in so much that oft he was almost naked. The poor people also loved him, that where he went they followed him, and that they that would speak with him must ask and enquire of the poor people where he was.

On a time it happed that as he dealed alms with his own hand, there was a poor man that had his hand stiff and lame, and put forth the better hand to receive the alms. Then St. Loye said to him that he should put forth that other hand, which as well as he might he put forth. St. Loye took and handled it and anointed it with a little oil, and anon it was guerished and whole.

Another time when he had given to the poor people all the gold and silver that he had, many other poor men came and demanded of him alms: and beholding himself that he had no more to give, anon he departed among them a mark of gold that he had borrowed of his neighbour, and anon after, came more poor folk to demand alms, he put his hand anon to his purse, for he remembered not that it was void, and by the will of God he found therein a mark of gold, and when he had found that he began greatly to thank our Lord God thereof, and distributed it and departed it to the poor people for the love of God.

He was of high stature, red of visage and angelic, of simple and prudent regard and cheer. At the beginning he was clad with precious vestments of gold adorned with gems and ouches, and

ware gilt girdles with precious stones, but under that, on his bare flesh, he wore always the hair. After this he gave all his precious vesture to the poor people for to succour them in their necessities, and from then forthon he used always simple and poor clothing, and oft despoiled himself for to clothe the poor people. And when the king saw him in such wise he gave to him his own vestments and girdles, for he loved him as his proper soul, and abandoned to him all his house, and commanded to all his folk that all that St. Loye would have should be delivered to him without delay, and all he gave and distributed to poor folk, prisoners and to sick.

HE IS CHOSEN BISHOP OF NOYON

From the time of Brunehilde queen, unto the time of Dagobert, the pestilence of simony reigned strongly, which, for to take away and destroy, St. Loye and St. Ouen laboured sore. Then was St. Loye chosen bishop of Noyon, after Achaire bishop of the said city, and with him was chosen St. Ouen archbishop of Rouen. St. Loye was pastor spiritual of Tournay, city royal, of Noyon, of Ghent, and of all Flanders, and of Courtrai.

He had a certain place in which, by certain days, he called to him poor and sick men and served them devoutly, and made clean their heads and washed them, and them that were lousy and full of vermin he himself would pick and make them clean, and gave them meat and drink, and clothed them; and when they departed anon came other to whom he did in like wise. And when great company came, sometime he made them to sit down and refreshed them all, but every day, at the least he and twelve, the which he made sit down, and at certain hour ate and drank with them, but first he washed their hands and served them.

HIS WORKS OF CHARITY AND HIS MIRACLES

On a time he impetred and gat of the king that all the bodies that were condemned to death, that he could find in towns and cities hanged and ratted, that he might take them down and bury them, and ordained men of his college to do it.

It happed on a time that in the company of the king in the parties of Arastria, in a town named Strabor, he found a man that was hanged that same day and was then dead, and men made the sepulture for to bury him in. And St. Loye approached him and began to take him down, and apperceived that the soul was in the body. He would not appropriate the miracle to him but kept him from vain glory and said full sweetly: O, what evil have we done for to let this man to be taken off if God Almighty had not holpen us; the soul is yet in his body.

When he [the hanged man] was raised, he was clad, and he [St. Loye] did him to take his rest. When they that had made him to die knew it, they would have made him receive death again, and with great pain St. Loye delivered him from their hands, yet he gat letters of grace for him, to be more sure.

There was a priest in his diocese which was infamed, and oft he reproved him and exhorted him to be confessed, but the priest alway heled his sin. When St. Loye saw that his fair admonition availed not, he excommunicated and accursed him, and defended him that he should no more sing mass unto the time he had done open penance. The priest set nought by his commandment ne defence, in despiting his sentence. A little after this the said priest would go sing mass, and as he approached unto the altar, he fell down to ground and died.

Many other miracles did he by his life and doeth yet. He edified at Noyon the Ancelles of Jesu Christ. By him, God showed the body of St. Quintin. He found at Soissons the bodies of two brethren germanes, martyrs, St. Crispin and Crispinian, and ordained a precious vessel to put them in. He found also at Beauvais the body of St. Lucian, which was of the company of St. Quintin, which he put in a precious vessel. At Paris, upon the great bridge, he made a blind man to see.

The sexton of the church of St. Colomba at Paris, came to St. Loye

and said to him that thieves had borne away by night all the jewels and parements of the said church. Then St. Loye went into the oratory of St. Colomba, and said to him: Hark thou, Colomba, what I say to thee; my Redeemer will that anon thou bring again the ornaments of this church that have been taken away, or I shall in such wise close the doors with thorns, that never hereafter thou shalt, in this place, be served ne worshipped.

When he had said thus he departed. On the morn the sexton of the said church, that was called Maturin, rose up and found all the parements and jewels that had been borne away, and were set in the place as they had been tofore.

St. Loye did do ordain much richly the body of St. Germain and the bodies of St. Severin, St. Plato, St. Quintin, St. Lucian, St. Genevieve, St. Colomba, St. Maxime, St. Julian, and specially of St. Martin at Tours, by Dagobert the king, and the tomb of St. Brice, and another tomb where the body of St. Martin had been long in, and the house of St. Denis the martyr at Paris, and the tigurion of marble which is upon him, of marvellous work of gold and of gems.

HIS DEATH

When St. Loye died he was seventy years old. At the end of the year he was transported into another place, and was found also fresh and without rotting as he had been alive in his sepulchre. Now hear ye yet a more great miracle: his beard and his hairs were shaven when he died, but in his tomb, when he was translated, they were found as great and long as they had always grown in his tomb.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. EUFEMIA

Chapter 139 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Eufemia was daughter of a senator, and saw christian men in the time of Diocletian so sore tormented and all to-rent by divers torments, that she came to the judge and confessed her to be christian. And she comforted by example the courages of other men, and by her constancy. And when the judge slew the christian men, the one tofore another, and made others to be present because they should be afeard of that they saw the others so cruelly tormented and broken, and that they should sacrifice for dread and fear, and when Eufemia saw even thus tofore her the holy saints, she was the more constant by the steadfastness of the martyrs, and spoke to the judge, and said that she suffered wrong of him.

Then the judge was glad, weening that she would have consented to do sacrifice, and when he demanded of her what wrong he had done to her, she said to him: For sith I am of noble lineage, why puttest thou tofore me the strangers and unknown, and makest them go to Christ tofore me? For it were my pleasure to go thither by martyrdom tofore them. And the judge said to her: I had supposed thou wouldst have returned in thy thought, and I was glad that thou haddest remembered thy noblesse.

HER PASSION

And then she was inclosed in the prison, and the day following, without bonds, was brought tofore the judge. And then she complained right grievously why against the laws of the emperors she was alone spared for to be out of bonds. And then she was long beaten with fists, and after, sent again to prison, and the judge followed her, and would have taken her by force for to have accomplished his foul lust, but she defended her forcibly, and the

virtue divine made the hands of the Judge to be lame.

And then the judge weened to have been enchanted, and sent to her the provost of his house for to promise to her many things for to make her consent to him, but he might never open the prison which was shut, neither with key ne with axes, till he was ravished with a devil, crying and treating himself, that unnethe he escaped.

And then she was drawn out and set upon a wheel full of burning coals. And the artillour, that was master of the torment, had given a token to them to turn it, that when he should make a sound, that they all should turn it, and the fire should spring out and all to-break and rend the body of the virgin; but by the ordinance of God the iron that the artillour and master had in his hand, fell to the earth, and made the sound. And they turned hastily so that the wheel burnt the master of the work and kept Eufemia without hurt, sitting upon the wheel. And the parents of the artillour wept and put the fire under the wheel and would have burnt Eufemia with the wheel, but the wheel was burnt, and Eufemia was unbounden by the angel of God, and was seen to stand all whole, unhurt, in a high place.

And then Apulius said to the judge: The virtue of christian people may not be overcome but by iron, therefore I counsel thee to do smite off her head. Then they set up ladders, and as one would have set hand on her, he was anon smitten with a palsy, and was borne thence half dead. And another named Sosthenes went up on high, but anon he was changed in his courage and repented him and required her humbly pardon, and when he had his sword drawn he cried to the judge that he had liefer slay himself than touch her whom the angels defended.

At the last, when she was taken thence, the judge said to his chancellor that he should send to her all the young men that were jolly, for to enforce and to make her do their will till she should fail and die. And then he entered in and saw with her many fair virgins praying with her, and she made him to be christened with her admonishments.

And then the provost did do take the virgin by the hair and hung her thereby, and she ever abode constant and immovable. And then he did do shut her in prison without meat seven days, and pressed her there between four great stones as who should press olives, but she was every day fed with an angel. And when she was between those two hard stones she made her prayers, and the stones were converted into right soft ashes.

Then the provost was ashamed for to be vanquished of a maid; and then he made her to be thrown into a pit whereas cruel beasts were, which devoured every man that came therein and swallowed them in. And anon they ran to this holy virgin in fawning her, and joined their tails together, and made of them a chair for her to sit on. And when the judge saw that, he was much confounded, so that almost he died for anguish and sorrow.

Then the butcher came for to avenge the injury of his lord and smote his sword into her side, and all to-hewed her and made her there the martyr of Jesu Christ our Lord. And the judge clad him with clothes of silk, and hung on him ouches and brooches of gold, but when he should have issued out of the pit, he was ravished of the beasts, and all devoured anon. And then his people sought him long, and unnethe found they a little of his bones with his clothes of silk and his ouches of gold. And then the judge ate himself for madness, and so was found dead wretchedly.

CONCLUSION

And Eufemia was buried in Chalcedonia, and by her merits all the Jews and paynims of Chalcedonia believed in Jesu Christ. And she suffered death about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty. And S. Ambrose saith of this virgin thus:

> The holy virgin, triumphant in virginity, retaining the mitre, deserved to be clad with the crown, by whose merits the wicked enemy is vanquished, and Priscus, her adversary and judge, is

overcome. The virgin is saved from the furnace of fire, hard stones be converted into powder, wild beasts be made meek and tame, and incline down their necks, and all manner of pains and torments by her orations and prayers be overcome. And at the last, smitten with a sword, she left the cloister of her flesh, and is joined to the celestial company, glad and joyous. And, blessed Lord, this blessed virgin commendeth to thee thy church, and, good Lord, let her pray to thee for us sinners, and this virgin, without corruption flourishing, get unto us that our desires may be granted of thee.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. IGNATIUS, BISHOP

Chapter 36 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's edition" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Ignatius was disciple of St. John Evangelist, and was bishop of Antioch. And after that, as some say, he sent a letter unto our Lady or an epistle in this wise: Unto Mary the Virgin, that bare Jesu Christ in her body, I, humble Ignatius, her servant, send greeting, I, that am yet a novice in the faith and disciple to Jesu Christ and to John thy dear friend, desire to have of thee some comfort and consolation of some good enseignment and teaching. For of Jesus thy Son I have heard say many marvels, of which I am enjoyed to hear only of thee, which hast been always in his company. Thou knowest well the secret desires of him, thou hast been plainly informed, and they that be yet young in the faith with me trust much to be endoctrined of thee, and informed in their creance and belief: Lady, God salute thee.

And to this letter answered the glorious Virgin Mary in this manner:

> Ignatius, good disciple of Jesus and his special friend, the humble handmaid of Jesu Christ sendeth to thee greeting. I do thee to wit that all that John hath said to thee of Jesu Christ and all that thou hast learned of him is true doctrine and thing certain. Go alway in good creance, and believe and keep firmly the promise of thy Christian faith, and do thy works according to the same. I shall come with St. John for to visit thee and other Christian men with thee. Hold thee always well in the faith and in good works, and let no persecution ne adversity that thou shalt suffer move thee from thy faith ne from thy creance, but have solace and affiance in Jesu Christ thy Saviour.

This was the answer of his letter.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS

St. Ignatius was a man right well learned, and the third bishop after St. Peter the apostle of the church of Antioch, and much desired to be a martyr for the faith of Jesu Christ. It happed that Trajan, which was emperor of Rome, passed by Antioch, to whom Ignatius showed to him and blamed of this, that he persecuted Christian men, wherefor the emperor did him to be taken and put in irons, and in that wise by ten knights to be led to Rome. There he was presented tofore the emperor and all the senators of Rome, and was constrained by promises, by menaces, and by torments, many and great an horrible, for to adore the idols. St. Ignatius showed to them clearly that their gods had been thieves, ribalds, and men of abominable and evil life, and that they were damned in hell, and that they had been in great error in this, that of so cursed men they made their gods and worshipped devils, and had forsaken God which had made and created all the world, and his blessed Son which in human nature had redeemed and saved the world.

Finably, after this, that he had been tormented by fire, and by beating and prison, the emperor did send for the Romans in a place and there did do set St. Ignatius, and did do bring thither two lions for to devour him. But he had never dread for death ne for other torments, of which he had suffered many, but was always comforted for to die for the love of Jesu Christ. And he said at the last: I am wheat of Jesu Christ, which ought to be grounden between the teeth of these beasts, by which I may be pure bread for to be presented to my Lord.

And anon the lions came and strangled him without tearing of his flesh, or anything hurting it, wherefor Trajan had great marvel and departed from the place.

THE MIRACLE OF HIS HEART

It is read that St. Ignatius in all his torments and all the pains of martyrdom that he suffered, that his tongue never ceased to name the name of Jesus, and when they that tormented him demanded him wherefore he named this name so oft, he answered: Know ye for certain that I have in my heart this name written, and therefore I may not leave to name this name oft.

And because hereof, when he was dead, they that heard these words opened his body and drew out his heart and cut it open, and they found within the name of Jesus written with fair letters of gold, for which miracle many received the faith of Jesu Christ.

ST. BERNARDÂ□□S REMARKS ON ST. IGNATIUS

Of this saint saith St. Bernard upon the psalm, *Qui habitat* [Psalm 15]: St. Ignatius, martyr of God glorious, is of great merit, which was minister to the disciple that Jesus so much loved, and in his epistles, the which he sent to the glorious Virgin Mary, he saluted her as mother that had borne Jesu Christ and she resaluted him again, in sign that he was a person of great honour, of great dignity, and of great authority. The body of whom was honorably buried of Christian men, to the worship of Jesu Christ which is blessed *in secula seculorum* . Amen.

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ST. JAMES THE GREATER

Chapter 99 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

J ames the apostle, son of Zebedee, preached after the ascension of our Lord in the Jewry and Samaria, and after, he was sent into Spain for to sow there the word of Jesu Christ. But when he was there he profited but little, for he had converted unto Christ's law but nine disciples, of whom he left two there, for to preach the word of God, and took the other seven with him and returned again into Judea. Master John Beleth saith that he converted there but one man only.

THE ENCHANTER HERMOGENES

And when after he preached the word of God in Judea, there was an enchanter named Hermogenes with the Pharisees, which sent Philetus his disciple to St. James for to overcome him tofore all men, and to prove his preaching false. But the apostle overcame him tofore all men reasonably, and did many miracles tofore him.

Philetus then returned to Hermogenes, and approved the doctrine of James to be true, and recited to him his miracles, and said that he would be his disciple, and desired and counselled Hermogenes in like wise to be his disciple. Then Hermogenes was wroth, and by his craft and enchantments he made Philetus in such wise that he might not move, and said: Now we shall see if thy James may save thee.

Then Philetus sent his child to St. James and let him have knowledge hereof. Then St. James sent to him his sudary or keverchief and said: Say to him that our Lord redresseth them that be hurt, and unbindeth them that be empeshed; and as soon as he said so, and touched the sudary, he was unbound and loosed from all the enchanting of Hermogenes, and arose up and went joyfully to

St. James.

Then Hermogenes was angry, and called many devils, and commanded them that they bring to him St. James bound, and Philetus with him, for to avenge him on them, lest his disciples afterwards address them against him. Then when the devils came towards St. James, they cried, howling in the air, saying: James the apostle of God have pity on us, for we burn tofore our time come.

To whom James said: Wherefore come ye to me?

And they said: Hermogenes hath sent us to thee and to Philetus for to bring you to him, and the angel of God hath bound us with chains of fire and tormenteth us.

And James said: The angel of God shall unbind you and bring him to me bounden, but hurt him not.

Then they went and took Hermogenes and bound his hands, and brought him so bound to St. James, and they said to Hermogenes: Thou hast sent us thither where we were strongly tormented and grievously bound.

And then said they to St. James: Give to us power against him that we may avenge the wrongs and our embracements.

And James said to them: Lo! here is Philetus tofore you, why take ye him not?

They answered: We may not touch him, ne as much as a flea that is in thy couch.

Then said James to Philetus: To the end that thou do good for evil, like as Christ bade us, unbind him.

And then Hermogenes was all confused. And James said to him: Go thy way freely where thou wilt, for it appertaineth not to our

discipline that any be converted against his will.

And Hermogenes said to him: I know well the ire of the devils: but if thou give to me somewhat of thine that I may have with me, they shall slay me.

Then St. James gave to him his staff. Then he went and brought to the apostle all his books of his false craft and enchanting for to be burnt. But St. James, because that the odour of the burning might do evil or harm to some fools, he made them to be cast into the sea. And after he had cast his books into the sea he returned, and holding his feet said: O thou deliverer of souls, receive me penitent, and him that hath sustained till now missaying of thee.

And then began he to be perfect in the dread of God our Lord, so that many virtues were done by him afterward.

THE BEHEADING OF ST. JAMES

And when the Jews saw Hermogenes converted they were all moved of envy, and went unto St. James and blamed him because that he preached Christ crucified. And he approved clearly the coming and passion of our Lord Jesu Christ in such wise that many believed in our Lord. Abiathar, which was bishop that year, moved the people against him, and then they put a cord about his neck and brought him to Herod Agrippa.

And when he was led to be beheaded by the commandment of Herod, a man having the palsy cried to him. And he gave him health and said: In the name of Jesu Christ, for whom I am led to be beheaded, arise thou and be all whole, and bless our Lord thy Maker.

And anon he arose and was all whole. A scribe named Josias, which put the cord about his neck and drew him, seeing this miracle fell down to his feet and demanded of him forgiveness and that he might be christened. And when Abiathar saw that, he made him to

be taken, and said to him: But if thou curse the name of Christ thou shalt be beheaded with him.

To whom Josias said: Be thou accursed, and accursed be all thy Gods, and the name of our Lord Jesu Christ be blessed world without end.

Then Abiathar commanded to smite him on the mouth with fists, and sent a message to Herod, and gat consent that he should be beheaded with James. And when they should be beheaded both, St. James desired a potful of water of him that should smite off their heads, and therewith he baptized Josias, and then anon they were both beheaded and suffered martyrdom.

St. James was beheaded the eighth kalends of April [March 25] on our Lady's day of the Annunciation, and the eighth kalends of August [July 25] he was translated to Compostella. And the third kalends of January [December 30] he was buried, for the making of his sepulchre was from August unto January, and therefore the church hath established that his feast shall be hallowed in the eighth kalends of August [July 25], whereas is most convenable time.

ST. JAMES'S BODY IS CARRIED TO SPAIN

And as Master John Beleth saith, which made this translation diligently: When the blessed St. James was beheaded, his disciples took the body away by night for fear of the Jews, and brought it into a ship, and committed unto the will of our Lord the sepulture of it, and went withal into the ship without sail or rudder. And by the conduct of the angel of our Lord they arrived in Galicia in the realm of Lupa.

THE CONVERSION OF QUEEN LUPA IN GALICIA

There was in Spain a queen that had to name, and also by deserving of her life, Lupa, which is as much to say in English as a she-wolf. And then the disciples of St. James took out his body and laid it upon a great stone. And anon the stone received the body

into it as it had been soft wax, and made to the body a stone as it were a sepulchre. Then the disciples went to Lupa the queen, and said to her: Our Lord Jesu Christ hath sent to thee the body of his disciple, so that him that thou wouldest not receive alive thou shalt receive dead.

And then they recited to her the miracle by order; how they were come without any governaile of the ship and required of her place convenable for his holy sepulture. And when the queen heard this, she sent them unto a right cruel man, by treachery and by guile, as Master Beleth saith, and some say it was to the king of Spain, for to have his consent of this matter, and he took them and put them in prison. And when he was at dinner the angel of our Lord opened the prison and let them escape away all free. And when he knew it, he sent hastily knights after, for to take them, and as these knights passed to go over a bridge, the bridge brake and overthrew, and they fell in the water and were drowned.

And when he heard that he repented him and doubted for himself and for his people, and sent after them, praying them for to return, and that he would do like as they would themselves. And then they returned and converted the people of that city unto the faith of God.

And when Lupa the queen heard this, she was much sorrowful, and when they came again to her they told to her the agreement of the king. She answered: Take the oxen that I have in yonder mountain, and join ye and yoke them to my cart or chariot, and bring ye then the body of your master, and build ye for him such a place as ye will.

And this she said to them in guile and mockage, for she knew well that there were no oxen but wild bulls, and supposed that they should never join them to her chariot, and if they were so joined and yoked to the chariot, they would run hither and thither, and should break the chariot, and throw down the body and slay them. But there is no wisdom against God. And then they, that knew nothing the evil courage of the queen, went up on the mountain, and found

there a dragon casting fire at them, and ran on them. And they made the sign of the cross and he brake it on two pieces. And then they made the sign of the cross upon the bulls, and anon they were meek as lambs. Then they took them and yoked them to the chariot, and took the body of St. James with the stone that they had laid it on, and laid on the chariot, and the wild bulls without governing or driving of any body drew it forth unto the middle of the palace of the queen Lupa.

And when she saw this she was abashed and believed and was christened, and delivered to them all that they demanded, and dedicated her palace into a church and endowed it greatly, and after ended her life in good works.

MIRACLES OF ST. JAMES

The Man in the High Tower

Bernard, a man of the bishopric of Mutina, as Calixtus the pope saith, was taken and enchained and put into a deep tower, and called always the blessed St. James, so that St. James appeared to him and said: Come and follow me into Galicia, and then his bonds brake and St. James vanished away. And he went up into the high tower, and his bonds in his neck, and sprang down without hurting, and it was well sixty cubits of height.

The Man Whose Sin was Effaced

And as Bede saith: There was a man that had done a foul sin, of which the bishop doubted to assoil him, and sent him to St. James with a schedule in which the sin was written; and when he had laid the schedule upon the altar, on the day of St. James he prayed St. James, that by his merits his sin might be forgiven and defaced. defaced. And after, he opened the schedule and found the sin effaced and struck out. And then he thanked God and St. James.

The Thirty Pilgrims of Lorraine

Thirty men of Lorraine went together on pilgrimage to St. James about the year of our Lord a thousand and sixty-three, and all made faith to other that every man should abide and serve other in all estates that shall happen by the way, except one [man], that would make no covenant. It happed that one of them was sick and his fellows abode and awaited on him fifteen days, and at last they all left him, save he that promised not, which abode by him and kept him at the foot of the Mount St. Michael.

And when it drew to night the sick man died, and when it was night, the man that was alive was sore afraid for the place which was solitary, and for the presence of the dead body, and for the cruelty of the strange people, and for the darkness of the night that came on. But anon St. James appeared to him in likeness of a man on horseback and comforted him and said; Give me that dead body tofore me, and leap thou up behind me on my horse.

And so they rode all that night fifteen days journey that they were on the morn to see the sun rising at Montoia, which is but half a league from St. James. Then St. James left them both, commanding him that was alive, that he should assemble the canons of St. James to bury this pilgrim, and that he should say to his fellows, because they had broken their faith their pilgrimage availed them not. And he did his commandment, and when his fellows came they marvelled how he had so fast gone, and he told to them all that St. James had said and done.

The Man Accused of Stealing a Cup

And as Calixtus the pope rehearseth, there was a man of Almaine, and he went to St. James about the year one thousand four score and three, and came to Toulouse for to be lodged, and their host made them drunk. Then the host took a cup of silver and put it in their malle. And on the morn, when they were gone, he followed them as thieves, and bare them on hand that they had stolen his cup, and said that they should be punished if the cup were found on them. And he found it in the malle, and anon they were brought to

judgment.

And then the sentence was given, that all that they had should be given to the host, and that one of them should be hanged. And then the father would have died for his son and the son for the father. At last the son was hanged, and the father went forth weeping on his pilgrimage to St. James, and came again thirty-six days after, and then went for to see his son, and cried and wept, but the son which was hanged, began to comfort and said to his father: Right sweet father, weep no more, for I was never so well at ease, for the blessed St. James hath alway sustained me and held me up, and hath fed me with sweetness of heaven.

And when the father heard him speak, he ran anon to the city and did so much that the people came, and his son was taken down all whole, as though he had never had harm, and the host was hanged which had put the cup in the malle.

The Pilgrim Seduced into Suicide by the Devil

Hugo de St. Victor rehearseth that the devil appeared in likeness of St. James to a pilgrim, and told to him many things of the unhappiness of the world, and said to him that he should be well blessed if he slew himself in the honour of him. And anon he took a knife and slew himself; and then the host in whose house he was lodged was held suspect, and was sore afraid to be put therefor to death. Then he that was dead revived again, and said that the devil had caused him to slay himself, and brought him into great torments. And St. James ran, and brought him tofore the throne of the judge, and when the devils accused him, he gat that he should be restored to his life.

The Young Man Who Fell into Fornication

There was a young man of the country of Lyons, as Hugh the abbot of Cluny witnesseth, that was accustomed to go oft to St. James, and the night tofore he should go thitherward he fell in fornication. And the next day he went forth. On a night it happed that the devil

appeared to him in likeness of St. James, and said to him: Knowest thou who I am?

And he answered: Nay.

And the devil said to him: I am James the apostle, whom thou hast used to visit every year, and I am glad for thy devotion. But it is not long sith that thou, in going out of thy house, fellest in fornication, and hast presumed to come, not confessed thereof, wherefore thy pilgrimage may neither please God ne me. It appertaineth not to do so, for who that will come to me in pilgrimage, he must first show his sins by contrition and by confession, and after, by going on pilgrimage, punish them and make satisfaction.

And this said, the devil vanished away. Then the young man was in great anguish, and disposed him to return home again to his house and confess him of his sins, and then to begin again his journey.

And then the devil appeared to him again in likeness of the apostle, and warned him in no wise to do so, but said to him: This sin may in no wise be forgiven but if he cut off his members generative. But yet he should be more blessed if he killed himself, and be a martyr for the sake of him.

And he, that same night, when his fellows slept, took a knife and cut off his genitals, and with the same knife smote himself into the belly. And his fellows awoke, and when they saw this thing they were sore afraid, and anon fled away lest they should be taken as suspect of the homicide. And after, as they made ready his pit, to bury him in, he revived again, and then all they were abashed and fled away.

And he called them again, and told all that was befallen to him, saying: When I at the suggestion of the devil had slain myself, the devils took me and led me towards Rome, and anon St. James came after us, and blamed strongly the devils of their fallacy. And when they had long strived together, St. James constrained them to come into a meadow, where the Blessed Virgin sat speaking with

many saints. And the blessed St. James complained for me, and then she blamed strongly the devils, and commanded that I should be restored again to my life. And then St. James took me, and rendered to me my life again, like as you see.

And three days after his wounds were whole, and there appeared nothing but the traces where the wounds were, and then he reprised again his journey, and found his fellows, and recited to them all this by order.

The Frenchman and the Ass

And as Calixtus the pope rehearseth, there was a Frenchman, about the year of our Lord eleven hundred, would eschewe the mortality that was in France, and would visit St. James, and he took his wife and children and went thither. And when they came to Pampelona his wife died, and his host took from him all his money and his jument, upon which his children were borne. And this man, that thus went all discomforted, and bare his children on his shoulders, and led one after him, was in great anguish and sorrow.

Then came a man to him, upon an ass, which had pity on him, and lent to him his ass for to bear his children. And when he came to St. James, and had done what he would, and prayed, St. James appeared to him, and demanded if he knew him, and he said nay. And St. James said to him: I am James the apostle, which have lent to thee mine ass, and yet I shall lend him to thee for to return. And I let thee wit that thine host is fallen from a soler and is dead. And thou shalt have again all that he hath taken from thee. And when all this was done, he returned joyous, with his children to his house. And as soon as his children were taken off from the ass, it was not known where it became.

The Merchant Freed from his Tower Prison

A merchant was detained of a tyrant, and all despoiled, was wrongfully put in prison. And he called much devoutly St. James into his help. And St. James appeared to him tofore them that kept him,

and they awoke, and he brought him into the highest of the tower, and anon the tower bowed down so low that the top was even with the ground. And he went, without leaping, and unbound of his irons. Then his keepers followed after, but they had no power to see him.

The Three Knights of Lyons

Three knights of the diocese of Lyons went to St. James, and that one was required of a poor woman for the love of St. James to bear her sack upon his horse; and he bare it. After, he found a man sick, and set him on his horse, and took the burden off the man, and the sack off the said woman, and followed his horse afoot. But he was broken with the heat of the sun, and with labour to go afoot, that when he came to St. James in Galicia, he was strongly sick.

And his fellows prayed three days for the health of his soul, which three days he lay speechless, and his fellows abiding his death. The fourth he sighed greatly, and said: I thank God and St. James, for I am delivered by his merits when I would have done that which ye warned and admonished me. But the devils came to me and strained me so sore that I might not do nothing that appertained to the health of my soul. And I heard you well but I might not answer. And then the blessed St. James came, and brought in his left hand the sack of the woman, and in the right hand the bourdon of the poor pilgrim that I helped by the way, and held the bourdon for a spear, and the sack for a shield, and so assailed the devils as all angry, and lift up the bourdon, and feared the devils that they fled away; and thus the blessed St. James hath delivered me by his holy grace, and hath rendered to me my speech again. Call me the priest, for I may not be long in this life, it is time to amend our trespasses toward our Lord.

And then he turned him to one of his fellows, and said to him: Friend, ride no more with thy lord, for certainly he is damned, and shall perish shortly by evil death, and therefore leave his company, and then he died. And when he was buried, his two fellows, knights, returned, and that other said to his master this that he had said to

him, and he set not thereby, and had despite to amend him. And anon after he was smitten with a spear in battle and died.

The Destitute Pilgrim of Viriliac

And as Calixtus the pope saith, that there was a man of Viriliac [in Aquitaine] went to St. James, and his money failed him by the way. And he had shame for to beg and ask alms, and he laid him under a tree, and dreamed that St. James fed him. And when he awoke he found a loaf, baked under ashes, at his head, and with that loaf he lived fifteen days till that he came again to his own place, and ate sufficiently twice a day of the same loaf, and always on the morn he found it whole in his satchel.

The Burgess Redeemed from Slavery

Also the same Calixtus rehearseth that a burgess of the city of Barcelona went to St. James about the year of our Lord eleven hundred, and required only that he should never be taken of any enemies, and as he returned by Sicily he was taken in the sea of Saracens, and led ofttimes to fairs for to be sold, but alway the chains with which he was bounden loosed. And when he had been sold fourteen times he was bound with double chains. Then he called St. James to his help, and St. James appeared to him and said: Because thou wert in my church, and thou settest nothing by the health of thy soul, but demandedst only the deliverance of thy body, therefor thou hast fallen in this peril. But because that our Lord is merciful, he hath sent me for to buy thee.

And anon his chains brake, and he, bearing a part of the chains, passed by the countries and castles of the Saracens, and came home into his own country in the sight of all men, which were abashed of the miracle. For when any man would have taken him, as soon as they saw the chain they were afeard and fled. And when the lions and other beasts would have ran on him, in the deserts whereon he went, when they saw the chain they were afeard that they fled away.

The Young Man Deceived Of Simplesse

It happed in the year twelve hundred and thirtyeight in a castle named Prato, between Florence and Pistoia, a young man deceived of simplesse by counsel of an old man, set fire in the corn of his tutor, which had charge to keep him, because that he would usurp to himself his heritage. Then he was taken, and confessed his trespass, and was judged to be drawn and burnt. Then he confessed him, and avowed to St. James. And when he had been long drawn in his shirt upon a stony way, he was neither hurt in his body ne in his shirt. Then he was bound to a stake, and fagots and bushes were set about him, and fire put thereto, which fire burnt atwo his bonds, and he always called on St. James, and there was no hurt of burning found in his shirt nor in his body, and when they would have cast him again into the fire, he was taken away from them by St. James, the apostle of God, to whom be given laud and praising.

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THE HISTORY OF JOSHUA

This story was in the earlier English translation used by Caxton in his compilation of the Golden Legend, but it was not in the Latin original. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

After Moses, Joshua was duke and leader of the children of Israel, and brought them into the land of behest, and did many great battles. For whom God showed many great marvels and in especial one; that was that the sun stood still at his request, till he had overcome his enemies, by the space of a day. And our Lord, when he fought, sent down such hail-stones that slew more of his enemies with the stones than with man's hand.

Joshua was a noble man and governed well Israel, and divided the land unto the twelve tribes by lot. And when he was an hundred and ten years old he died. And divers dukes after him judged and deemed Israel, of whom be noble histories, as of Jephthah, Gideon, and Sampson, which I pass over unto the histories of the kings, which is read in holy church from the first Sunday after Trinity Sunday, unto the first Sunday of August. And in the month of August is read the Book of Sapience, and in the month of September be read the histories of Job, of Tobit, and of Judith, and in October the history of the Maccabees, and in November the book of Ezechiel and his visions. And in December the history of Advent. and the book of Isaiah unto Christmas and after the feast of Epiphany unto Septuagesima be read the Epistles of Paul. And this is the rule of the temporal through the year, etc.

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THE LIFE OF ST. JULIAN

Chapter 30 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

ST. JULIAN, BISHOP OF LE MANS

St. Julian was bishop of Cenomanence. It is said that it was he that was said Simon the leper, whom our Lord healed of his measelry, and bade Jesu Christ to dinner, and after the Ascension of our Lord, he was ordained of the apostles bishop of Emmaus, 1 full of great virtues. He appeared to the world, 2 he raised three dead men, and after he ended his days in great praising of God. Of this St. Julian some say that this is he that pilgrims and wayfaring men call and require for good harbourage because our Lord was lodged in his house, but it seemeth better that it is he that slew his father and mother ignorantly, of whom the history is here after.

ST. JULIAN OF AUVERGNE

There was another Julian born in Alvernia, which was of noble lineage, and yet more noble in faith and in virtue, which for the great desire that he had to be martyred, he offered himself to the tyrants where he had not forfeited.

Now it happed that Crispinus, which was one of the governors of Rome, sent to him one of his ministers for to put him to death. Anon as the minister came to him, he issued out of his place and came tofore him, and offered to him to suffer death, and his head was smitten off. And they took the head, and showed it to St. Feriol that was his fellow, and said they would so do of him if he sacrificed not, and because he would not obey to them they slew him, and took the head of St. Julian, and the body of St. Feriol, and buried them both

in one pit, and a great while after St. Mamertine, bishop of Vienne, found the head of St. Julian between the hands of St. Feriol, all so whole as it had been buried that same day.

Among the other miracles of St. Julian it is said that a deacon took all the white sheep that were of the church of St. Julian, and the shepherds defended them, but he said to them that St. Julian ate never no mutton, and anon after a fever took him, so great and hot that he knowledged that he was of the martyr so burnt, and he did water to be cast on him for to cool him. And anon issued out of his body such a fume and smoke, and therewith so great a stench, that all they that were present were constrained to flee, and anon after he died. Another miracle happed of a man of a village that on a Sunday would ear his lands, and when he took the share to make clean his coulter, it cleaved to his hand. And two years after, at the prayer of St. Julian in the church, he was healed.

SAINTS JULIAN AND JULIUS

There was another Julian which was brother to one named Julius. These two brethren went to the Emperor Theodosius, which was a very christian man, and they prayed him that they might destroy all the idols that they might find, and that they might edify churches, each which thing the emperor granted them, and wrote that all men should obey them and help them, upon pain to lose their heads.

Now it happed that they edified a church, and all men by the commandment of the emperor obeyed and helped them. It happed that there were some men that led a cart which should pass by, and thought how they might do and pass without arresting for to help them, and they thought that one of them should lie on the cart as he were dead, and thereby they would excuse them, and so they did, and bade him that lay in the cart to hold his eyes closed till they were past the pass.

And when they came in the place where they edified the church, Julian and Julius, his brother, said to them: My sons, tarry a while

and come and help us to work.

They answered that they might not for they carried a dead man.

St. Julian said to them: Why lie ye so?

They answered: Sir, we lie not, it is so as we say to you.

And St. Julian said to them: So may it fall to you as ye say.

And anon they drove forth their oxen and passed forth. And when they were passed a little they called their fellow that he should arise and drive forth the oxen for to go the faster, and he answered not one word.

And they called him again on high and said: Art thou out of thy wit? Arise up and drive forth the beasts, and he moved ne spake not one word.

They went up and discovered him and found him dead as St. Julian had said to them. Then took they such dread and fear that after that they ne none other that heard of the miracle durst lie no more tofore the holy servant of God.

ST. JULIAN THE HOSPITALER

Another Julian there was that slew his father and mother by ignorance. And this man was noble and young, and gladly went for to hunt. And one time among all other he found an hart which returned toward him, and said to him, thou huntest me that shall slay thy father and mother.

Hereof was he much abashed and afeard, and for dread, that it should not happen to him that the hart had said to him, he went privily away that no man knew thereof, and found a prince noble and great to whom he put him in service. And he proved so well in battle and in services in his palace, that he was so much in the

princeâ□□s grace that he made him knight and gave to him a rich widow of a castle, and for her dower he received the castle.

And when his father and mother knew that he was thus gone they put them in the way for to seek him in many places. And so long they went till they came to the castle where he dwelt, but then he was gone out, and they found his wife. And when she saw them she inquired diligently who they were, and when they had said and recounted what was happened of their son, she knew verily that they were the father and mother of her husband, and received them much charitably, and gave to them her own bed, and made another for herself.

And on the morn the wife of Julian went to the church, and her husband came home whiles she was at church, and entered into his chamber for to awake his wife. And he saw twain in his bed, and had weened that it had been a man that had lain with his wife, and slew them both with his sword, and after, went out and saw his wife coming from church.

Then he was much abashed and demanded of his wife who they were that lay in his bed, then she said that they were his father and his mother, which had long sought him, and she had laid them in his bed.

Then he swooned and was almost dead, and began to weep bitterly and cry, alas! caitiff that I am, what shall I do that have slain my father and my mother? Now it is happened that I supposed to have eschewed, and said to his wife: Adieu and farewell, my right dear love, I shall never rest till that I shall have knowledge if God will pardon and forgive me this that I have done, and that I shall have worthy penance therefor.

And she answered: Right dear love, God forbid that ye should go without me, like as I have had joy with you, so will I have pain and heaviness.

Then departed they and went till they came to a great river over which much folk passed, where they edified an inn, guest house much great for to harbour poor people, and there do their penance in bearing men over that would pass.

After long time St. Julian slept about midnight, sore travailed, and it was frozen and much cold, and he heard a voice lamenting and crying that said: Julian come and help us over.

And anon he arose, and went over and found one almost dead for cold, and anon he took him and bare him to the fire and did great labour to chauffe and warm him. And when he saw that he could not be chauffed ne warm, he bare him in to his bed, and covered him the best wise he might.

And anon after, he that was so sick and appeared as he had been measell, he saw all shining ascending to heaven, and said to St. Julian his host: Julian, our Lord hath sent me to thee, and sendeth thee word that he hath accepted thy penance. And a while after St. Julian and his wife rendered unto God their souls and departed out of this world.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Another Julian there was, but he was no saint but a cursed man, and was called Julianus Apostata. This Julian was first a monk, and showing outward signs of great religion and of great holiness, after that that Master John Beleth reciteth. There was a woman that had three pots full of gold, and because the gold should not be seen she had put in the mouth of the pots above, ashes, and delivered them to this Julian tofore other monks for to keep, whom she reputed a holy man, but she said not to him that they were full of gold.

When he had these pots he looked what was therein, and he found that it was gold and took it out all, and filled them full of ashes, and fled with all to Rome, and did so much that he was of the councillors and governors of Rome. But the woman, when she would have

again her pots, she could not prove that she had delivered to him in keeping gold, for she made no mention thereof tofore the monks, and therefore he retained it, and procured withal the office of a consul of the governance of Rome. And after that he procured so much that he was instituted emperor.

Whiles he was young he was taught in the art of enchantment and of the invocations of fiends, and gladly he studied, and it pleased him much, and had with him divers masters of that science. Now it happed on a day that as his master was out he began alone to read the invocations, and a great multitude of fiends came about him and made him afeard, and he made the sign of the cross, and anon they vanished away. And when his master was returned he told him what was happed to him, but his master said to him that always he had hated and feared that sign.

When then he was emperor he remembered thereof, and because he would use the craft of the devil, overall where he found the signs of the cross he destroyed them, and persecuted Christian men because that he knew well that otherwise the fiends would not do for him.

Now it happed that he descended into a region that is called Persia, and from thence he sent into the occident a devil for to have answer of that he said to him, and this devil went and abode ten days in one place without moving, because there was a monk continually in prayer night and day, and when he might not do he returned.

Then Julian demanded him where he had been so long, he answered: I have been in a place where I found a monk night and day praying, and I supposed to have troubled him that he should no more pray, and all this while I could never turn him from his prayer, and thus I am returned without doing anything. Then Julian the apostate had great indignation and said when he came thither he would avenge him of the monk, and when he went in to Persia the devils promised him that he should have victory of a city.

The master of enchantments, which divined by the devil for him, said to a Christian man: What doeth the smithâ□□s son? He said that he made a sepulchre for Julian his master. And as it is read in the history of St. Basil, he came in CÃ¦sarea of Cappadocia and St. Basil came against him, and presented three loaves to him, which he sent to him.

And Julian had great indignation of this gift, and for the bread, he sent to St. Basil, saying: Thou hast sent to me meat for dumb beasts, therefore take this that I send to thee.

St. Basil said: We have sent to thee such as we eat, and thou sendest to us of that thou nourishest thy beasts with.

Of which answer Julian was wroth and said: When I shall have done in Persia I shall destroy this city in such wise that it shall be better ordained for to ear and sow than people to dwell in.

And the night ensuing, St. Basil saw in a vision, in the church of our Lady, a great multitude of angels, and in the middle of them a woman being in a throne, which said to them: Call to me Mercury whom Julian the apostate hath slain, which blasphemeth me and my son. Mercury was a knight, that for the faith of God had been slain of Julian, and was buried in the same church.

Then anon Mercury with all his arms, that were kept, was present, and at the commandment of the lady he went to battle. St. Basil awoke all affrayed, and went to the tomb where the knight was buried in, and opened the sepulchre, but he found neither body ne arms. Then he demanded of the keeper who had taken away the body. And he sware that in the even tofore it was there.

St. Basil after on the morn returned, and found the body and the armour and the spear all bloody. And anon came one from the battle which said that Julian the apostate and emperor was in the battle, and thither came a knight unknown all armed with his spear, which hardily smote his horse with his spurs and came to Julian the

emperor, and brandished his sword and smote him through the body, and suddenly he departed and never after was seen again.

And yet when he should die he took his hand full of blood and cast it into the air saying: Thou hast vanquished man of Galilee! thou hast overcome!

And in crying thus, miserably he expired, and died in great pain, and was left without sepulture of all his men. And he was flayed of the Persians, and of his skin was made to the king of Persia an undercovering, and thus he died cursedly.

Thus end the Lives of four holy saints every each named Julian, and of one that was a false apostata.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. LUKE THE EVANGELIST

Chapter 156 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Luke was of the nation of Syria, and Antiochian by art of medicine, and after some he was one of seventy-two disciples of our Lord. St. Jerome saith that he was disciple of the apostles and not of our Lord, and the gloss upon the twenty-fifth chapter of the Book of Exodus signifieth that he joined not to our Lord when he preached, but he came to the faith after his resurrection. But it is more to be holden that he was none of the seventy-two disciples, though some hold opinion that he was one.

THE FOUR BEASTS SYMBOLIZING THE EVANGELISTS

But he was of right great perfection of life, and much well ordained as toward God, and as touching his neighbour, as touching himself, and as touching his office. And in sign of these four manners of ordinances he was described to have four faces, that is to wit, the face of a man, the face of a lion, the face of an ox and the face of an eagle, and each of these beasts had four faces and four wings, as it is said in Ezechiel the first chapter. 1

And because it may the better be seen, let us imagine some beast that hath his head four square, and in every square a face, so that the face of a man be tofore, and on the right side the face of the lion, and on the left side the face of the ox, and behind the face of the eagle, and because that the face of the eagle appeared above the other for the length of the neck, therefore it is said that this face was above, and each of these four had four pens. For when every beast was quadrate as we may imagine, in a quadrate be four corners, and every corner was a pen.

By these four beasts, after that saints say, be signified the four evangelists, of whom each of them had four faces in writing, that is to wit, of humanity, of the passion, of the resurrection, and of the divinity.

How be it these things be singularly to singular, for after St. Jerome, Matthew is signified in the man, for he was singularly moved to speak of the humanity of our Lord. Luke was figured in the ox, for he devised about the priesthood of Jesu Christ. Mark was figured in the lion, for he wrote more clearly of the resurrection. For as some say, the fawns of the lion be as they were dead unto the third day, but by the braying of the lion they been raised at the third day, and therefore he began in the cry of predication. John is figured as an eagle, which fleeth highest of the four, for he wrote of the divinity of Jesu Christ. For in him be written four things. He was a man born of the virgin, he was an ox in his passion, a lion in his resurrection, and an eagle in his ascension.

THE FOUR BEASTS AS SYMBOLS OF LUKE HIMSELF

And by these four faces it is well showed that Luke was rightfully ordained in these four manners.

For by the face of a man it is showed that he was rightfully ordained as touching his neighbour, how he ought by reason teach him, draw him by debonairly, and nourish him by liberality, for a man is a beast reasonable, debonair, and liberal.

By the face of an eagle it is showed that he was rightfully ordained as touching God, for in him the eye of understanding beheld God by contemplation, and the eye of his desire was to him by thought or effect, and old age was put away by new conversation. The eagle is of sharp sight, so that he beholdeth well, without moving of his eye, the ray of the sun, and when he is marvellous high in the air he seeth well the small fishes in the sea. He hath also his beak much crooked, so that he is let to take his meat, he sharpeth it and

whetteth it against a stone, and maketh it convenable to the usage of his feeding. And when he is roasted by the hot sun, he throweth himself down by great force into a fountain, and taketh away his old age by the heat of the sun, and changeth his feathers, and taketh away the darkness of his eyes.

By the face of the lion it is showed how he was ordained as touching himself. For he had noblesse by honesty of manners and holy conversation, he had subtlety for to eschew the lying in wait for his enemies, and he had sufferance for to have pity on them that were tormented by affliction. The lion is a noble beast, for he is king of beasts. He is subtle, he defaceth his traces and steps with his tail when he fleeth, so that he shall not be found; he is suffering, for he suffereth the quartan.

By the face of an ox it is showed how he was ordained as touching his office, that was to write the gospel. For he proceeded morally, that is to say by morality, that he began from the nativity and childhood of Jesu Christ, and so proceeded little and little unto his last consummation. He began discreetly, and that was after other two evangelists, that if they had left any thing he should write it, and that which they had sufficiently said he should leave. He was well mannered, that is to say well learned and induced in the sacrifices and works of the temple, as it appeareth in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end. The ox is a moral beast and hath his foot cloven, by which is discretion understood, and it is a beast sacrificeable.

THE RIGHTFUL ORDINANCE OF ST. LUKEÂ□□S LIFE

And truly, how that Luke was ordained in the four things, it is better showed in the ordinance of his life.

As Touching His Ordinance unto God

First, as touching his ordinance unto God. After St. Bernard, he was ordained in three manners, that is by affection and desire, by thought and intention. The affection ought to be holy, the thought

clean, and intention rightful. He had the affection holy, for he was full of the Holy Ghost, like as Jerome saith in his prologue upon Luke: "He went into Bethany full of the Holy Ghost." Secondly, he had a clean thought, for he was a virgin both in body and mind, in which is noted cleanness of thought. Thirdly, he had rightful intention, for in all things that he did he sought the honour of God. And of these two last things it is said in the prologue [of St. Jerome] upon the Acts of the Apostles: "He was without sin and abode in virginity," and this is touching the cleanness of thought. "He loved best to serve our Lord," that is to the honour of our Lord, this is as touching the rightful intention.

As Touching His Ordinance unto Neighbor

Secondly, 2 he was ordained as touching his neighbour. We be ordained to our neighbour when we do that we ought to do. After Richard of St.Victor, there be three things that we owe to our neighbour, that is our power, our knowledge, and our will, and let the fourth be put to, that is all that we may do. Our power in helping him, our knowledge in counselling him, our will in his desires, and our deeds in services.

His Power. As touching to these four, St. Luke was ordained, for he gave first to his neighbour his power in aiding and obsequies, and that appeareth by that he was joined to Paul in his tribulations and would not depart from him, but was helping him in his preachings, like as it is written in the second epistle of Paul in the fourth chapter to Timothy, saying: "Luke is only with me." 7 In that he saith, "only with me," it signifieth that he was a helper, as that he gave to him comfort and aid, and in that he said "only," it signifieth that he joined to him firmly. And he said in the eighth chapter to the II Corinthians: "He is not alone, but he is ordained of the churches to be fellow of our pilgrimage." 4

His Knowledge. Secondly, he gave his knowledge to his neighbour in counsels. He gave then his knowledge to his neighbour when he wrote to his neighbours the doctrine of the apostles, and of the

gospel that he knew. And hereof he beareth himself witness in his prologue; saying: "It is mine advice, and I assent, good Theophilus, to write to thee, right well of the beginning by order, so that thou know the truth of the words of which thou art taught." 5 And it appeareth well that he gave his knowledge in counsels to his neighbours, by the words that Jerome saith in his prologue, that is to wit, that his words be medicine unto a sick soul.

His Will. Thirdly, he gave his will unto the desires of his neighbour, and that appeareth by that, that he desireth that they should have health perdurable, like as Paul saith to the Colossians: "Luke the leech saluteth you," 6 that is to say, "Think ye to have health perdurable, for he desireth it to you."

His Deed. Fourthly, he gave to his neighbour his deed in their services. And it appeareth by that that he supposed that our Lord had been a strange man, and he received him into his house and did to him all the service of charity, for he was fellow to Cleophas when they went to Emmaus, as some say. And Gregory saith in his *Morals* , that Ambrose saith it was another, of whom he nameth the name.

As Touching Ordinance unto Himself

Thirdly, he was well ordained as touching himself. And after St. Bernard, three things there be that ordain a man right well as touching himself, and maketh him holy, that is to live soberly, and rightful labour, and a debonair wit. And after St. Bernard each of these three is divided into three, that is, to live soberly, if we live companionably, continently, and humbly. Rightful work is, if he be rightful, discreet, and fruitful. Rightful by good intention, discreet by measure, and fruitful by edification. The wit is debonair, when our faith feeleth God to be sovereign good, so that by his puissance we believe that our infirmity be holpen by his power, our ignorance be corrected by his wisdom, and that our wickedness be defaced by his bounty.

His Sober Living. And thus saith Bernard: In all these things was St. Luke well ordained. He had, first, sober living in treble manner, for he lived continently. For as St. Jerome witnesseth of him in the prologue upon Luke, he had never wife ne children. He lived companionably, and that is signified of him, where it is said of him and Cleophas in the opinion aforesaid: "Two disciples went that same day," etc. 7 Fellowship is signified in that he saith, "two disciples," that is to say, well mannered. Thirdly he lived humbly, of which humility is showed of that he expressed the name of his fellow Cleophas and spake not of his own name. And after the opinion of some, Luke named not his name for meekness.

His Rightful Work. Secondly, he had rightful work and deed, and his work was rightful by intention, and that is signified in his collect where it is said: *Qui crucis mortificationem jugiter in corpore suo pro tui nominis amore portavit:* he bare in his body mortification of his flesh for the love of thy name. He was discreet by temperance, and therefore he was figured in the form of an ox, which hath the foot cloven, by which the virtue of discretion is expressed; he was also fruitful by edification; he was so fruitful to his neighbours that he was holden most dear of all men, wherefore, *Ad Colossenses quarto,* he was called of the apostle most dearest: "Luke the leech saluteth you." 8

His Debonair Wit. Thirdly, he had a meek wit, for he believed and confessed in his gospel, God to be sovereignly mighty, sovereignly wise, and sovereignly good. Of the two first, it is said in the fourth chapter: "They all were abashed in his doctrine, for the word of him was in his power." 9 And of the third, it appeareth in the eighteenth chapter, where he saith: "There is none good but God alone." 10

As Touching His Office

Fourthly, and last, he was right well ordained as touching his office, the which was to write the gospel, and in this appeareth that he was ordained because that the said gospel is ennoblished with much truth, it is full of much profit, it is embellished with much honesty and

authorised by great authority.

The Truth of Lukeâ□□s Gospel. It is first ennoblished with much truth. For there be three truths, that is of life, of righteousness, and of doctrine. Truth of life is concordance of the hand to the tongue, truth of righteousness is concordance of the sentence to the cause, and truth of doctrine is concordance of the thing to the understanding, and the gospel is ennoblished by this treble verity and this treble verity is showed in the gospel.

For Luke showeth that Jesu Christ had in him this treble verity, and that he taught it to others, and showeth that God had this truth by the witness of his adversaries. And that saith he in the twenty seventh chapter: "Master, we know well that thou art true, and teachest and sayest rightfully that is the verity of the doctrine, but thou teachest in truth the way of God," 11 that is the truth of life, for good life is the way of God.

Secondly, he showeth in his gospel that Jesu Christ taught this treble truth. First, he taught the truth of life, the which is in keeping the commandments of God, whereof it is said: "Thou shalt love thy Lord God, do that and thou shalt live." 12 And when a Pharisee demanded our Lord, "What shall I do for to possess the everlasting life?" 13 He said: "Knowest thou not the commandments? Thou shalt not slay, thou shalt do no theft, ne thou shalt do no adultery?" 14 Secondly, there is taught the verity of doctrine, wherefore he said to some that perverted this truth, the eleventh chapter: "Woe be to you Pharisees, that tithe the people," et cetera, "and pass over the judgment and charity of God." 15 Also in the same: "Woe be to you wise men of law, which have taken the key of science." 16

Thirdly, is taught the truth of righteousness, where it is said: "Yield ye that longeth to the emperor, and that ye owe to God, to God." 17 And he saith the nineteenth chapter: "They that be my enemies and will not that I reign upon them, bring them hither and slay them tofore me." 18 And he saith in the thirteenth chapter, where he speaketh of the doom, that he shall say to them that be reproved:

"Depart from me, ye that have done wickedness." 19

The Profit of Lukeâ□□s Gospel. Secondly, his gospel is full of much profit, whereof Paul and himself write that he was a leech or a physician, wherefore in his gospel it is signified that he made ready for us medicine most profitable. There is treble medicine, curing, preserving, and amending. And this treble medicine showeth St. Luke in his gospel that the leech celestial hath made ready.

The medicine curing is that which cureth the malady, and that is penance, which taketh away all maladies spiritual. And this medicine saith he that the celestial leech hath made ready for us when he saith: "Heal ye them that be contrite of heart, and preach ye to the caitiffs the remission of sins." 20 And in the fifth chapter he saith: "I am not come to call the just and true men, but the sinners to penance." 21

The medicine amending is that which encreaseth health, and that is the observation of counsel, for good counsel maketh a man better and more perfect. This medicine showeth us the heavenly leech when he saith in the eighteenth chapter: "Sell all that ever thou hast and give to poor men." 22

The medicine preservative is that which preserveth from falling, and this is the eschewing of the occasions to sin, and from evil company. And this medicine showeth to us the heavenly leech when he saith in the twelfth chapter: "Keep you from the meat of the Pharisees," 23 and there he teacheth us to eschew the company of shrews and evil men.

Or it may be said that the said gospel is replenished with much profit, because that all virtue is contained therein. And hereof saith St. Ambrose:

Luke compriseth in his gospel all the virtues of wisdom in history, he enseigned the nativity when he showed the incarnation of our Lord to have been made of the Holy Ghost. But David enseigned natural

wisdom when he said: Send out the Holy Ghost, and they shall be created, and when he enseigned darkness made in the time of the passion of Jesu Christ, and trembling of the earth, and the sun had withdrawn her light and rays. And he taught morality when he taught manners in his blessedness. He taught reasonable things when he said: He that is true in little things, he is true in great things. And without this treble wisdom, the mystery of the Trinity, ne of our faith, may not be, that is to wit, wisdom natural, reasonable, and moral.

And this is that St. Ambrose saith.

The Honesty of Lukeâ□□s Gospel. Thirdly, his gospel is embellished and made fair with much honesty, so that the style and manner of speaking is much honest and fair. And three things be convenient to this, that some men hold in his dictes honesty and beauty, the which St. Austin teacheth, that is to wit, that it please, that it appear and move. That it please, he ought to speak ornately; that it appear, that he ought to speak appertly; that it move, that he speak fervently.

And this manner had Lucas in writing and in preaching. Of the two first it is said in the eighth chapter of the II Corinthians: "We sent with him a brother," the gloss Barnabas or Luke, "of whom the praising is in all churches of the gospel." 24 In this that he said the praising of him, is signified that he spake ornately; in this that he said in all churches, it is signified that he spake appertly. And that he spake fervently it appeared when he said: "Was not then our heart burning within us in the love of Jesu when he spake with us in the way?" 25

The Authority of Lukeâ□□s Gospel. Fourthly, his gospel is authorised by authority of many saints.

What marvel was it though it were authorised of many, when it was authorised first of the Father? Whereof St. Jeremiah 26 saith in the thirty-first chapter: "Lo, the days shall come, our Lord saith: I shall make a new covenant with the house of Israel and of Judah, not

after the covenant that I made with their fathers, but this shall be the covenant, saith our Lord: I shall give my law into the bowels of them." 27 And he speaketh plainly to the letter of doctrine of the Gospel.

Secondly, it is enforced of the Son, for he saith in the same gospel, the one-and-twentieth chapter: "Heaven and earth shall pass and my word shall not perish." 28

Thirdly, he is inspired of the Holy Ghost, whereof St. Jerome saith in his prologue upon Luke: "He wrote this gospel in the parts of Achaia by the admonishment of the Holy Ghost."

Fourthly, he was tofore figured of the angels, for he was prefigured of the same angel of whom the apostle saith in the fourteenth chapter of the Apocalypse: "I saw the angel flying by the midst of heaven, and had the gospel perdurable. 29 This is said perdurable, for it is made perdurable, that is, of Jesu Christ.

Fifthly, the gospel was pronounced of the prophets, that Ezechiel the prophet pronounced tofore this gospel, when he said that one of these beasts should have the face of an ox, wherefore the gospel of St. Luke is signified as it is said tofore. 30 And when Ezechiel said in the second chapter that he had seen the book that was written without and within, in which was written the lamentation song, 31 by this book is understood the gospel of Luke that is written within for to hide the mystery of profoundness, and without for the showing of the history. In which also be contained the lamentation of the passion, the joy of the resurrection, and the woe of the eternal damnation as it appeareth the eleventh chapter, where many woes be put.

Sixthly, the gospel was showed of the virgin. For the blessed Virgin Mary kept and heled diligently all these things in her heart, as it is said, *Luce secundo* 32 , to the end that she should afterward show them to the writers, as the gloss saith, that all things that were done and said of our Lord Jesu Christ she knew and retained them in her

mind. So that when she was required of the writers or of the preachers of the *incarnatio* and of all other things, she might express them sufficiently, like as it was done and were in deed.

Wherefore St. Bernard assigned the reason why the angel of our Lord showed to the blessed Virgin the conceiving of Elizabeth. The conceiving of Elizabeth was showed to Mary because of the coming, now of our Saviour, and now of his messenger that came tofore him.

The cause why she retained the ordinance of these things was because that she might the better show to writers and preachers the truth of the gospel. This is she that fully from the beginning was instructed of the celestial mysteries, and it is to be believed that the evangelists enquired of her many things, and she certified them truly. And specially that the blessed Luke had recourse to her like as to the ark of the Testament, and was certified of her many things, and especially of such things as appertained to her, as of the salutation of the angel Gabriel, of the nativity of Jesu Christ, and of such other things as Luke speaketh only.

Seventhly, the gospel was showed of the apostles. For Luke had not been with Christ in all his acts and miracles, therefore he wrote his gospel after that the apostles that had been present showed and reported to him, like as he showeth in his prologue, saying: "Like as they that had seen him from the beginning, and had been ministers with him and heard his words, informed and told to me." 33

And because it is accustomed in double manner to bear witness, it is of things seen and of things heard therefore saith St. Austin: "Our Lord would have two witnesses of things seen, they were John and Matthew, and two of things heard, and they were Mark and Luke. And because that the witness of things seen be more firm and more certain than of things heard, therefore," saith St. Austin, "the two gospels that be of things seen be set first and last, and the others, that be of hearing, be set in the middle, like as they were the stronger and more certain of, and by the other twain."

Eighthly, this gospel is marvellously approved of St. Paul, when he bringeth the gospel of Luke to the confirmation of his sayings and dictes, whereof St. Jerome saith in the *Book of Noble Men* , that some men have suspicion that always when St. Paul saith in his epistles: *Secundum Evangelium meum* , that is, after my gospel, that is signified the volume of Luke. And he approved his gospel when he wrote of him (*Secundo ad Corintheos octavo*): Of whom the laud and praising is in the gospel in all the church.

A MIRACLE OF ST. LUKE

It is read in the history of Antioch that the Christian men were besieged of a great multitude of Turks, and did to them many mischiefs, and were tormented with hunger and ill hap. But when they were plainly converted to our Lord by penance, a man full of clearness in white vestment appeared to a man that woke in the church of our Lady at Tripoli, and when he demanded him who he was, he said that he was Luke that came from Antioch, where our Lord had assembled the chivalry of heaven and his apostles for to fight for his pilgrims against the Turks. Then the Christian men enhardened themselves and discomfited all the host of the Turks.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. MARK THE EVANGELIST

Chapter 59 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Mark the Evangelist was of the kindred of the Levites, and was a priest. And when he was christened he was godson of St. Peter the apostle, and therefore he went with him to Rome. When St. Peter preached there the gospel, the good people of Rome prayed St. Mark that he would put the gospel in writing, like as St. Peter had preached. Then he at their request wrote and showed it to his master St. Peter to examine; and when St. Peter had examined it, and saw that it contained the very truth, he approved it and commanded that it should be read at Rome.

THE MISSION TO AQUILEIA

And then St. Peter seeing St. Mark constant in the faith, he sent him into Aquilegia for to preach the faith of Jesu Christ, where he preached the word of God, and did many miracles, and converted innumerable multitudes of people to the faith of Christ. And wrote also to them the gospel, like as he did to them of Rome, which is in to this day kept in the church of Aquilegia, and with great devotion kept.

After this it happed that St. Mark led with him to Rome a burgess of that same city whom he had converted to the faith, named Ermagoras, brought him to St. Peter, and prayed him that he would sacre him bishop of Aquilegia, and so he did. Then this Ermagoras, when he was bishop, he governed much holily the church, and at the last the paynims martyred him.

ST. MARK IN ALEXANDRIA

Then St. Peter sent St. Mark into Alexandria, whereas he preached first the word of God, and as soon as he was entered a great multitude of people assembled for to come against him. There was he of so great perfection that by his predication and by his good example, the people mounted in so holy conversation and in so great devotion that, at his instance they led their life like monks.

He was of so great humility that he did cut off his thumb because he would be no priest, for he judged himself not worthy thereto; but the ordinance of God and of St. Peter came against his will, for St. Peter made and sacred him bishop of Alexandria.

St. Mark and Anian the Shoemaker

And anon, as he came into Alexandria, his shoes were broken and torn; when he saw that he said: Verily I see that my journey is sped, ne the devil may not let me sith that God hath assoiled me of my sins.

Then went St. Mark to a shoemaker for to amend his shoes, and as he would work he pricked and sore hurted his left hand with his awl, and when he felt him hurt he cried on high: One God!

When St. Mark heard that he said to him: Now know I well that God hath made my journey prosperous.

Then he took a little clay and spittle and meddled them together and laid it on the wound, and anon he was whole. When the shoemaker saw this miracle he brought him into his house and demanded him what he was, and from whence he came. Then said St. Mark that he was the servant of Jesu Christ, and he said, "I would fain see him." Then said St. Mark, "I shall show him to thee." Then he began to preach to him the faith of Jesu Christ, and after baptized him and all his meiny.

When the men of the town heard say that there was a man come from Galilee, that despised and defended the sacrifices of idols,

they began await how they might deliver him to death. When St. Mark espied that, he made his shoemaker, which was named Anian, bishop of Alexandria, and he himself went to Pentapolin whereas he was two years, and after, came again to Alexandria and found then there the town full of Christian men, and the bishops of the idols awaited for to take him.

The Martyrdom of St. Mark

Now it happened on Easter day, when St. Mark sang mass, they assembled all and put a cord about his neck, and after, drew him throughout the city, and said, "Let us draw the bubale to the place of bucale." And the blood ran upon the stones, and his flesh was torn piecemeal that it lay upon the pavement all bebled.

After this they put him in prison, where an angel came and comforted him, and after came our Lord for to visit and comfort him, saying: *Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus,* Peace be to thee Mark, mine Evangelist! be not in doubt, for I am with thee and shall deliver thee.

And on the morn they put the cord about his neck and drew him like as they had done tofore and cried: Draw the bubale, and when they had drawn he thanked God and said: Into thy hands Lord, I commend my spirit, and he thus saying died.

Then the paynims would have burnt his body, but the air began suddenly to change and to hail, lighten and thunder, in such wise that every man enforced him to flee, and left there the holy body alone. Then came the Christian men and bare it away, and buried it in the church, with great joy, honour, and reverence. This was in the year of our Lord fifty-seven, in the time that Nero was emperor.

THE TRANSLATION OF ST. MARKÂ□□S BODY TO VENICE

And it happed in the year of grace four hundred and sixty-six in the time of Leo the emperor, that the Venetians translated the body of St. Mark from Alexandria to Venice in this manner. There were two

merchants of Venice did so much, what by prayer and by their gifts, to two priests that kept the body of St. Mark, that they suffered it to be borne secretly and privily unto their ship. And as they took it out of the tomb, there was so sweet an odour throughout all the city of Alexandria that all the people marvelled, ne knew not from whence it came. Then the merchants brought it to the ship, and after, hasted the mariners and let the other ships have knowledge thereof. Then there was one man in another ship that japed, and said: Ween ye to carry away the body of St. Mark? Nay, ye lead with you an Egyptian.

Then anon, after this word, the ship wherein the holy body was, turned lightly after him, and so rudely boarded the ship of him that had said that word, that he brake one of the sides of the ship, and would never leave it in peace till they had confessed that the body of St. Mark was in the ship, that done, she held her still.

Thus as they sailed fast they took none heed, and the air began to wax dark and thick, that they wist not where they were. Then appeared St. Mark unto a monk, to whom the body of St. Mark was delivered to keep, and bade him anon to strike their sails for they were nigh land, and he did so, and anon they found land in an isle. And by all the rivages whereas they passed, it was said to them that they were well happy that they led so noble a treasure as the body of St. Mark, and prayed them that they would let them worship it.

Yet there was a mariner that might not believe that it was the body of St. Mark, but the devil entered into him, and tormented him so long that he could not be delivered till he was brought to the holy body; and as soon as he confessed that it was the body of St. Mark, he was delivered of the wicked spirit, and ever after he had great devotion to St. Mark.

It happed after, that the body of St. Mark was closed in a pillar of marble, and right few people knew thereof because it should be secretly kept. Then it happed that they that knew thereof died, and there was none that knew where this great treasure might be, wherefore the clerks and the lay people were greatly discomforted

and wept for sorrow, and doubted much that it had been stolen away. Then made they solemn processions and litanies, and the people began to fast and be in prayers, and all suddenly the stones opened and showed to all the people the place and stead where the holy body rested. Then rendered they thankings to God of this, that he had relieved them of their sorrow and anguish, and ordained that on that day they shall hold feast alway for this devout revelation.

MIRACLES OF ST. MARK

The Young Man and the Ship in Peril

A young man on a time had a cancer in his breast, and worms ate it which were come of rotting, and as he was thus tormented he prayed with good heart to St. Mark, and required him of help and aid, and after, he slept. And that same time appeared to him St. Mark in form of a pilgrim, tucked and made ready for to go hastily over sea; and when he demanded him what he was, he answered that he was St. Mark, which went hastily for to succour a ship which is in peril.

Then he stretched and laid his hand on him, and anon as he awoke he found himself all whole. Anon after, this ship came unto the port of Venice, and the mariners told the peril where they had been in, and how St. Mark had holpen them.

Then for that one miracle and for that other the people rendered thankings to our Lord.

The Conversion of the Saracen Sailor

The merchants of Venice went on a time by the sea in a ship of Saracens towards Alexandria; and when they saw them in peril, they hewed the cords of the ship, and anon the ship began to break by the force of the sea. And all the Saracens that were therein fell in the sea, and died that one after the other. Then one of the Saracens made his avow to St. Mark and promised him that if he delivered him from this peril he would be baptized.

Anon a man all shining appeared to him, which took him out of the water and remitted him again into the ship, and anon the tempest ceased.

When he was come into Alexandria he remembered no thing St. Mark, which had delivered him from peril, he went not to visit him, ne he did him not do be baptized. Then appeared to him St. Mark, and said to him that he remembered evil the bounty that he did to him when he delivered him from the peril of the sea.

And anon the Saracen came again to his conscience, and he went to Venice, and was there baptized and named Mark, and believed perfectly in God, and ended his life in good works.

The Man Fallen from St. Markâ□□s Steeple

There was a man gone up in the steeple of St. Mark at Venice; and as he intended for to do a work, he was troubled in such wise that he fell, and was like to have been all to-broken in his members, nevertheless in his falling he cried: St. Mark! and anon he rested upon a branch that sprang out, whereof he took none heed, and after, one raught and let him down a cord, by which he avaled down and was saved.

The Angry Master

There was a gentleman of Provence which had a servant that would fain go on pilgrimage to St. Mark, but he could get no licence of his lord. At last he doubted not to anger his lord, but went thither much devoutly.

And when his lord knew it he bare it much grievously, and as soon as he was come again his lord commanded that his eyes should be put out; and the other servants that were ready to do the lord's will made ready sharp brochets of iron, and enforced them with all their power and might not do it.

Then commanded the lord to hew off his thighs with axes, but anon the iron was as soft as molten lead.

Then commanded he to break his teeth with iron hammers, but the iron thereof was so soft that they could do him no harm.

Then when the lord saw the virtue of God so openly by the miracles of St. Mark, he demanded pardon and went to Venice, to St. Mark, with his servant.

A Knightâ□□s Hand is Healed

There was a knight on a time so hurt in battle that his hand hung on the arm in such wise that his friends and surgeons counselled him to cut it off, but he, that was accustomed to be whole, was ashamed to be maimed, and made it to be bound in his place, and after he called much devoutly to St. Mark, and anon his hand was as whole as it had been tofore, and in the witness of this miracle a sign of the cutting abode still.

A Knight Saved from Deep Water

Another time there was a knight armed which ran upon a bridge, and his horse and he fell in a deep water, and when he saw he might not escape he cried on St. Mark, and anon he raught him a spear by which he was saved, and for this cause he came anon in pilgrimage to Venice and told this miracle.

A Man Delivered from Prison

There was a man taken, by envy of them that hated him, and was put in prison, and when he had been there forty days, and was much grieved, he cried on St. Mark. And when St. Mark had appeared thrice he supposed that it had been a fantasy. At the last he felt his irons broken, as it had been a rotten thread, and passed by the keepers of the prison openly by day, he seeing them all, but none of them saw him, and after, came to the church of St. Mark and thanked God devoutly.

A Famine in Apulia

It happed in Apulia was great famine, and the land was barren that nothing might grow thereon. Then was it showed by revelation to a holy man that it was because that they hallowed not the feast of St. Mark; and when they knew this, anon they hallowed the feast of St. Mark, and anon began to grow great plenty of goods throughout all the country.

The Dying Friar

It happed at Papia, in the convent of the friars preachers, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and forty-one, that a friar, a much religious man, was sick unto the death, named Julianus, which sent for his prior for to demand him in what state he was in, and he told him that he was in peril of death, and that it approached fast.

And anon his face was all bright and joyful, and with gladness be began to say: fair brethren, my soul shall depart anon, make room and place, for my soul joyeth in my body for the good tidings that I have heard.

And lift up his eyes unto heaven and said: Lord God, take away my soul out of this prison; and after he said: Alas! who shall deliver me from this corrupt and mortal body?

Among these words he fell in a light sleep, and saw St. Mark come to him and standing by his bedside, and he heard a voice saying to him: "O Mark, what makest thou here?" He answered that he was come to visit this friar because he should die. Then he demanded him wherefore he came more than another saint. He answered, "because he had a special devotion to me, and because he hath oft devoutly visited my church, and therefore am I come to visit him in the hour of his death."

Then entered into that place great plenty of people all white, to

whom St. Mark demanded wherefore they were come. And they said and answered that they were come for to present the soul of this brother tofore God. And when the friar was waked he sent for the prior and told to him advisedly all this vision, and after, anon, in the presence of the prior, he died with great joy.

And all this the prior recounted to him that wrote this book named *Legenda Aurea* .

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. MARTIN

Chapter 166 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Martin was born in the castle of Sabaria in the country of Pannonia, but he was nourished in Italy at Pavia with his father, which was master and tribune of the knights under Constantian and Julian Cæsar. And Martin rode with him, but not with his will. For from his young infancy he was inspired divinely of God, and when he was twelve years old he fled to the church against the will of all his kin, and required to be made new in the faith. And from thence he would have entered into desert, if infirmity of malady had not let him. And as the emperors had ordained that the sons of ancient knights should ride instead of their fathers, and Martin, which was fifteen years old, was commanded to do the same, and was made knight, and was content with one servant, and yet ofttimes Martin would serve him and draw off his boots.

THE POOR MAN ALL NAKED

In a winter time as Martin passed by the gate of Amiens, he met a poor man all naked, to whom no man gave any alms. Then Martin drew out his sword and carved his mantle therewith in two pieces in the middle, and gave that one half to the poor man, for he had nothing else to give to him, and he clad himself with that other half.

THE DREAM OF ST. MARTIN

The next night following, he saw our Lord Jesu Christ in heaven clothed with that part that he had given to the poor man, and said to the angels that were about him: Martin, yet new in the faith, hath covered me with this vesture. Of which thing this holy man was not enhanced in vain glory, but he knew thereby the bounty of God.

HE IS BAPTIZED

And when he was eighteen years of age he did do baptize himself, and promised that he should renounce the dignity to be judge of the knights, and also the world, if his time of his provostry were accomplished.

"PROTECTED AND KEPT BY THE SIGN OF THE CROSS"

Then held he yet chivalry two years. And in the meanwhile the barbarians entered among the Frenchmen, and Julian Cæsar, which should have fought against them, gave great money unto the knights. And Martin willing no more to fight, refused his gift, but said to Cæsar: I am a knight of Jesu Christ, it appertaineth not to me for to fight.

Then Julian was wroth, and said that it was not for the grace of religion that he renounced chivalry, but for fear and dread of the present battle following. To whom Martin, not being afeard, said to him: Because that thou holdest it for cowardice, and that I have not done it for good faith, I shall be to-morn all unarmed tofore the battle, and shall be protected and kept by the sign of the cross, and not by shield ne by helm, and shall pass through the battles of the enemies surely.

And then he was commanded to be kept for to be on the morn all unarmed against the enemies. But on the morn the enemies sent messengers that they would yield them and their goods, whereof it is no doubt but that by the merits of this holy man that this victory was had without shedding of blood.

ST. MARTIN AND THE THIEVES

And then forthon he left chivalry and went to St. Hilary, bishop of Poictiers and he made him acolyte. And he was warned of our Lord in his sleep that he should yet visit his father and mother which yet were paynims, and also that he should suffer many tribulations. For as he went over the mountains he fell among thieves. And when

one of the thieves had lifted up an axe for to have smitten him in the head, he bare the stroke with his right hand, and then that other took his hands and bound them behind him at his back, and delivered him to another to hold him. And it was asked of him if he were afraid or doubted. To whom Martin answered that he was never tofore so sure, for he knew well that the mercy of God was ready and would come in temptations, and then began to preach to the thief and converted him to the faith of Jesu Christ; and then the thief brought Martin forth on his way, and afterward lived a good life.

VISIT TO HIS PARENTS

And when he was past Milan, the devil appeared to him in a man's likeness, and demanded him whither he went. And he said: Thither whereas our Lord would that he should go.

And the devil said to him: Wheresoever thou goest the devil shall always be against thee.

And Martin answered to him: Our Lord is mine helper, and therefore I doubt nothing that may be done to me, and then anon the fiend vanished away. Then he went home and converted his mother, but his father abode still in his error.

ST. MARTIN IS EXILED BY THE ARIAN HERETICS

And when the heresy Arian grew in the world, he was beaten openly and put out of the city, and came to Milan, and did do make there a monastery, but he was cast out of the Arians, and went with one priest only into the isle of Gallinaria and there took for his meat, herbs. And among others he took a herb envenomed, which was named hellebore. And when he felt that he should die and was in peril, he chased away the pain and peril of the venom by the virtue of prayer.

TWO DEAD MEN RECALLED TO LIFE

And then he heard that the blessed Hilary returned from his exile, and went to meet him, and ordained a monastery by Poictiers.

And there was one renewed in the faith which he had in keeping. And when he went a little out and came again, he found him dead without baptism. And then he went into his cell and brought the corpse thither, and there kneeled by the corpse, and by his orisons he remised him in his life again. And as that same [man] rehearseth oft, that when the sentence was given against him, he was put in a dark place, and two angels said to the Judge: "This is he for whom Martin is pledge," and then he [the Judge] commanded that he should be removed unto his body, and so was yielded alive to Martin.

And also he re-established the life to another that was hanged.

CHOSEN BISHOP BY THE PEOPLE OF TOURS

And truly, when the people of Tours had no bishop, they required strongly him to be their bishop, and he refused it. But there was one which was to him contrary because he was of evil habit and despicable of cheer, and one there was among the other which was named Defensor. And when the lector was not present, another took the psalter and read the first psalm that he found, in which psalm was written this verse: *Ex ore infantium,* "God, thou hast performed the laud by the mouth of children and young suckers, and for thine enemies thou shalt destroy the enemy defensor." 1 And thus that Defensor was chased out of the town by all the people.

And then he was ordained bishop. And because he might not suffer the tumult ne noise of the people, he established a monastery at two leagues from the city, and there lived in great abstinence with four score disciples, of whom divers cities chose of them to be their bishops.

ST. MARTIN EXPOSES THE FALSE MARTYR

And there was a corpse in a chapel which was worshipped as a martyr, and St. Martin could find nothing of his life ne of his merits. He came on a day on the sepulchre of him, and prayed unto our Lord that he would show to him what he was, and of what merit. And then he turned him on the left side and saw there a right obscure and a dark shadow. Then St. Martin conjured him, and demanded him what he was. And he said to him that he was a thief, and that for his wickedness was slain. Anon then St. Martin commanded that the altar should be destroyed.

ST. MARTIN HAS HIS WAY WITH THE EMPEROR VALENTINIAN

It is read in the Dialogue of Severus and Gallus, 2 disciples of St. Martin, that there be many things left out in the life of St. Martin which be accomplished in the said Dialogue. So on a time St. Martin went to Valentinian the emperor for a certain necessity, and the emperor knew well that he would require such thing as he would not give to him, and Martin came twice to have entered, but he might not enter. Then he wrapped him in hair and cast ashes on him, and made his flesh lean of a whole week by fastings, and did great abstinence, and then the angel warned him to go to the palace and no man should gainsay him. And then he went to the emperor, and when he saw him he was angry because he was let come in, and would not arise against him till that the fire entered into his chamber, and felt the fire behind him. Then he arose all angry and confessed that he had felt the virtue divine, and began to embrace St. Martin, and granted to him all that he desired, and offered to him many gifts, but he refused and took none.

A CHILD RECALLED TO LIFE

And in this Dialogue it is read how he raised the third dead person. For when a youngling was dead, his mother prayed St. Martin, with weeping tears, for to raise him to life. And he kneeled down and made his prayer, and the child arose tofore them all. And all the paynims that saw this converted them to the faith of Jesu Christ.

ST. MARTINÂ□□S POWER OVER THE NATURAL WORLD

And all things obeyed to this holy man, as well things not sensible as vegetative, and not reasonable, as things insensible, as the fire and water.

For when he had commanded to set fire in a temple, the flame was brought with the wind upon a house that was joining. And he mounted upon the house and set himself against the fire, and anon the flame returned against the might of the wind, so that there was seen the fighting of the elements.

And when a ship should have perished in the sea, there was therein a merchant which was not Christian, and escried and said: "God of St. Martin help us!" And anon the tempest ceased, and the sea became all still and even.

And also to him obeyed things vegetative as trees, for he destroyed in a place right old trees. And there was a tree of a pine, which was dedicated to the devil, he would have razed down that tree, and the villains and paynims withsaid him so that one of them said to him: If thou hast affiance in thy God, we shall hew down this tree, and thou shalt receive it. And if thy God be with thee as thou sayest, thou shalt escape. And he granted it, and then the tree was hewn and bounden for to fall upon him. And when it should fall he made the sign of the cross against it, and it fell on that other side and slew almost all the villains that were there, and then the others were converted to the faith when they had seen this miracle.

And many beasts not reasonable obeyed to him, like as it is said in the Dialogue: Hounds followed a hare, and he commanded them to leave to follow him, and anon they tarried, and abode still, like as they had been overcome. A serpent passed over a river, and St. Martin said to the serpent, "I command thee in the name of God that thou return anon." And the serpent returned by the words of St. Martin, and went to that other side, and then St. Martin said, all weeping, "The serpents understand me well, and the men will not hear me."

On a time as a hound barked on one of the disciples of St. Martin, the disciple returned and said to the hound: I command thee in the name of St. Martin that thou hold thy peace, and anon the hound was all still as his tongue had been cut off.

EXAMPLES OF ST. MARTINÂ□□S HUMILITY, DIGNITY, AND PITY

He Kisses The Foul Leper

The blessed St. Martin was of great humility; for he met at Paris a foul leper, horrible to all men, and he kissed him and blessed him, and anon he was all whole. When he was secretly in the revestiary he had no chair, ne no man never saw him in the church sit, but in his cell he sat upon a threefoot stool.

He is Visited By Apostles and Saints

He was of much great dignity, for he was like unto the apostles, and that was by the grace of the Holy Ghost that descended in him in the likeness of fire, like as he descended in the apostles, and the apostles visited him, as he had been seen one of them.

And as it is read in the Dialogue that, he sat on a time alone in his cell, and Severus and Gallus abode him without the gates, the which were smitten suddenly with great fear, for they heard divers people speak together within the cell, and then they told it to St. Martin. And St. Martin said: I will tell it to you, but I pray you to tell it to nobody, Agnes, Thecla and Mary came to me.

And he confessed that they had oft visited him, and also Peter and Paul were come oft and visited him.

A Snub for the Emperor

And he was of great humility, for when the emperor Maximian had on a time bidden him to a feast, the drink was brought to Martin for to drink, and each man weened that he would have given after to

the king, but he gave it to his priest, for he wist well that there was none worthy to drink tofore the priest, and judged in himself that it was not a thing worthy if he had given it to the king or his neighbours tofore the priest.

His Patience

He was of much great patience, for he kept so great patience that he that was sovereign priest was oft-time hurt of his clerks without punishing them, ne therefore put he them not out of charity. Never man saw him angry, ne never man saw him weep, ne laugh, ne never was in his mouth but Jesu Christ, ne in his heart but pity, peace and mercy.

It is read in the same Dialogue that St. Martin was clad with a bright clothing, blue, and with a great coarse mantle hanging here and there upon him, and rode upon his ass. And horses that came against him were afeard of him in such wise that they that rode on them fell down to the earth. And then they took Martin and beat him grievously.

And he, saying nothing, suffered gladly the strokes. And they enforced them to beat him the more, and him seemed that he felt no harm, ne set not by the strokes, ne was not moved ne angry with them.

And then they returned to their horses, whom they found lying fast to the ground, and they might no more move them than a rock till they returned to St. Martin, and confessed their sin and trespass that they had so done by ignorance, and prayed him to pardon them and to give them licence to depart. And so he did, and then the beasts arose and went forth their way a good pace.

His Great Business in Prayers

He was of great business in prayers, for there was never hour ne moment, as it is said in his legend, but that he prayed or else went to his lesson. For he never ceased but he read or prayed in his

courage. For like as it is custom to the smiths that work in iron, that otherwhile when they smite the iron, for to allege and ease them of their labour, they smite on the stithie or anvil, in like wise St. Martin always when he laboured or did anything he prayed continually. He was alway of great cruelty toward himself, and hard and sharp.

He Refuses the Bed of Straw

Severus saith in an epistle unto Eusebius, that on a time when he came into a place of his diocese, the clerks had made ready for him a bed full of straw. And when he lay thereon, he target doubted that it was softer than it was which he was woned to lie on, for he was accustomed to lie on the bare ground, and but one coverlet of hair upon his bed. And then he, being angry, arose and threw away the straw, and laid him down on the bare ground. And about mid-night all that straw was set afire. Martin arose and supposed to have escaped and might not, for he was so environed with fire that his clothes burned. And then he returned to his prayers accustomed, and made the sign of the cross, and abode in the middle of the fire without any touching of it, and felt the flames well-smelling and sweetly, which he had tofore found evil burning. And then the monks were all moved, and ran thither, and found St. Martin in the middle of the flames without hurt. And they had supposed that he had been all destroyed and burnt with the fire.

His Pity for the Penitent and for the Poor

He was much piteous against them that would be repentant and be penitent; them would he receive into the bosom of pity. And when the devil reproved this holy man St. Martin because he received to penance them that had once fallen, and St. Martin answered to him: If thou, most cursed wretch, wouldst leave to torment the people and repent thee of thy cursed deeds, I would trust so much in our Lord that he would give to thee his mercy.

He was much piteous unto the poor people. It is read in the said Dialogue that the blessed St. Martin went on a time to the church, and a poor man followed him, and St. Martin commanded his

archdeacon that he should go clothe this poor man. And when he saw he tarried over long to clothe him, he entered into the sacristy and did off his own coat, and gave it to the poor man, and commanded that he should go his way anon.

And when the archdeacon warned him to go to do the service, Martin said that he might not go till the poor man were clothed, and meant himself. But he [the archdeacon] understood him not. For he saw him clothed and covered with his cope, and wist not that he was naked under, and therefore he rought not of the poor man.

And then he [Martin] said to him: Why bring ye nothing for the poor man? Bring ye me then a vesture and let me be clothed for the poor man.

And then he [the archdeacon] being constrained went to the market and bought a vile coat and a shirt for five pence, which was worth nought, and came and angrily threw it down at his feet. And St. Martin took it up, and clad him withal secretly, and the sleeves came to his elbows and the length was but to his knees, and so went to sing the mass. And as he sang mass a great light of fire descended upon his head, and was seen of many that were there, and therefore he is said like and equal to the apostles.

And to this miracle addeth Master John Beleth that, when he lifted up his hands at the mass, as it is of custom, the sleeves of the alb slid down unto his elbows. For his arms were not great ne fleshly, and the sleeves of his coat came but to his elbows, so that his arms abode all naked. Then were brought to him by miracle sleeves of gold and full of precious stones, of angels, which covered his arms convenably.

He saw on a time a sheep shorn and said: This hath accomplished the commandment of the gospel, for he had two coats, and hath given to him that had none, and thus, said he, ye ought to do.

Power to Chase Away the Devils

He was of great power to chase away the devils, for he put them out ofttimes from divers people. It is read in the same Dialogue that a cow was tormented of the devil and was wood and confounded much people. And as St. Martin and his fellowship should make a voyage this wood cow ran against them. And St. Martin lifted up his hand and commanded her to tarry, and she abode still without moving. Then St. Martin saw the devil which sat upon the back of the cow, and blamed him, and said to him: Depart thou from this mortal beast, and leave to torment this beast that noyeth nothing.

And anon he [the devil] departed. And the cow kneeled down to the feet of this holy man, and at his commandment she returned to her company full meekly.

He was of much great subtlety for to know the devils, they could not be hid from him, for in what place they put themselves in, he saw them. For sometime they showed them to him in the form of Juplter or of Mercury, and otherwhile they transfigured them in likeness of Venus or of Minerva, whom every each he knew, and blamed them by name.

It happed on a day that the devil appeared to him in the form of a king, in purple, and a crown on his head, with hosen and shoes gilt, with an amiable mouth and glad cheer and visage. And when they were both still a while, the devil said: Martin, know thou whom thou worshippest? I am Christ that am descended into earth, and will first show me to thee.

And as St. Martin all admarvelled, said nothing, yet the devil said to him: Wherefore doubtest thou, Martin, to believe me when thou seest that I am Christ?

And then Martin, blessed of the Holy Ghost, said: Our Lord Jesu Christ saith not that he shall come in purple ne with a crown resplendent. I shall never believe that Jesu Christ shall come but if it be in habit and form such as he suffered death in, and that the sign of the cross be borne tofore him.

And with that word he vanished away, and all the hall was filled with stench.

THE END OF ST. MARTINÂ□□S LIFE

St. Martin knew his death long time tofore his departing, the which he showed to his brethren.

The Lesson of the Water Birds

And whiles he visited the diocese of Toul for cause to appease discord that was there. And as he went he saw in a water birds that plunged in the water, which awaited and espied fishes and ate them, and then he said: In this manner devils espy fools. They espy them that be not ware; they take them that know not, but be ignorant, and devour them that be taken. And they may not be fulfilled ne satiate with them that they devour.

And then he commanded them to leave the water, and that they should go into desert countries, and they assembled them and went into the woods and mountains.

St. Martinâ□□s Death

And then he abode a little in that diocese, and began to wax feeble in his body and said to his disciples that he should depart and be dissolved. Then they all weeping said: Father, wherefore leavest thou us, or to whom shalt thou leave us all desolate and discomforted? The ravishing wolves shall assail thy flock, and beasts.

And he then, moved with their weepings, wept also, and prayed, saying: Lord if I be yet necessary to thy people I refuse nothing the labour, thy will be fulfilled.

He doubted what he might best do, for he would not gladly leave them, ne he would not long be departed from Jesu Christ. And when

he had a little while been tormented with the fevers and his disciples prayed him, whereas he lay in the ashes, dust and hair, that they might lay some straw in his couch where he lay, he said: It appertaineth not but that a Christian man should die in hair and in ashes, and if I should give to you another ensample I myself should sin.

And he had his hands and his eyes towards the heaven, and his spirit was not loosed from prayer. And as he lay towards his brethren, he prayed that they would remove a little his body, and he said: Brethren, let me behold more the heaven than the earth, so that the spirit may address him to our Lord.

And this saying he saw the devil that was there, and St. Martin said to him: Wherefore standest thou here, thou cruel beast? Thou shalt find in me nothing sinful ne mortal, the bosom of Abraham shall receive me.

And with this word he rendered and gave up unto our Lord his spirit, in the year of our Lord three hundred four score and eighteen, and the year of his life eighty-one. And his cheer shone as it had been glorified, and the voice of angels was heard singing of many that were there.

His Body is Returned to Tours

And they of Poictiers assembled at his death as well as they of Tours and there was great altercation. For the Poictevins said, "He is our monk, we require to have him," and the others said, "He was taken from you and given to us." And at midnight all the Poictevins slept, and they of Tours put him out of the window, and was borne with great joy and had over the water of Loire by a boat unto the city of Tours.

Severus Hears the Angels Sing

And as Severus, bishop of Cologne, on a Sunday after Matins, visited and went about the holy places, the same hour that St.

Martin departed out of this world, he heard the angels singing in heaven. Then he called his archdeacon and demanded him if he heard anything, and he said: Nay. And the bishop bade him to hearken diligently, and he began to stretch forth his neck and address his ears and leaned upon his staff. Then the bishop put himself to prayer for him. Then he said that he heard voices in heaven, to whom the bishop said: It is my Lord, St. Martin, which is departed out of the world, and the angels bear him now into heaven. And the devils were at his passing, but they found nothing in him and went away all confused.

And the archdeacon marked the day and the hour, and knew verily after, that St. Martin passed out of this world that same time. And Severus, the monk which wrote his life, as he slept a little after Matins, like as he witnesseth in his epistle, St. Martin appeared to him clad in an alb, his cheer clear, the eyes sparkling, his hair purple, holding a book in his right hand, which the said Severus had written of his life, and when he had given him his blessing, he saw him mount up into heaven. And as he coveted for to have gone with him, he awoke, and anon the messengers came, which said that that same time St. Martin departed out of this world.

St. Ambrose in a Vision Says the Office for the Dead

And in the same day St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, sang mass, and slept upon the altar between the lesson of the prophecy and the epistle, and none durst wake him, and the subdeacon durst not read the epistle without his leave. And when he had slept the space of three hours they awoke him, and said: Sire, the hour is passed and the people be weary for to abide, wherefore command that the clerk read the epistle.

And he said to them: Be not angry. Martin my brother is passed unto God, and I have done the office of his departing and burying, and I could no sooner accomplish ne make an end of the last orison because ye hasted me so sore.

Then they marked the day and the hour, and they found that St. Martin was then passed out of this world and gone to heaven.

MIRACLES OF ST. MARTIN

Master John Beleth saith that kings of France were wont to bear his cope [in Latin, *cappa*] in battle, and because they kept this cope they were called chaplains [*cappelani*].

And after his death three score and four years, when St. Perpetua had enlarged his church, and would transport the body of St. Martin therein, they were in fastings and vigils once, twice, thrice, and they might not move the sepulchre. And as they would have lifted it, a right fair old man appeared to them and said: Wherefore tarry ye, see ye not that St. Martin is all ready to help you if ye set to your hands with him?

And then anon they lifted up the sepulchre and brought it to the place whereas he is now worshipped, and then anon this old man vanished away.

This translation was made in the month of July. And it is said that there were then two fellows, one lame and that other was blind, the lame taught the blind man the way, and the blind bare the lame man, and thus gat they much money by truandise, and they heard say that many sick men were healed when the body of St. Martin was borne out of the church on procession. And they were afraid lest the body should be brought tofore their house, and that peradventure they might be healed, which in no wise they would not be, for if they were healed, they should not get so much money by truandise as they did. And therefore they fled from that place and went to another church whereas they supposed that the body should not come. And as they fled they encountered and met the holy body suddenly, unpurveyed. And because God giveth many benefits to men not desired, and that would not have them, they were both healed against their will, and were right sorry therefor.

And St. Ambrose saith thus of St. Martin:

He destroyed the temple of the cursed error, he raised the banners of pity, he raised dead men, he cast devils out of bodies in which they were, and alleged by remedy of health them that travailed in divers maladies and sicknesses. And he was found so perfect that he clad Jesu Christ instead of a poor man, and the vesture that the poor man had taken, the Lord of all the world clad him withal. That was a good largess that divinity covered. O glorious vesture and inestimable gift, that clothed and covered both the knight and the king. This was a gift that no man may praise, of which he deserved to clothe the deity. Lord, thou gavest to him worthily the reward of thy confession, thou puttedst under him worthily the cruelty of the Arians, and he worthily for the love of martyrdom never dreaded the torments of the persecutors. What shall he receive for the oblation of his body, that for the quantity of a little vesture, which was but half a mantle, deserved to clothe and cover God and also to see him? And he gave such great medicine to them that trusted in God that some he healed by his prayers and others by his commandments.

Then let us pray to St. Martin, et cetera.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE HISTORY OF NOAH [WHICH IS READ IN THE CHURCH ON] THE FIRST SUNDAY IN SEXAGESIMA

For his 1483 translation and expansion of the Golden Legend, William Caxton drew this story from an earlier English translation. It is not in the 13th-century Latin original. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

NOAHÂ□□S ANCESTORS AND CHILDREN

After that Adam was dead, died Eve and was buried by him. At the beginning, in the first age, the people lived long. Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years, and Methuselah lived nine hundred and sixty-nine years. St. Jerome saith that he died the same year that the flood was. Then Noah was the tenth from Adam in the generation of Seth, in whom the first age was ended. The seventy interpreters say that this first age dured two thousand two hundred and forty-four years. St. Jerome saith not fully two thousand, and Methodius full two thousand, etc. Noah then was a man perfect and righteous and kept God's commandment. And when he was five hundred years old, he gat Shem, Ham, and Japhet.

THE SINFULNESS OF NOAHÂ□□S CONTEMPORARIES

This time men began to multiply on the earth, and the children of God, that is to say of Seth, as religious, saw the daughters of men, that is to say of Cain, and were overcome by concupiscence and took them to their wives. This time was so much sin on the earth in the sin of lechery, which was misused against nature, wherefore God was displeased and determined in his prescience to destroy man that he had made, and said, "I shall put man away that I have made, and my spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for he is flesh." As who said, "I shall not punish man perpetually as I do the devil,

for man is frail, and yet ere I shall destroy him I shall give him space and time of repentance and to amend him, if he wild. The time of repentance shall be one hundred and twenty years." Then Noah, righteous and perfect, walked with God, that is in his laws, and the earth was corrupt by sin and filled.

GOD COMMANDS NOAH TO BUILD THE ARK

When God saw the earth to be corrupt, and that every man was corrupt by sin upon the earth, he said to Noah: The end of all people is come tofore me except them that shall be saved, and the earth is replenished with their wickedness. I shall destroy them with the earth (*id est* , with the fertility of the earth). Make to thee an ark of tree, hewn, polished, and squared. And make there divers places, and lime it with clay and pitch within and without, that is to wit with glue which is so fervent that the timber may not be loosed. And thou shalt make it three hundred cubits of length, fifty in breadth, and thirty of height. And make therein divers distinctions of places and chambers and of wardrobes.

And the ark had a door for to enter in and come out, and a window was made thereon which that the Hebrews say was of crystal. This ark was on making, from the beginning that God commanded first to make it, one hundred and twenty years.

In which time Noah oft desired the people to leave their sin, and how he had spoken with God, and that he was commanded to make the ship, for God should destroy them for their sin, but if they left it. And they mocked him and said that he raved and was a fool, and gave no faith to his saying and continued in their sin and wickedness.

Then, when the ark was perfectly made, God bade him to take into it of all the beasts of the earth, and also of the fowls of the air, of each two, male and female, that they may live. And also of all the meats of the earth that be comestible, "that they may serve and feed thee and them." And Noah did all that our Lord commanded

him.

Then said our Lord to Noah: Enter thou and all thy household into the ark, that is to say thou and thy wife and thy three sons and their three wives. I have seen that thou art rightful in this generation. Of all beasts that be clean thou shalt take seven, and of unclean beasts but only two. And of the birds seven and seven, male and female, that they may be saved on the face of the earth. Yet after seven days I shall rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights, and shall destroy all the substance that I made on the earth.

And Noah did all things that our Lord commanded him. He was six hundred years old when the flood began on the earth. And then Noah entered in and his sons, his wife, and the wives of his sons, all into the ark to eschew the waters of the flood. Of all the beasts and the fowls, and of all that moved and had life on earth, male and female, Noah took in to him as our Lord had bidden.

THE GREAT FLOOD

And seven days after they were entered, the water began to increase. The wells of the abysms were broken, and the cataracts of heaven were opened, that is to say the clouds, and it rained on the earth forty days and forty nights. And the ark was elevate and borne upon the waters on height above the mountains and hills, for the water was grown higher fifteen cubits above all the mountains, that it should purge and wash the filth of the air.

Then was consumed all that was on the earth living, man, woman, and beast and birds. And all that ever bare life, so that nothing abode upon the earth, for the water was fifteen cubits above the highest mountain of the earth. And when Noah was entered he shut the door fast without forth, and limed it with glue. And so the waters abode elevate in height an hundred and fifty days from the day that Noah entered in.

And our Lord then remembered Noah and all them that were in the

ark with him, and also on the beasts and fowls, and ceased the waters. And the wells and cataracts were closed, and the rains were prohibited, and forbidden to rain no more. The seventh month, the twenty-seventh day of the month, the ark rested on the hills of Armenia. The tenth month, of the first day of the month, the tops of the hills appeared first.

THE RAVEN AND THE DOVE

After these forty days after the lessing of the waters, Noah opened the window and desired sore to have tidings of ceasing of the flood. And sent out a raven for to have tidings, and when he was gone he returned no more again, for peradventure she found some dead carrion of a beast swimming on the water, and lighted thereon to feed her and was left there.

After this he sent out a dove which flew out, and when she could find no place to rest ne set her foot on, she returned unto Noah and he took her in. Yet then were not the tops of the hills bare. And seven days after he sent her out again, which at even returned, bearing a branch of an olive tree, burgeoning, in her mouth. And after other seven days he sent her again, which came no more again.

NOAH AND HIS FAMILY LEAVE THE ARK

Then in the year of Noah six hundred and one, the first day of the month, Noah opened the covering of the ark and saw that the earth was dry, but he durst not go out, but abode the commandment of our Lord. The second month, the twenty-seventh day of the month, our Lord said to Noah: Go out of the ark, thou and thy wife, thy sons and the wives of thy sons. He commanded them to go conjointly out which disjointly entered, and let go out with them all the beasts and fowls living, and all the reptiles, every each after his kind and gender, to whom our Lord said: Grow ye and multiply upon the earth.

GODÂ□□S COVENANT WITH NOAH

Then Noah issued out and his wife, and his sons with their wives, and all the beasts, the same day a year after they entered in, every one after his gender. Noah then edified an altar to our Lord and took of all the beasts that were clean and offered sacrifice unto our Lord; and our Lord smelled the sweetness of the sacrifice and said to Noah: From henceforth I shall not curse the earth for man, for he is prone and ready to fall from the beginning of his youth. I shall no more destroy man by such vengeance.

And then our Lord blessed them and said: Grow ye and multiply the earth and be ye lords of all the beasts of the earth, of the fowls of the air, and of the fishes. I have given all things to you, but eat no flesh with the blood. I command you to slay no man, nor to shed no man's blood. I have made man after mine image. Whosomever sheddeth his brother's blood, his blood shall be shed. Go ye forth and grow and multiply and fill the earth.

This said our Lord to Noah and his sons: Lo, I have made a covenant with you and with them that shall come after you, that I shall no more bring such a flood to slay all people, and in token thereof I have set my rainbow in the clouds of heaven: for who that trespasseth I shall do justice otherwise on him.

Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. From the time of Adam until after Noah's flood, the time and season was alway green and tempered; and all that time men ate no flesh, for the herbs and fruits were then of great strength and effect, they were pure and nourishing. But after the flood the earth was weaker and brought not forth so good fruit, wherefore flesh was ordained to be eaten. And then Noah began to labour for his livelihood with his sons, and began to till the earth, to destroy briars and thorns and to plant vines.

HAM LAUGHS AT HIS FATHER AND IS CURSED

And so on a time Noah had drunk so much of the wine that he was drunk, and lay and slept, and his privy member lay bare and open.

Ham, his middlest son espied it, and laughed and scorned his father, and called his brethren to see, which came backward for to cover their father, and would not look on it, and rebuked Ham of his folly and sin. And when Noah was covered with the mantle, anon he awoke, and when he understood how Ham his son had scorned him, he cursed him and also his son Canaan, and blessed Shem and Japhet because they covered him.

All the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years and then he died. And after his death his sons dealed all the world between them, Shem had all Asia, Ham Africa, and Japhet all Europe. Thus was it departed. Asia is the best part and is as much as the other two, and that is in the east. Africa is the south part, and therein is Carthage and many rich countries, therein be blue and black men. Ham had that to his part of Africa. The third part is Europe which is in the north and west, therein is Greece, Rome and Germany. In Europe reigneth now most the Christian law and faith, wherein is many a rich realm. And so was the world departed to the three sons of Noah.

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THE PASSION OF OUR LORD

Chapter 53 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Some lacunae in the text have been filled in with quotations from Ryan .

The passion of our Lord was bitter for the sorrow that he suffered in derisions despitous and of many filths fructuous. The sorrow was cause of five things.

THE FIVE CAUSES OF OUR LORDÂ□□S SORROW

The Shamefulness of the Crucifixion

The first, because it was shameful, for the place of the Mount of Calvary, whereas malefactors and criminal persons were put to execution, and he was there put to death right foul. The cross was the torment of thieves, and if the cross was then of shame and of villainy, she is now of glory and of honour.

Wherefore saith St. Austin: *Crux latronum qui erat supplicium,* etc. The cross which was the justice of thieves is now become the sign of glory in the foreheads or fronts of emperors. And if he had such honour at his torment, what did he to his servant for the shameful fellowships that he did to him?

For he was set with malefactors, but the one of them was converted, which was called Dismas, like as it said in the Gospel of Nicodemus. And he was on the right side of our Lord, and that other on the left side was damned, which was called Gesmas. So that one then he gave the realm of heaven, and to that other hell.

Whereof saith St. Ambrose: *Auctor pietatis in cruce, etc.* He saith the author of pity hanging on the cross divided offices of pity in secular errands; that is to say, the persecution to the apostles, peace to his disciples, his body to the Jews, his spirit to the Father, to the Virgin the messages of the wedding of the sovereign spouse, to the thief paradise, to sinners hell, and to [the] Christian penitent he commanded the cross. Lo! this is the testament that Jesu Christ made hanging on the cross.

The Injustice of The Crucifixion

Secondly, the sorrow was caused unjustly, for none iniquity was found in him. And principally, unjustly they accused him of three things. The first was they said that he defended to pay the trewage; and for he said that he was a king; and he said him to be the Son of God.

And against these three accusations we say on the Good Friday three excusations in the person of Jesu Christ when we sing: *Popule meus,* where Jesu Christ reproved them of three benefits that he did and gave to them, that is to wit the deliverance of them from Egypt, the sustentation and governance in the desert, and the plantation of the vine in a land propice. Like as Jesu Christ would say: Thou accuses me because that I defend to pay thy trewage, and thou oughtest more to thank me of that I have delivered thee from the trewage and from the servitude of Pharaoh and of Egypt; thou accusest me that I call myself King, and thou oughtest better to yield me thankings of that which I governed thee in the desert with meat royal; thou accusest me of this that I say me to be the Son of God, and thou oughtest more to thank me that I have chosen thee to be in my vineyard, and in a right good place I have planted thee.

Being Forsaken by His Friends

The third cause is because he was despised and forsaken of his friends, which seemed a thing more tolerable to be suffered of his enemies than of them whom he held to be his friends. And alway he suffered death for his friends and neighbours, that is of them of

whose lineage he was born. This said he by the mouth of David: *Amici mei et proximi, etc.:* My friends and my neighbours have approached against me and so have continued. Whereof said Job, *capitulo xix* , *Noti mei quasi alieni recesserunt a me:* My neighbours that knew me, as strangers have left me. Item, he suffered of them to whom he had done much good. Like as St. John recordeth, *Johannis viii:* I have wrought many good things to you. And hereto saith St. Bernard: O good Jesus, how sweetly hast thou conversed with men, and how great things in the most abundant wise hast thou granted to them. How hard and sharp things hast thou suffered for them, hard words, harder strokes and beatings, and most hard torments of the cross, nevertheless they render and yield to thee contrary.

The Tenderness of His Body

The fourth cause is for the tenderness of his body. Whereof David saith in figure of him in the second book of Kings: He is like as that most tender worm of the wood.

Whereof saith St. Bernard: O ye Jews, ye be stones, but ye smite a better stone, whereof resoundeth the sound of pity and boileth the oil of charity.

And St. Jerome saith: He is delivered to knights for to be beaten, and their beatings have cruelly wounded and torn the most precious body, in whose breast the Godhead was hid.

The Pain to All His Body

The fifth cause was because it was general, for it was over all, that is to say over all his body, and in all the natural wits of his body.

And first the sorrow was in his eyes, for he wept tenderly as St. Paul saith in his Epistle *ad Hebreos* . Twice he ascended on high that he might be far heard. He cried strongly because none should be excused. He added thereto weeping that we should have compassion, and to tender our hearts, and he had wept tofore two

times also. One time when he raised Lazarus, and that other time when he approached Jerusalem he wept. The first tears were of love, whereof is said in the Gospel: Behold how he loved him! The second were of compassion upon Jerusalem. But in this third weeping the tears were of sorrow.

Secondly, the sorrow was in hearing with his ears the reproofs and villanies that was said to him and blasphemed. Jesu Christ in especial had four things in which he heard blasphemy and reproofs, for he had right excellent noblesse. As to the nature divine, he was son of the King, perpetual sovereign, and as to the nature human he was born of the lineage royal. And as to this he was also King of Kings and Lord of Lords. He was also sovereign truth. For he is the way, the life, and the truth. Whereof he said himself: Thy word is truth. The Son of God, that is the word of God the Father, he hath also sovereign power above all other. For none may surmount him, for all things been made by him and nought is made without him. He hath also singular bounty, for there is none good of himself but God only.

And in these four things here, Jesu Christ had opprobriums and blasphemies. First as to his noblesse, [they asked, "Is not this the carpenterâ□□s son? Is not his mother called Mary?" His power was derided: "It is only by Beelzebul, the prince of demons, that this man casts out demons" and "He saved others, he cannot save himself." They said he was powerless though he showed power enough to strike down his persecutors solely by the sound of his voice. When he asked: "Whom do you seek?" and they said: "Jesus of Nazareth," Jesus answered: "I told you that I am he," and they fell to the ground at once. Augustine: "He struck at this hate-ridden, fearfully armed mob with no weapon but a word; he repulsed them, laid them low by the power of his hidden divinity. What will he, who did this when about to be judged, do when he comes to judge? What will he who was about to die be able to do when he assumes his reign?"]

[His truth was denied: "You are bearing witness to yourself; your

testimony is not true." So they called him a liar, whereas he was the way, the truth, and the life. Pilate did not deserve to know or hear this truth, because he was not judging Christ according to the truth. He did begin his judging on the basis of truth, but he did not abide by the truth; therefore he was worthy to raise the question about truth, but not to hear the solution.] St. Austin saith that he abode not the solution, because that so soon as he had made the question it came in his thought that the custom was of the Jews that one should be delivered to them at Paske. And therefore he went out anon and abode not the solution. The third cause is after St. John Chrysostom: For the question was [of] so great difficulty, that he had need of long time to advise and to discuss it. And he laboured for the deliverance of Jesu Christ, and therefore he issued out anon. Nevertheless it is read in the Gospel of Nicodemus that Jesu Christ answered: *Veritas de celo est.* And Pilate said: "In earth is no truth?" And Jesus said to him: "How may be truth in earth which in earth is judged of them that have power in earth?"

Fourthly, he suffered blasphemy as to his bounty and goodness. For they said that he was a man sinner and deceiver in his words, Luke xxiii: He hath moved the common people with his doctrine, in beginning from Galilee, hither, and hath broken the commandments of the law, for he keepeth not the Sabbath day, *Johannis nono* .

Thirdly, the sorrow was in smelling of ordure and filth. For he might smell great stench on the Mount of Calvary whereas were the bodies of dead men stinking, whereof is said in *Scholastica Historia* that Calvary is the bone of the head all bare. And because that many were there beheaded, and many skulls of heads were there sparteled all openly, they said that it was the place of Calvary.

Fourthly the sorrow in tasting, whereof he cried: *Sitio!* I am athirst! There was given to him vinegar meddled with myrrh and gall, to the end that he should the sooner die, and the keepers might the sooner depart and go thence. For it is said by vinegar men die much soone. And with this also they gave to him myrrh for to have the more pain, for the bitterness of the myrrh and of the gall. Whereof

saith St. Austin: His purity was fulfilled with vinegar instead of wine, his sweetness with gall; the innocent is set for guilty, and the life dieth for death.

Fifthly, the sorrow was in touching, for in all the parts of his body he was touched and wounded, from the plant of his foot unto the top of his head was none whole place.

And how he suffered sorrow in all his natural wits St. Bernard telleth, that saith: The head that made angels to tremble is pierced and pricked with the quality of sharp thorns. The visage which was most fair of all other members is fouled by spit, and hurt with the thorns of the Jews. The eyes more shining than the sun be extinct in the death. The ears hear not the song of the angels but the assaults of the sinners. The mouth that teacheth and enseigneth the angels, is made drink vinegar and gall. The feet, of whom the steps be worshipped, be attached with nails to the cross. The hands that formed the heavens be stretched on the cross, and nailed with nails. The body is beaten, the side is pierced with a spear, and what more may be said? There abode nothing save the tongue for to pray for the sinners, and for to recommend his mother to his disciple.

THE MOCKERIES THAT JESUS SUFFERED

Secondly, his passion was despised of mockeries and derisions of the Jews. For four times he was mocked.

At the House of Ananias

First, at the house of Ananias where he received spittings, buffets and blindfolding, of the Jews. Whereof St. Bernard saith: Right sweet and good Jesus thy desirous visage which angels desire to see, the Jews with their spittings have defiled, with their hands have smitten, with a veil fortorn they have covered, nor they have not spared to hurt it with bitter wounds.

In the House of Herod

Secondly, he was mocked in the house of Herod, which reputed him for a fool, and aliened from his wit, because he might have of him none answer. And by derision he was clad with a white vesture.

Whereof saith St. Bernard: *Tu es homo, etc.* – He saith thus: Thou art a man and hast a chaplet of flowers, and I am God and have a chaplet of thorns. Thou hast gloves on thine hands, and I have the nails fixed in my hands. Thou dancest in white vestures, and I God am mocked and vilipended, and in the house of Herod had received a white vesture. Thou dancest and playest with thy feet, and I with my feet have laboured in great pain. Thou liftest up thine arms in joy, and I have stretched them in great reproof. Thou stretchest out thine arms across in caroling and gladness, and I stretch mine in the cross in great opprobrium and villainy. Thou hast thy side and thy breast open in sign of vain glory, and I have mine opened with a spear. Nevertheless return to me and I shall receive thee.

But why and wherefore Jesus in the time of his passion before Herod Pilate and the Jews was thus still and spake not, there be three reasons and causes. The first was because they were not worthy to hear his answer. The second was because Eve sinned by speaking, and Jesus would make satisfaction by being still and not speaking. The third is because that all that ever he answered, they perverted it.

In the House of Pilate

Thirdly, Jesus was mocked in the house of Pilate. For they clad him with a red mantle, and in his hand they took him a reed, and set upon his head a crown of thorns, and kneeled on their knees before him saying: Hail, King of the Jews. This crown was of jonkes of the sea. And we hold and say that the blood sprang out of his head. Whereof saith St. Bernard: *Caput illud divinum, etc.* The head precious and divine was pierced with thorns unto the brain of the soul.

There be three opinions in what place principally the soul hath her

place; or in the heart, for the scripture saith, out of the heart come the evil thoughts; or in the blood, because the scripture saith, the soul of every one is in the blood; or in the head, because the Evangelist saith: When he inclineth his head he rendered his spirit. And this treble opinion it seemeth that the Jews had known, for when they would make the soul issue out of the body, they sought it in the head, when they thrust the thorns to the brain. They sought it in the blood when they opened his veins in the feet and hands. And they sought it in the heart when they pierced his side.

Against these three illusions, on Good Friday, before the cross is showed, we make three adorations in saying: Agios, O Theos, Yskyros *, etc.,* in honouring him three times, like as he was for us mocked and scorned on the cross.

On the Cross

Fourthly, he was scorned on the cross. The princes of the priests with the old men and masters of the law, clerks and doctors, said to him: If he be King of Israel, let him descend from the cross now to the end that we believe in him. Whereof saith St. Bernard: In that Jesus showed the more great virtue of patience, he commanded humility, he accomplished obedience, he performed charity. And in sign of these four virtues the four corners of the cross be adorned with precious gems and stones. And in the most apparent place is charity, and on the right side is obedience, and on the left side is patience, and beneath is humility, the root of all virtues.

And all these things that Jesu Christ suffered, St. Bernard gathereth together saying: I shall, said he, as long as I shall live remember the labours that he had in preaching, of the travails that he had in going from one place to another by land, and from city to city, of his wakings in praying, of his temptations in fasting, of his weepings and tears in having compassion, of the awaitings on him in speaking, in assaying him and tempting. And at last of the villanies of the spittings, of the mockeries, of the opprobriums and of the nails.

THE GOOD EFFECTS OF HIS PASSION

Thirdly, his passion was profitable and fructuous: the which may be profitable in three manners. That is to wit in remission of sin, in gifts of grace, and in demonstration of glory. And these three things be showed in the title of the cross. The first is Jesus, the second Nazarenus, and the third Rex Judeorum, for there shall we all be kings.

Of the profit speaketh St. Austin, saying: Our Lord Jesu Christ hath put away the sins past, present, and to come. The sins past in pardoning them; the present in withdrawing men from them; them to come in giving grace to eschew the sins. Yet the same doctor saith thus: We ought to praise and to thank, to love and to honour him; for by the death of our Saviour and Redeemer we be brought to life, from corruption to incorruption, from exile unto our country, from weeping to joy we be called again.

And how well the manner of our redemption was profitable it appeareth by five reasons. That is to wit, because it was right acceptable to appease God, right helping to save us, right effectual to draw to him the human lineage, right wise to fight against the enemy of human lineage, and to reconcile us to God.

It Was Right Acceptable to Appease God

For after this that St. Anselm saith: There is nothing more sharp ne more strong that a man may suffer by his proper will, without it be of God, than to suffer death with his own proper will for the honour of God. Ne no man may better give to God to his honour than give himself to death for him.

And this is that the apostle saith *ad Ephesios v:* Our Lord hath given himself in to oblation and sacrifice for us in to the odour of sweetness to God the Father.

And how he was sacrificed that was in us appeasing God, St. Austin

in the book of the Trinity saith thus: What thing may be more graciously and pleasantly received than the flesh of our sacrifice, which was made the precious body of our priest. Therefore four things ought to be considered in all sacrifice: First, him to whom it is offered, that which is offered, him that offereth, and him for who the offering is offered. He himself is the moyen of both two; or that is to say God and man, he was himself that did offer, and he was himself that was offered. And the same doctor saith yet of this sacrifice, how we be to God reconciled: Jesu Christ is the priest and the sacrifice, he is God and also he is the temple, he is the priest by whom we be reconciled, God, to whom we be reconciled, and the temple in whom we be reconciled, the sacrifice of whom we be reconciled.

And St. Austin saith, considering them that despise this reconciliation, and set nought thereby, he saith in the person of Jesu Christ in reproving them: When thou wert enemy to my Father I have reconciled thee; when thou wert far I bought thee again; when thou wert taken I came for to redeem thee; when among the mountains and the forests thou wert out of the way, I sought thee, to the end that of the wolves nor of the evil beasts thou wert not eaten nor all to-torn; I gathered thee and bare thee in mine arms and delivered thee to my Father. I laboured, I sweat, I put mine head against the thorns, stretched mine hands unto the nails, opened my side to the spear, have shed my blood, and have given over my soul and life for to join thee to me, and thou hast departed thyself from me.

It Was Right Helping to Save Us

Secondly, Jesu Christ was right convenable and necessary for to save us, and to heal and cure us of our malady and sickness, for because of the time and of the place and of the manner of the time, as it appeareth.

For Adam was made and sinned in the month of March, and on the Friday, which is the sixth day of the week, and therefore God in the month of March, and on the Friday would suffer death, and at

midday which is the sixth hour.

Secondly, for the place of his passion, the which might be considered in three manners. For one place either it is common or especial or singular. The place common where he suffered was the land of promise; the place especial, the mount of Calvary; The place singular, the cross. In the [common place the first man was formed, because it is said that he was formed] in a field about or nigh Damascus. Where it is said, in a place special, he was there buried. For right in the place where Jesu Christ suffered death, it is said that Adam was buried. (How well that this is not authentic, for St. Jerome saith that Adam was buried in Hebron. And also in the book of Josuah is written the xiv chapter. In a place singular he was deceived, that is to wit in the tree, not in this on which Jesus suffered death, but in another tree.)

Thirdly, he was right convenable because of the curing, the which by manner was semblable to the prevarication by like and contrary. For thus as saith St. Austin in the book, *De doctrina christiana:* By a woman he was deceived, and by a woman he was born a man, and the man delivered the men. One mortal delivered the mortal, and the death by his death. And St. Ambrose saith: Adam was of the earth a virgin; Jesu Christ was born of the virgin; Adam was made to the image of God; Jesus was the image of God; by a woman folly was showed; by a woman wisdom was born. Adam was naked; Jesu Christ naked. The death came by the tree, the life by the cross. Adam in desert, and Jesus in desert, but by the contrary.

For after St. Gregory: Adam sinned by pride, by disobedience and by gluttony, for he coveted the highness of God. For the serpent said to them, ye shall be semblable to God, he brake the covenant of God, and desired and coveted the sweetness of the fruit by gluttony. And because the manner of the Saviour ought to be by the contrary, therefore this manner was right convenable by the humiliation, by the fulfilling and affliction, or of the divine volenty. And hereof saith the apostle *ad Philippenses; Humiliavit se ipsum.*

It Was Right Effectual to Draw to Him the Human Lineage

Thirdly, Jesus was right profitable to draw to him the human lineage. For one of the world, his free will saved, might never have drawn mankind to his love.

And how he draweth us to his love St. Bernard saith:

> Above all things O good Jesu give me grace to love thee. And by this thing he drew us most to his love. That is the chalice good Lord that thou hast drunken, which was the work our of redemption. This chalice is thy passion, which lightly may appropre our love to thee. This is that draweth most pleasantly our devotion, and justly raiseth it, and soonest straineth and most vehemently taketh our affection. And where thou lamentest, and thereas thou undress yourself of thy rays natural, there shineth most thy pity; there is most clear thy charity, and there aboundeth most thy grace.

And how also we ought to return to the affiance of him St. Paul saith, *ad Romanos viii:* He spared not his own Son, but for us all he delivered him.

Therefore St. Bernard saith: "Who is he that is not ravished to hope of affiance which taketh none heed to the disposition of his body? He hath his head inclined to be kissed, the arms stretched to embrace us, his hands pierced to give to us, the side open to love us, the feet fixed with nails for to abide with us, and the body stretched all for to give to us."

It Was Right Wise to Fight Against the Enemy of Human Lineage

Fourthly, he was right wise and well advised for to fight against the enemy of the human lineage. Job xxvi.: His wisdom hath smitten the proud man, and after, may ye not take the fiend with an hook? Jesu Christ hath hid the hook of his divinity under the meat of our humanity, and the fiend would take the meat of the flesh, and was

taken with the hook of the Godhead.

Of this wise taking, saith St. Austin, "Our Redemption is come and the deceiver is vanquished. And what did our Redemptor? He laid out his bait to our deceiver and adversary; he hath set forth his cross; and within he hath set his meat, that is his blood." For he would shed his blood not as a debtor, and therefore, he departed from the debtors. And this debt here the apostle calleth *chirographe* or obligation, the which Jesu Christ bare and attached it to the Cross.

Of which Saint Austin saith: Eve took of the fiend sin by borrowing by usury, and wrote an obligation. She laid it for pledge, and the usury is augmented, and grew unto all the remnant of the lineage. Then took Eve of the fiend sin, when against the commandment she consented to him. She wrote the obligation when she put her hand to the tree against the defence of God. She delivered pledge when she made Adam to consent to the sin, and thus the usury grew and augmented unto the remainder of all the lineage.

Against them that reck nothing of this redemption Saint Bernard saith in the person of Jesu Christ:

> My people, saith Jesu, what might I have done for thee that I have not done to thee? What cause is there that ye serve sooner the devil, our adversary, than me? For he hath not created ne hath nourished you. But this seemeth a little thing to them that be full of ingratitude. I have redeemed you and not he, and for what price? Not with gold ne silver, ne of the sun, ne of the moon, ne with any of the angels, but with my proper blood. And after consider, if of right for so many benefits ye ought to choose to have my company. And if ye will all leave me, at the least come with me for to win a penny a day.

HOW JUDAS, THE JEWS, AND PILATE WERE PUNISHED

And because they delivered Jesu Christ to death, that is to wit Judas for avarice, the Jews for envy, and Pilate for dread. And therefore it is to see what pain was delivered to them of God for this sin.

But of the pain and of the birth of Judas thou shalt find in the legend of St. Matthew, of the pain and ruin of the Jews, in the legend of St. James the Less, and of the pain of Pilate and his birth thou shalt find in one *apocryphum* whereas it is said in this manner:

> There was a king called Tyrus which knew carnally a maid called Pilam, which was daughter of a miller named Atus. And of this daughter he engendered a son. She took her name and the name of her father, which was called Atus, and composed thus of their names one name to her son, and named him Pilatus. And when he was three years old she sent him to the king. And the king had a son of the queen, which seemed to be of the age of Pilate. And these two sons when they were of age of discretion, oft they fought together, and with the sling they played oft. And the king's son also, which was legitimate, was more noble, and in all feats he knew more, and more was set by because of his birth.
>
> And Pilate seeing this was moved of envy and wrath and privily slew his brother. The which thing the king heard say, and was much angry, and demanded of his council what he might do and make of this trespass and homicide. The which all with one voice said that he was worthy to suffer death. And the king would not double the pain and punition, but because he owed to the Romans yearly a tribute, he sent him in hostage to the Romans, as well for to be quit of the death of his son, and that he should not be constrained to put him to death, as well as for to be quit of the tribute that he owed to Rome.
>
> And this time was at Rome one of the sons of the king of France, which was also sent for trewage. And when Pilate saw him, he anon accompanied with him, and saw that he was

praised before him for the wit and for the manners that were in him. Pilate slew him also.

And when the Romans demanded what should be done in this matter, they answered that he which had slain his brother and estranged him that was in hostage, if he might live should be yet much profitable to the common weal, and should daunt the necks of them that were cruel and wood. And then said the Romans, that sith he was worthy to die he should be sent into an isle of the sea named Ponthus, to them that will suffer no judge over them, to the end that his wickedness may overcome and judge them or else that he suffer of them like as he hath deserved.

Then was Pilate sent to this cruel people and wild, which before had slain their judge. And it was told to him to what people he was sent, and that he should consider how his life was hanging, and in great jeopardy. He went considering his life and thought to keep it, and did so much that by menaces and promises to torment as by gifts, that he subdued them all and put them in subjection. And because he had victory of this cruel people, he was named of this Isle of Pontus, Pontius Pilate.

And when Herod heard his iniquities and his frauds he had great joy thereof. And because he was wicked himself, he would have wicked with him, and sent for him by messengers and by promise of gifts that he came to him, and gave him the power upon the realm of Judæa and Jerusalem.

And when he had assembled and gathered together much money, he went to Rome without knowing of Herod, and offered right great sums of money to the Emperor for to get to himself that which Herod so held. And so he got it. And for this cause Herod and Pilate were enemies unto the time of the passion of Jesu Christ, whom Pilate sent to Herod.

Another cause of enmity is assigned in *Scholastica Historia:*

There was one that said himself to be God, and had deceived many of Galilee, and brought the people into Garizim where he said that he would go up to heaven. And Pilate came upon them, and when he had knowledge of the deed he slew him and all his people, because he doubted that he would have deceived them of Judæa. And therefore were they enemies together, for Herod reigned in Galilee.

And when Pilate had delivered Jesu Christ to the Jews for to be crucified he doubted the Emperor that he should be reproved of that which he had judged an innocent, and sent a friend of his for to excuse him. And in this while Tiberius the Emperor fell into a grievous malady. And it was told to him that there was one in Jerusalem that cured all manner maladies. And he knew not that Pilate and the Jews had slain him. He said to Volusian, which was secret with him: Go into the parts over sea, and say to Pilate that he send to me the leech or master in medicine for to heal me of my malady.

And when he was come to Pilate and had said his message, Pilate was much abashed, and demanded fourteen days of dilation, in which time Volusian found an old woman named Veronica which had been familiar and devout with Jesu Christ. He demanded of her where he might find him that he sought. She then escried and said: alas! Lord God, my Lord, my God was he that ye ask for, whom Pilate damned to death, and whom the Jews delivered to Pilate for envy, and commanded that he should be crucified.

Then he complained him sorrowfully, and said: I am sorry because he may not accomplish that which my lord the Emperor hath charged me.

To whom Veronica said: My lord and my master when he went preaching, I absented me oft from him, I did do paint his image, for to have alway with me his presence, because that the figure of his image should give me some solace. And thus as I bare a

linen kerchief in my bosom, our Lord met me, and demanded whither I went, and when I told him whither I went and the cause, he demanded my kerchief, and anon he emprinted his face and figured it therein. And if my lord had beholden the figure of Jesu Christ devoutly he should be anon guerished and healed.

And Volusian asked: Is there neither gold ne silver that this figure may be bought with? She answered: Nay, but strong of courage, devout and of great affection, I shall go with thee and shall bear it to the Emperor for to see it, and after I shall return hither again.

Then went Volusian with Veronica to Rome and said to the Emperor: Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou hast long desired, Pilate and the Jews by envy and with wrong, have put to death, and have hanged him on the cross. And a matron, a widow, is come with me which bringeth the image of Jesus, the which if thou with good heart and devoutly wilt behold, and have therein contemplation, thou shalt anon be whole.

And when the Emperor had heard this, he did anon make ready the way with cloths of silk, and made the image of Jesus to be brought before him. And anon as he had seen it and worshipped it he was all guerished and whole. Then he commanded that Pilate should be taken and brought to Rome.

And when the Emperor heard that Pilate was come to Rome, he was much wroth, and inflamed against him, and bade that he should be brought tofore him. Pilate ware always the garment of our Lord which was without seam, wherewith he was clad when he came before the Emperor. And as soon as the Emperor saw him all his wrath was gone, and the ire out of his heart; he could not say an evil word to him. And in his absence he was sore cruel towards him, and in his presence he was always sweet, and debonair to him, and gave him licence and departed. And anon as he was departed he was as angry

and as sore moved as he was before, and more because he had not showed to him his fury. Then he made him to be called again, and sware he should be dead. And anon as he saw him his cruelty was all gone, whereof was great marvel.

Now was there one by the inspiration of God, or at the persuasion of some Christian man, caused the Emperor to despoil him of that coat. And anon as he had put it off, the Emperor had in his heart as great ire and fury as he had before, wherefore the Emperor marvelled of this coat, and it was told to him that it was the coat of Jesus.

Then the Emperor made Pilate to be set in prison till he had counselled what he should do with him. And sentence was given that he should die a villain's death. And when Pilate heard the sentence, he took a knife and slew himself. And when the Emperor heard how he was dead, he said: Certainly he is dead of a right villainous death and foul, for his own proper hand hath not spared him.

Then his body was taken and bounden to a millstone and cast in the river of Tiber for to be sunken in to the bottom. And the ill spirits in the air began to move great tempests and marvellous waves in the water, and horrible thunder and lightning whereof the people was sore afraid and in great doubt. And therefore the Romans drew out the body and in derision sent it to Vienne and cast it in to the river named Rhone. Vienne is as much to say as hell, which is said Gehenna, for then it was a cursed place, and so there is his body in the place of malediction. And the evil spirits be as well there as in other places, and made such tempests as they did before, insomuch that they of that place might not suffer it.

And therefore they took the vessel wherein the body was, and sent it for to bury it in the territory of the city of Lausanne. The which also was tempested as the other. And it was taken thence and thrown into a deep pit all environed with mountains.

In which place, after the relation of some, be seen illusions, and machinations of fiends be seen grow and boil.

And hitherto is this story called *apocryphum* read. They that have read this, let them say and believe as it shall please them.

Nevertheless in *Scholastica Historia* is read that Pilate was accused before the Emperor Tiberius because he did put to death by violence them that were innocent, by his might; and that maugre the Jews he did images of paynims in the Temple, and that the money put in corbanam he took, and did withal his profit, and was proved in his visage that he made in his house alleys and conduits for water to run in. And for these things he was sent to Lyons in exile for to die among the people of whom he was born.

And this may be well supposed that this history be true. For tofore was the edict given that he should be put in exile to Lyons, and that he was exiled ere Volusian returned to the Emperor. But when the Emperor heard how he had made our Lord Jesu to die he made him from his exile to come to Rome. Eusebius and Bede in their chronicles say not that he was imprisoned and put in exile, but because that he fell in many miseries by despair he slew himself with his own hand.

Golden Legend Table of Contents

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL THE APOSTLE AND DOCTOR

Chapter 90 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

THE PERSECUTIONS OF ST. PAUL

St. Paul the apostle, after his conversion, suffered many persecutions, the which the blessed Hilary rehearseth shortly, saying:

> Paul the apostle was beaten with rods at Philippi, he was put in prison, and by the feet fast set in stocks, he was stoned in Lystra. In Iconia and Thessalonica he was pursued of wicked people. In Ephesus he was delivered to wild beasts. In Damascus he was let by a lepe down of [freed by leaping down from] the wall. In Jerusalem he was arrested, beaten, bound, and awaited to be slain. In Cæsarea he was enclosed and defamed. Sailing towards Italy he was in peril of death, and from thence he came to Rome and was judged under Nero, and there finished his life.

This saith St. Hilary.

HIS MIRACLES

Paul took upon him to be apostle among the Gentiles. In Lystra was a contract which he lost and redressed. A young man that fell out of a window and died, he raised to life, and did many other miracles.

At the Isle of Melita a serpent bit his hand, and hurted him not, and he threw it into the fire. It is said that all they that came of the progeny and lineage of that man that then harboured Paul may in no wise be hurt of no venomous beasts, wherefore when their children be born they put serpents in their cradles for to prove if they be verily their children or no.

In some place it is said that Paul is less than Peter, otherwhile more, and sometimes equal and like, for in dignity he is less, in preaching greater, and in holiness they be equal.

Haymo saith that Paul, from the cock-crow unto the hour of five, he laboured with his hands, and after emended to preaching, and that endured almost to night, the residue of the time was for to eat, sleep, and for prayer, which was necessary.

ST. PAUL IN ROME

He came to Rome when Nero was not fully confirmed in the empire, and Nero hearing that there was disputing and questions made between Paul and the Jews, he, recking not much thereof, suffered Paul to go where he would, and preach freely. Jeronimus in his book, De viris illustribus, [says] that the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, second year of Nero, St. Paul was sent to Rome bound, and two years he was in free keeping and disputed against the Jews, and after, he was let go by Nero, and preached the gospel in the west parts. And the fourteenth year of Nero, the same year and day that Peter was crucified, his head was smitten off. Hæc Jeronimus.

The wisdom and religion of him was published over all, and was reputed marvellous. He get to him many friends in the emperor's house and converted them to the faith of Christ, and some of his writings were recited and read tofore the emperor, and of all men marvellously commended, and the senate understood of him by things of authority.

NERO'S BUTLER WITNESSES TO CHRIST

It happed on a day that Paul preached about evensong time in a loft, a young man named Patroclus, butler of Nero, and with him well-beloved, went for to see the multitude of people, and the better for to hear Paul he went up into a window, and there sleeping, fell down and died, which when Nero heard he was much sorry and

heavy therefor, and anon ordered another in his office.

Paul, knowing hereof by the Holy Ghost, said to them standing by him that they should go and bring to him Patroclus, which was dead, and that the emperor loved so much. Whom when he was brought, he raised to life and sent him with his fellows to the emperor, whom the emperor knew for dead, and, whiles he made lamentation for him, it was told to the emperor that Patroclus was come to the gate. And when he heard that Patroclus was alive he much marvelled, and commanded that he should come in.

To whom Nero said: Patroclus, livest thou?

And he said: Yea, emperor, I live.

And Nero said: Who hath made thee to live again ?

And he said: The Lord Jesu Christ, king of all worlds.

Then Nero being wroth said: Then shall he reign ever and resolve all the royaumes of the world?

To whom Patroclus said: Yea, certainly, emperor.

Then Nero gave to him a buffet, saying: Therefore thou servest him.

And he said: Yea, verily, I serve him that hath raised me from death to life.

Then five of the ministers of Nero, that assisted him, said to him: O emperor, why smitest thou this young man, truly and wisely answering to thee? Trust verily we serve that same King Almighty.

And when Nero heard that he put them in prison, for strongly to torment them, whom he much had loved.

PAUL'S DISCOURSES WITH NERO

Then he made to enquire and to take all Christian men, and without examination made them to be tormented with overgreat torments. Then was Paul among others bound and brought tofore Nero, to whom Nero said: O thou man, servant of the great King, bound tofore me, why withdrawest thou my knights and drawest them to thee?

To whom Paul said: Not only from thy corner I have gathered knights, but also I gather from the universal world to my Lord, to whom our king giveth such gifts that never shall fail, and granteth that they shall be excluded from all indigence and need; and if thou wilt be to him subject, thou shalt be safe, for he is of so great power that he shall come and judge all the world, and destroy the figure thereof by fire.

And when Nero heard that he should destroy the figure of the world by fire, he commanded that all the Christian men should be burnt by fire, and Paul to be beheaded, as he that is guilty against his majesty. And so great a multitude of Christian people were slain then that the people of Rome brake up his palace and cried and moved sedition against him, saying: Cæsar, amend thy manners and attemper thy commandments, for these be our people that thou destroyest, and defend the empire of Rome.

The emperor then dreading the noise of the people, changed his decree and edict that no man should touch ne hurt no Christian man till the emperor had otherwise ordained, wherefore Paul was brought again tofore Nero, whom as soon as Nero saw, he cried and said: Take away this wicked man and behead him, and suffer him no longer to live upon the earth.

To whom Paul said: Nero, I shall suffer a little while, but I shall live eternally with my Lord Jesu Christ.

Nero said: Smite off his head, that he may understand me stronger than his king, that when he is overcome we may see whether he may live after.

To whom Paul said: To the end that thou know me to live everlastingly, when my head shall be smitten off, I shall appear to thee living, and then thou mayest know that Christ is God of life and of death.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL

And when he had said this he was led to the place of his martyrdom, and as he was led, the three knights that led him said to him: Tell to us, Paul, who is he your king that ye love so much that for his love ye had liefer die than live, and what reward shall ye have therefor?

Then Paul preached to them of the kingdom of heaven and of the pain of hell, in such wise that he converted them to the faith, and they prayed him to go freely whither he would.

God forbid, brethren, said he, that I should flee, I am not fugitive, but the lawful knight of Christ. I know well that from this transitory life I shall go to everlasting life. As soon as I shall be beheaded, true men shall take away my body; mark ye well the place, and come thither to-morrow, and ye shall find by my sepulchre two men, Luke and Titus, praying. To whom when ye shall tell for what cause I have sent you to them, they shall baptize you and make you heirs of the kingdom of heaven.

And whiles they thus spake together, Nero sent two knights to look if he were slain and beheaded or no, and when thus St. Paul would have converted them, they said: When thou art dead and risest again, then we shall believe, now come forth and receive that thou hast deserved.

And as he was led to the place of his passion in the gate of Hostence, a noble woman named Plautilla, a disciple of Paul, who after another name was called Lemobia, for haply she had two names, met there with Paul, which weeping, commended her to his

prayers. To whom Paul said: Farewell, Plautilla, daughter of everlasting health, lend to me thy veil or keverchief with which thou coverest thy head, that I may bind mine eyes therewith, and afterwards I shall restore it to thee again.

And when she had delivered it to him, the butchers scorned her, saying: Why hast thou delivered to this enchanter so precious a cloth for to lose it?

Then, when he came to the place of his passion, he turned him toward the east, holding his hands up to heaven right long, with tears praying in his own language and thanking our Lord, and after that bade his brethren farewell, and bound his eyes himself with the keverchief of Plautilla, and kneeling down on both knees, stretched forth his neck, and so was beheaded. And as soon as the head was from the body, it said, "Jesus Christus!" which had been to "Jesus" or "Christus," or both, fifty times. From his wound sprang out milk into the clothes of the knight, and afterward flowed out blood. In the air was a great shining light, and from the body came a much sweet odour.

Dionysius, in an epistle to Timothy, saith of the death of Paul thus:

> In that hour full of heaviness, my wellbeloved brother, the butcher saying, "Paul, make ready thy neck," then blessed Paul looked up into heaven, marking his forehead and his breast with the sign of the cross, and then said anon, "My Lord Jesu Christ, into thy hands I commend my spirit, etc." And then without heaviness and compulsion he stretched forth his neck and received the crown of martyrdom, the butcher so smiting off his head.
>
> The blessed martyr Paul took the keverchief, and unbound his eyes, and gathered up his own blood, and put it therein and delivered to the woman. Then the butcher returned, and Plautilla met him and demanded him, saying: Where hast thou left my master?

The knight answered: He lieth without the town with one of his fellows, and his visage is covered with thy keverchief.

And she answered and said: I have now seen Peter and Paul enter into the city clad with right noble vestments, and also they had right fair crowns upon their heads, more clear and more shining than the sun, and hath brought again my keverchief all bloody which he hath delivered me.

For which thing and work many believed in our Lord and were baptized.

And this is that St. Dionysius saith.

APPARITIONS AND MIRACLES OF ST. PAUL

The Apparition to Nero

And when Nero heard say this thing he doubted him, and began to speak of all these things with his philosophers and with his friends. And as they spake together of this matter, Paul came in, and the gates shut, and stood tofore Cæsar and said: Cæsar, here is tofore thee Paul the knight of the king perdurable, and not vanquished. Now believe then certainly that I am not dead but alive, but thou, caitiff, thou shalt die of an evil death, because thou hast slain the servants of God.

And when he had said thus he vanished away. And Nero, what for dread and what for anger, he was nigh out of his wit, and wist not what to do. Then by the counsel of his friends he unbound Patroclus and Barnabas and let them go where they would.

The Apparition to Nero's Knights

And the other knights, Longinus, master of the knights, and Accestus, came on the morn to the sepulchre of Paul, and there they found two men praying, that were Luke and Titus, and between

them was Paul. And when Luke and Titus saw them they were abashed and began to flee, and anon Paul vanished away, and the knights cried after them and said: We come not to grieve you, but know ye for truth that we come for to be baptized of you, like as Paul hath said whom we saw now praying with you.

When they heard that they returned and baptized them with great joy.

The Miracle of St. Paul's Head

The head of St. Paul was cast in a valley, and for the multitude of other heads of men that were there slain and thrown there, it could not be known which it was.

It is read in the epistle of St. Dionysius that on a time the valley should be made clean, and the head of St. Paul was cast out with the other heads. And a shepherd that kept sheep took it with his staff, and set it up by the place where his sheep grazed; he saw by three nights continually, and his lord also, a right great light shine upon the said head. Then they went and told it to the bishop and to other good Christian men, which anon said: Truly that is the head of St. Paul.

And then the bishop with a great multitude of Christian men took that head with great reverence, and set it in a tablet of gold, and put it to the body for to join it thereto. Then the patriarch answered: We know well that many holy men be slain and their heads be disperpled in that place, yet I doubt whether this be the head of Paul or no, but let us set this head at the feet of the body, and pray we unto Almighty God that if it be his head that the body may turn and join it to the head.

Which pleased well to them all, and they set the head at the feet of the body of Paul, and then all they prayed, and the body turned him, and in his place joined him to the head, and then all they blessed

God, and thus knew verily that that was the head of St. Paul. This saith St. Dionysius.

The Man That Fell in Despair

And St. Gregory telleth that there was a man that fell in despair in the time of Justin the emperor, and made ready a cord to hang himself, and always he cried on St. Paul, saying: St. Paul, help me.

Then came there a black shadow, saying to him: Hie thee, good man, make an end of that thou hast begun.

And he alway made ready the cord, saying: Most blessed Paul, help me. And when all was ready there came another shadow, as it had been of a man that said to him that stirred him: Flee hence, thou most wretched, for Paul the advocate is come.

Then the foul shadow vanished away, and the man coming again to himself, and casting away the cord, took condign penance for his offence and trespass.

THE LAMENT OF ST. DENIS

In the same epistle aforesaid, St. Denys bewailed the death of his master Paul with mild words, saying:

> Who shall give tears to mine eyes, and to my brows a fountain of water, that I may weep day and night that the light of the church is extinct. And who is he that shall not weep and wail and clothe him with clothes of mourning and sorrow, and in his mind be greatly abashed? Lo, Peter the foundement of the church and glory of saints and holy apostles is gone from us, and hath left us orphans. Paul also, the teacher and comforter of the people, is failed to us, and shall no more be found, which was father of fathers, doctor of doctors, pastor of pastors, profoundness of wisdom, a trump sounding high things, and a preacher of truth.

I say verily, Paul to be most noble of the apostles, and never weary of preaching of the Word of God; he was an earthly angel, an heavenly man, image and similitude of divinity, and hath us all forsaken, needy and unworthy in this despised world, and is gone unto Christ his God, his Lord and friend.

Also my brother Timothy, best beloved of my soul, where is thy master, thy father and lover? From whence shall he greet thee any more? Lo, thou art made an orphan and remainest alone. Now he shall no more write to thee with his own hand, "my dearest son." Woe to me, my brother Timothy! What is happed to us of heaviness, of darkness, and harm! Because we be made orphans, now come not his epistles to thee, in which he wrote, "Paul the little servant of Jesu Christ." Now he shall no more write to the cities saying, "Receive ye my well-beloved son." Shut, my brother, the books of the prophets and clasp them, for we now have none interpreter of the parables ne paradigmes, ne their dictes.

David the prophet bewailed his son and said: "Woe to me! who shall grant me to die for thee my son?" And I may say, "woe to me, master mine, verily woe to me." Now the concourse of thy disciples coming to Rome and seeking, ceaseth and faileth. Now no man saith, "Let us go and see our doctors, and ask we them how us behoveth to rule the churches to us committed, and shall interpret and expound to us the sayings of our Lord Jesu Christ and of the prophets." Verily, woe to these sons, my brother Timothy, that be deprived of their spiritual father. And also to us that be deprived of our spiritual masters which gathered together understanding and science of the old and new law and put them in their epistles.

Where is now the renewing of Paul and the labour of his holy feet? Where is the mouth speaking, and the tongue counselling, and the spirit well pleasing his God? Who shall not weep and wail? For they that have deserved glory and honour towards God be put to death as malefactors and wicked men.

> Woe to me that beheld in that hour his blessed body all bewrapped in his innocent blood. Alas, my father and doctor, thou wert not guilty of such a death! Now whither shall I go for to seek thee, the glory of Christian men and praising of good, true men? Who shall stint thy voice that sounded so high in the church in preaching the Word of God? Lo, thou hast entered in to thy Lord and thy God, whom thou hast desired with all thine affection.
>
> Jerusalem and Rome be evil friends, for they be equal in ill. Jerusalem hath crucified our Lord Jesu Christ, and Rome hath slain his apostles. Jerusalem serveth him that they crucified, and Rome in solemnising, glorifieth them that it hath slain.
>
> And now, my brother Timothy, these be they whom thou lovedst and desiredst with all thine heart, like as Saul and Jonathan that were not departed in life ne in death, and so I am not departed from my lord and master, but when ill and wicked men depart us. And the separation of one hour shall not be always, for his soul knoweth them that love him though they speak not to him which now be far from him. And at the day of the great resurrection they shall not be departed from him.

Hæc Dionysius.

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S PRAISE OF ST. PAUL

St. John Chrysostom saith in the book of praising of St. Paul, and commendeth this glorious apostle much, saying:

St. Paul's Sacrifices

What [tongue] is founden sufficient in commendation of him, sith all the goodness that is in man the soul possesseth it only, and hath it in him, and not only of a man, but also of the angels? And in what manner we shall say to you hereafter, Abel offered sacrifice, and of that he was praised, but we shall show thee the sacrifice of Paul, and it shall appear greater, inasmuch as heaven is higher than the

earth.

For Paul sacrificed himself every day, and offered double sacrifice in heart and in body, which he mortified. He offered not sheep ne meat, but he sacrificed himself in double wise, and yet that sufficed him not, but he studied to offer to God, all the world. For he environed all the world that is under heaven and made angels of men. And moreover men that were like fiends he changed them to angels.

Compared to Abel

Who is he that is found pareil or like to this sacrifice, which Paul with the sword of the Holy Ghost offered up to the altar which is above heaven? Abel was slain by treason of his brother, but Paul was slain of them whom he desired to withdraw and save from innumerable evils. His deaths were so many that they may not well be numbered. He had as many as he lived days.

Compared to Noah

Noah, as it is read, kept himself, his wife, and his children in the ark, but Paul in a more perilous and older flood, in an ark not made with boards, with pitch and glue, but with epistles made for boards, delivered and saved the universal world from the floods of error and of sin. This ark or ship was not borne to one place, but it was sent through the universal world, ne limed with pitch ne glue, but the boards thereof were anointed with the Holy Ghost. He took them that were worshippers of reasonable beasts, almost more fools than unreasonable beasts, for to be the followers of angels. He overcame that ark in which was received the crow, and sent him out again, and closing a wolf therein whose woodness he could not change. But this Paul took falcons and kites, and made of them doves, and excluded all woodness and ferocity from them, and brought to them the spirit of meekness.

Compared to Abraham

Some marvel of Abraham that at the commandment of God left his country and kindred, but how may he be compared to Paul, which not only left his country and kindred, but also himself and the world also. He forsook and despised all things and required to have but one thing, and that was the charity and love of Jesu Christ. Ne he desired things present, ne things to come, etc. But Abraham put himself in peril for to save his brother's son, but Paul sustained many perils for to bring the universal world from perils of the devil, and brought others to great surety with his own death. Abraham would have offered his son Isaac to God, but Paul brought neither friend nor neighbour, but offered himself to God a thousand times.

Compared to Isaac

Some marvel of the patience of Isaac, for he suffered the pits that he made to be stopped, but Paul not beholding the pits stopped with stones, ne his own body beaten only, but them of whom he suffered great pains he studied to bring to heaven, and the more this well was stopped, so much the more it flowed out streams in shedding of water of scripture, of meekness and of patience.

Compared to Jacob

Of the patience of Jacob scripture marvelleth, which abode seven years for his spouse, but who hath that soul of an adamant that may follow the patience of Paul? For he abode not only seven years for Christ his spouse, but all his lifetime. He was not only burnt with the heat of the day, ne suffered only the frost of the night, but suffering temptations, now with beatings, now stoned with stones, and always among his torments caught the sheep and drew them to the faith from the mouth of the devil.

Compared to Joseph the Patriarch

And also he was made decorate and made fair with the chastity of Joseph. And here I doubt lest some would take it for a leasing for to praise here Paul, which crucifying himself, not only the beauty of men's bodies, but all such things that were seen to be fair and clear

that he beheld, set no more by them than we do by a little ashes or filth, and abode unmovable as a dead man to a dead man.

Compared to Job

All men wonder at Job, for he was a marvellous champion, but Paul was not only troubled by months, but many years enduring in agony, and always appeared clear. He put not away the woodness of his flesh with a shard or shell, but he ran daily, as the understanding mouth of a lion, and fought against innumerable temptations, which were more tolerable than a stone. Which not of three or four friends, but of all men and of his brethren he suffered opprobrium, and was confused and cursed of them all, and he took everything meekly and patiently. Job was a man of great hospitality, and had care of poor people, and that he did was to sustain the filth of the flesh. But St. Paul laboured to help the sickness of the souls. Job opened his house to every man that came, but the soul of Paul showed him to the universal world. Job had sheep and oxen innumerable, and of them he was liberal to poor men. Paul had no possession save his body, and with that he ministered sufficiently to them that had need, which in a place saith, "Unto my necessities, and to them that were with me, these hands have ministered." And to holy Job were given worms, wounds, and sores, which did to him much pain and sorrow; but an thou wilt consider Paul, thou shalt see betimes hunger, chains, and perils that he suffered of his known men and of strangers. He suffered of all the world, business for the churches, and burning for slanders. Thou mayst see that he was harder than any stone, and his soul overcame with infirmity, iron, and adamant. What Job suffered with his body, that Paul sustained with his mind, which is more grievous than any worm. And oft his eyes flowed of tears, not only on days, but also on nights. He was more tormented than a woman in the birth of her child, wherefore he said: "My little children, whom yet I bring forth."

Compared to Moses

Moses chose to be defaced out of the book of life for the health of the Jews, and offered himself to perish with others; but Paul would

not only perish with his kindred, but, that all other should be saved, would be cast down from everlasting joy. And Moses repugned against Pharaoh, and Paul against the devil every day. He for one people of the Jews, and Paul fought for all the universal world, not by sweat, but by blood.

Compared to St. John the Baptist

St. John the Baptist ate locusts and wild honey, but Paul in the middle of the world was as straight in his conversation as St. John was in desert. Not only he was fed with locusts and wild honey, but with much fouler meat he was content. For oft he left his necessary meat for the fervent study that he had to preach the Word of God. Truly there appeared in St. John great constancy in preaching against Herodias; but Paul, not one, ne two, ne three, but he corrected innumerable men set up in high power, and also older tyrants.

Compared to the Angels

It resteth now that we compare Paul to angels, in which we shall preach a great thing, for with all charge, they obey unto God, which David saith, marvelling that they be mighty in virtue, and ever do the commandments of God. And also the prophet saith that he maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers fire burning. And all this we may find in Paul, that like to fire and a spirit he hath run throughout all the world, and with his preaching hath purged it. And yet he hath not sorted heaven, and that is wonderful, for he conversed such as in heaven, and was yet environed with his mortal flesh.

Compared to Us, His Fellow Men

Ah, Lord! How much be we worthy damnation, when we see all good things to be assembled in one man, and we study not to follow the least part of them! Ne he had in this world none other thing, ne none other nature, ne none other soul dissemblable to us, ne dwelling in none other world, but in the same earth, and the same region, also under the same laws nourished, and manners; and he

surmounteth all men, that now be or have been, by virtue of his courage. Ne this thing is not to be marvelled in him only, that for the abundance of devotion he felt no pain, but he recompensed in him the virtue for his reward. And when he saw that his death approached, he called others to the delight of his joy, saying, "Make ye joy and rejoice ye with me."

His Embrace of Injuries and Travails

And certainly he hasted more to wrongs and injuries which he suffered for his true preaching, and was gladder thereof than he were bidden to a feast of great joy. For he desired more death than bodily life, and he desired more poverty than riches, and travail than rest, for in his rest he chose rather weeping than rest. He used to pray more for his enemies than others do for their friends. And above all other thing he dreaded the wrath of God, and had none other desire, but only to please God. And he forsook not only all present things, but all things that be for to come.

He refused all prosperities that ever were or ever shall be on earth, and if we shall speak of heavenly things, thou shalt see the love of him in Jesu Christ. And with this love he thought himself blessed. He coveted not to be fellow with angels ne archangels, ne with none order of angels, but he coveted more with the love of God to be least of them that be punished, than without his love to be among sovereign honours, and that was to him most greatest torment, for to depart from his love, for that departing should be to him a hell and pain without end. And on that other side, for to use the charity of Christ was to him life, world, and promission and all goods without number. And so he despised all that we dread, like as we despise a herb putrified and rotten.

He reputed the tyrants conspiring their fury into the apostles, like as bitings of fleas, and he reputed death, cruelness, and a thousand torments, but as a play or game of children whilst he suffered them for Christ's sake. He thought he was made more fair with binding of chains than he had been crowned with a diadem. For when he was

constrained to be in prison, he thought he was in heaven, and he received more gladlier beatings and wounds, than others victories. He loved no less sorrows than meeds for he reputed those sorrows instead of rewards. And such things that be to us cause of sorrows were unto him great delight, and was ever embraced with great weepings. Wherefore he said: Who is slandered and I burn not? and who can say: I delight in sorrowing?

Many be wounded with the death of their children and take comfort when they may weep enough, and it is most grievance to them when they be restrained from their weeping. In like wise Paul night and day had consolation of his tears and weeping. There could no man weep ne bewail his own defaults as he bewailed other men's defaults, for like as thou weenest him to be in torment that weepeth the perishing for his sins, the which desired to be excluded from the joy of heaven, to the end that they might be saved, for he felt as much the perishing of other souls as he felt or trowed himself to perish.

To what thing may he then be likened, to what iron, or to what adamant? For he was stronger than any adamant, and more precious than gold or gems. That one matter he overcame with strength, and that other with preciousness. Then we may say that Paul is more precious than all the world and all that is therein, for he flew, as he had wings, through all the world in preaching, and he despised all labours and perils as though he had been without body. And like as he possessed heaven, so he despised all earthly things; and like as iron that is laid in the fire is made all fire, right so Paul, embraced with charity, was made all charity.

Common Father of All the World

And right as it had been a common father of all the world, so he loved all men, and surmounted all other fathers, bodily and ghostly, by curiosity and pity, and desired and hasted him to yield all men to God and to his kingdom, as though he had engendered them all.

This holy Paul that was so simple, and used the craft to make baskets, came to so great virtue, that in the space of thirty years he converted to the Christian faith the Persians and Parthians, them of Media, the Indians, the Scythians, the Ethiopians, and the Saromates and the Saracens, and moreover all manner men. And like as fire put in straw or in tow wasteth it, right so wasted Paul all the works of the fiend. And when he was led through the great sea, he joyed him as greatly as though he had been led to see an empire. And when he was entered into Rome, it sufficed him not to abide there, but he went into Spain, and was never idle ne in rest, but was always more burning than fire in the love to preach the Word of God, ne dreaded no perils, ne had no shame of despites, but was ever ready unto battle, and anon showed himself peaceable and amiable. And when his disciples saw him bound in chains, for all that he ceased not to preach whilst he was in prison. Wherefore some of the brethren considering his teaching, took the more strength to them, and were more constant against the enemies of Christ's faith.

And all this, and much more saith St. John Chrysostom, which were overmuch to write here, but this shall suffice.

Then let us pray unto Almighty God, that by the merits of St. Paul we may have forgiveness of our sins and trespasses in this present life, that after the same we may come to everlasting joy in heaven.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE PURIFICATION OF OUR LADY

This is William Caxton's translation of a version of the Golden Legend's chapter on the Purification that differs considerably from the corresponding chapter (#37) in Graesse and Ryan. It makes some use of words derived from French, so it may have been drawn from the French translation that Caxton had at hand when doing the translation.

Postquam impleti sunt dies purgationis Marie secundum legem Moisi, tulerunt Jesum in Jerusalem. LucÃ¦, cap. ii. 1

The ancient law had his course until the time that God hath suffered death for us. And when he died on the cross he said, Joh. cap. xix. *Consummatum est* , that is to say, â□□All thing is finished and ended that hath been written of me.â□□ 2 Which law he kept during his life, as it is written, â□□I am not come for to break the law,â□□ 3 in which he gave us example of humility and of obedience, like as St. Paul saith. 4

In like wise our Lady, for to obey to the law, bare her sweet son Jesu Christ unto the temple of Jerusalem after the fortieth day of his birth, for to offer him to God, and for to give offering for him such as in the law was ordained, that is to wit, a pair of turtles or two doves was the offering of poor folk, like as it is written.

Our Lord, which in all case came to make our salvation, deigned not only to humble himself and descend from his realm, and became man mortal, semblable to us. Also he deigned to be born of a poor woman, and was poor for to enrich us, and draw us out of the misery of this world to the riches permanable.

THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE TURTLEDOVES AND THE DOVES

And we that be poor because of our sins, and without riches of good virtues, so worthily should we come and be at the feast of our Lord, we should offer to him that which by the offering is signified. The dove which is of her nature simple and without gall, and the turtle naturally chaste, for when she hath lost her mate she will never have other mate, and with that she taketh the weeping for her song. We ought to offer to our Lord instead of two doves, one simple will and a good intention, without retaining in our heart any gall of anger or of hate towards our neighbour; for as our Lord saith, if thine eye be simple all thy works shall be in light. 5

And hereof saith St. John the Evangelist in the Apocalypse, â□□The city needeth no sun ne moon to shine in it, for the clearness of God shall illumine it, and his lantern is the lamb; the lamb is the light.â□□ 6 By the lamb, which is simple, is signified to us a simple conscience and righteous, which maketh true judgment of the intention.

For all works be good or evil. If they be done in evil intention or by hypocrisy they be evil and without profit, like as saith Jesu Christ, â□□If thine eye be evil, all thy body shall be dark.â□□ 7 By the eye is understood the intention, with goodness simple, and debonairty is signified by the doves.

We ought also to offer a pair of turtles to our Lord, that is to say, a chaste life and a very intention to leave our sins, the which is signified to us by the chastity of the turtle, and by her weeping the contrition. As Bede saith: Contrition ought to begin in dread and end in love; for the soul faithful, when she remembereth her sins in her conscience, she weepeth for the dread of the pains of hell that she hath deserved, and thus offereth she to God a turtle; and when she hath wept, there cometh to her a hope to have mercy and pardon of her sins, and this hope is conceived of dread in him and love of God, to serve and to be in his company; so that soul that ought to sing, weepeth for love, which hath delivered her so soon from the perils and miseries of this world, and for to come to the sweet company of our Lord.

And thus offered she that other turtle, in weeping with David the prophet the long pilgrimages that she hath made in the miseries of this world saying: *Heu me quia incolatus meus prolongatus est;* 8 for when she beginneth to think after the joyous company of angels, and of the souls that be in heaven, and what joy and deduit that they have in the over desirous sight of our Lord, then all the world grieveth them, and they desire to be delivered from the faits of the body for to go into the company of these holy souls.

SIMEONÂ□□S WORDS IN THE TEMPLE

And also that St. Simeon, which by revelation of the Holy Ghost came into the temple of Jerusalem in the same hour that the blessed Virgin brought her dear son for to offer him, and the Holy Ghost had showed to him, that tofore that he should die corporally he should see Jesu Christ come in to the earth, the which birth he knew long before to be showed by the prophets. And when he saw Jesu Christ brought into the temple, anon he knew him by the Holy Ghost to be very God and very man, and took him between his arms and said: â□□Fair Lord God let thy sergeant and servant from henceforth be in peace, and suffer that after this revelation showed to me, I may depart and die for to be delivered from the evils of this world, for mine eyes corporal and spiritual have seen thy blessed son Jesu Christ, which shall save the creatures human from their sins; the which thou hast made ready and ordained tofore the face of all creatures human, for to be light to all people by his doctrine, to illumine and take away darknesses.â□□ (That is to say, of their idolatry, after this that Isaiah the prophet hath prophesied of him: *Populus gentium qui ambulabat in tenebris* , 9 etc., the people of gentiles or paynims which walked in darkness to worship idols and devils for very God, saw a great light when they issued from their sins by the doctrine of Jesu Christ which came also to the glory of the Jews, for they received his sight bodily, like as was promised them by the witness of the prophets, by which they might glorify them of this, that their rightful King was born among them and conversed bodily in their country.)

And St. Simeon said, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum domine* , etc. â□□Sire, let thy servant depart in peace after thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy health, which thou hast made ready tofore the face of all peoples.â□□ (That is light to the revelation of paynims and to the glory of thy people of Israel. Jesu Christ is called peace, health, light and joy. Peace, because that he is our moyen and our advocate; health, for he is our redeemer; light, for he is our informer; and glory, for he is our governor.)

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE CANDLE

This feast is called Candlemas, and is made in remembrance of the offering that our Lady offered in the temple as said is, and every each beareth this day a candle of wax burning, which representeth our Lord Jesu Christ. Like as the candle burning hath three things in it, that is to wit, the wax, the wick, and the fire, right so be three things in Jesu Christ, that is the body, the soul and the godhead. For the wax which is made of the bee purely, without company and mixture of one bee with another, signifieth the body of our Lord Jesu Christ, and the fire of the candle signifieth the divinity of our Lord Jesu Christ, which illumineth all creatures.

And therefore if we will appear in this feast tofore the face of God, pure and clean and acceptable, we ought to have in us three things which be signified by the candle burning: that is good deeds, true faith, with good works. And like as the candle without burning is dead, right so faith is dead without works as St. James saith, 10 for to believe in God without obeying his commandments profiteth nothing. And therefore saith St. Gregory: The good work ought to show withoutforth that thy intention abide good withinforth the heart, without seeking within any vain glory to be allowed and praised. And by the fire is understood charity, of which God saith: I am come to put fire in the earth, and whom I will, I will burn.

WHY THE FEAST IS CALLED THE PURIFICATION

This feast is called the purification of our Lady, not for that she had need ne ought make her purification, for she was pure and clean without having of any tatche of deadly sin ne venial, like as she that had, without company of any man, by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, conceived the Son of God, and was delivered without losing of her virginity, so she came with her blessed son at the fortieth day after his nativity for to obey the commandment of the law, after the manner of other women which had need of purification, and also for to show to us the example of humility. He is very humble that is worthy to be praised for his virtues. This glorious Lady is queen of heaven and Lady of angels, nevertheless she is pure and humble among the women like as a poor woman, without making any semblant of her great humility, ne of the high majesty of her son, whereof St. Bernard saith in this manner:

> O who may make us to understand, glorious Lady, the thought of thine heart that thou haddest among the services that thou madest to thy blessed son in giving him suck, in laying down and raising, when thou sawest a little child of thee born on that one part, and of that other side thou knewest him to be God Almighty? And now thou believest and seest him created that had created all the world, now thou seest him feeble as a child which is Almighty and all puissant, now thou feedest him that all the world feedeth, and now thou seest him not speaking, that made man and speech. O who should con show hereupon the secrets of thine heart? How savoured thy courage when thou heldest thy child between thine arms whom thou lovedest as thy Lord, and kissed him as thy son. Who should not marvel of this miracle, when a virgin and a clean maid hath enfanted and childed her maker and Lord of all the world? To him let us address our thoughts, and embrace we this child of one very belief, whom we ought to love because he hath humbled himself for us, and to doubt him, because he is our judge and our Lord, to whose commandments we owe to obey if we will be saved.

THE DREAM OF THE CANDLE

We read an example of a noble lady which had great devotion in the blessed Virgin Mary, and she had a chapel in which she did do say mass of our Lady. It happed that the day of the purification of our Lady, her chaplain was out, so that this lady might that day have no mass, and she durst not go to another church because she had given her mantle unto a poor man for the love of our Lady. She was much sorrowful because she might hear no mass and for to make her devotions she went into the chapel, and tofore the altar she kneeled down for to make her prayers to our Lady. And anon she fell asleep, in which she had a vision

And her seemed that she was in a church, and saw come into the church a great company of virgins, tofore whom she saw come a right noble virgin crowned right preciously. And when they were all set each in order, came a company of young men which sat down each after other in order like the other; after, entered one that bare a burden of candles, and departed them to them above first, and so to each of them by order he gave one, and at the last came this man to this lady aforesaid and gave to her also a candle of wax.

The which lady saw also come a priest, a deacon and a subdeacon, all revested, going to the altar as for to say mass. And her seemed that St. Laurence and St. Vincent were deacon and sub-deacon, and Jesu Christ the priest, and two angels bearing tofore them candles.

And two young angels began the introit of the mass, and all the company of the virgins sang the mass. And when the mass was sung unto the offering, 11 her seemed that thilk virgin so crowned went tofore, and after all the others followed, and offered to the priest, kneeling much devoutly, their candles.

And when the priest tarried for this lady that she should also have come to the offering, the glorious queen of virgins sent to her to say that she was not courteous to make the priest so long to tarry for her. And the lady answered that the priest should proceed in his mass forth, for she would keep her candle and not offer it. And the

glorious virgin sent yet once to her, and she said she would not offer her candle. The third time the queen said to the messenger, â□□Go and pray her that she come and offer her candle, or else take it from her by force.â□□

The messenger came to this lady, and because in no wise she would not come and offer up her candle, he set hand on the candle that this lady held and drew fast, and she held fast, and so long he drew and haled that the candle brake in two pieces, and that one half abode still in the hand of the lady aforesaid, which anon awoke and came to herself, and found the piece of the candle in her hand. Whereof she much marvelled, and thanked our Lord and the glorious Virgin Mary devoutly which had suffered her that day not to be without mass.

And all the days of her life after she kept that piece of that candle much preciously, like an holy relic, and all they that were touched therewith were guerished and healed of their maladies and sicknesses.

Let us pray then humbly to the glorious Virgin Mary, which is comfort to them that forsake their sins, that she will make our peace to the blessed Son and impetre and get of him remission of all our sins, and after this life to come to the glory and joy of heaven, to the which bring us the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. REMIGIUS

Chapters 147 and 16 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. Chapter 147 corresponds to the feast of the Translation of St. Remigius, October 1; chapter 16 is for the actual feast of this saint, January 13. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and glosses.

CHAPTER 147

Clotilde and Her Children

St. Remigius converted to the faith the king and the people of France. The king had a wife named Clotilde, which was Christian, and she enforced her much to convert her husband to the Christian faith, but she might not. And when she had a child she would have christened him, but the king defended it to her. And she rested not till at the last the king granted that it should be Christian, and after that it was christened, it died anon. Then said the king: Now it appeareth well that Christ is a vile God, for because he may not keep him which in his faith should have been enhanced in my kingdom after me.

And she said to him: Now feel I well that I am loved of my God because he hath received the first fruit of my womb; he hath enhanced to a better kingdom my son, and to reign perpetually without end, which is much better than thy kingdom is.

And soon after she conceived again, and had a fair son, whom with great prayers she baptized as she did the first, but anon after, he was sick, so that they had no hope of his life. And then the king said to his wife: Certainly this is a feeble god which may not conserve, ne keep none that is baptized in his name, and if thou hadst a thousand and didst them to be baptized, all should perish.

Yet nevertheless the child revived and was whole, so that he reigned after his father, and the faithful queen enforced her to bring her husband to the faith, but he refused it in all manners.

The Angry Miller

It is said in that other feast which is after the Epiphany [see below], how the king was converted to the faith. And the foresaid king Clovis, when he was christened, said that he would give to St. Remigius, for to endow his church, as much land as he might go about whilst he slept at mid-day, and so it was done. But there was a man which had a mill within the circuit which St. Remigius had closed. And as St. Remigius went about it the milner put him out with great indignation and great despite. And St. Remigius said to him: Friend, have no disdain and let it not be too hard if we have also this mill with that other.

Nevertheless the milner put him out, and anon the wheel of the mill began to turn contrary, and then the milner cried after St. Remigius and said: Servant of God, come and let us have the mill together.

And St. Remigius said: Nay, it shall neither be mine nor thine, and anon the earth opened and swallowed in all the mill.

St. Remigius Prophesies a Famine

And St. Remigius knew by the spirit of prophecy and by the will of God, that a great famine should come, and assembled in a town great plenty of wheat. And the drunken villains of the town mocked and scorned him of his providence, and set the garners afire. And when he knew it he came thither, and because he was cold for age and his last time approached fast, he sat down by the fire and warmed him, and said with a peaceable heart: The fire is always good.

Nevertheless they that made that fire, and all the men of their lineage, were broken in their members and the women gouty. And

this endured in the same town unto the time of Charles, which chased and made them go their way, and so disperpled them.

The Translation of St. Remigius

And it is to be known that the feast of St. Remigius that is hallowed in January is the feast of his blessed death and disposition, and this is the feast of the translation of his blessed body. For when, after his death, the holy body should have been brought to the church of St. Timothy and Apollinarius with the shrine, and came nigh unto the church of St. Christopher, it began to weigh so much that they might not move it from thence in no manner. At the last they prayed our Lord that he would vouchsafe to show them if it were his will that the body should be buried in that church, whereas no relics rest. And then anon they took up the body lightly enough and buried him there honourably. And many miracles were there showed, so that they enlarged and made the church more ample and large.

And then they made an oratory behind the altar, and would have dolven for to have laid the body in that oratory, but they could not move it in no manner. Then they watched, and prayed unto our Lord, and at midnight they fell all asleep, and on the morn they found the sepulchre with the body in the place, which angels had borne thither while they slept. And this was the kalends of October which afterwards by long time on the same day, it was translated into a feretre or shrine of silver. He flourished about the year of our Lord four hundred and ninety.

CHAPTER 16

Remigius is said of *remi* , that is to say "feeding," and *geos* , that is "earth," as who saith feeding the earthly people with doctrine. Or of *geon* , that is a "wrestler," for he was a pastor and a wrestler he fed his flock with the word of preaching, with suffrages of praying, and with example of conversation. There is three manner of armour that is for the defence, the shield, for to fight, the sword, for his salvation and health, the habergeon and helm. He wrestled against the devil with the shield of faith, with the sword of the word of God, and with

the helmet of hope. Ignatius Archbishop of Rheims wrote his life.

Remigius, an holy doctor and confessor glorious of our Lord, was tofore his birth provided of our Lord, and foreseen of a holy hermit. When the persecution of the Vandals had almost wasted and destroyed nigh all France, there was a man recluse, holy and virtuous, which had lost his sight, which oft prayed to our Lord for peace and welfare of the church of France. He had on a time a vision, and him seemed an angel came to him and said: Know thou that the woman that thou knowest named Aline shall bring forth a son that shall be named Remigius, which shall deliver all the country from this persecution.

And when he awoke he came to the house of this Aline and told to her his vision, and she would not believe it because of her age. The recluse said: It shall be so as I have said, and when thou hast given thy child suck, thou shalt give to me of thy milk, to put upon mine eyes, and therewith I shall be whole and recover my sight again.

And like as he said all these things happened. And the woman had a child named Remigius, which when he came to the age of discretion, he fled the world, and entered into a reclusage. And sith after, for the great renown of his holy life, when he had been twenty-two years therein he was elect and chosen to be Archbishop of Rheims.

He was so debonair that little birds came and ate on his table and took meat at his hand.

The Miracle of the Wine

It happed on a day that he was lodged in an house of a good woman which had but a little wine in her tonnel or vessel, and St. Remigius went in to the cellar and made the sign of the cross upon the ton, and prayed a while. Anon the ton was so full that it leapt over, by the merits of the good saint.

The Conversion of King Clovis

Now it happed that Clodovius the king of France, which was a paynim, might not be converted for any preaching that his wife might do, which was a Christian woman, unto the time that a great host of Alemans came into France. Then by the admonishment of his wife he made a vow that if the God that his wife worshipped would give him victory, he would be baptized at his returning from the battle. Thus, as he demanded, he vanquished the battle, and after came to Rheims to St. Remigius and prayed him that he would christen him. And when St. Remigius baptized him he had no chrisom ready, then a dove descended from heaven which brought the chrisom in an ampull of which the king was anointed and this ampull is kept in the church of St. Remigius at Rheims, of which the kings of France be anointed when they be crowned.

The Wayward Bishop

St. Remigius had a niece which was married to a clerk named Genebaldus, which by devotion left his wife for to enter into religion. Then St. Remigius saw that the see of Rheims was over great, and ordained a see of a bishopric at Laon and made Genebald first bishop of that place. When Genebald was bishop his wife came thither to see him, and he remembered of the privity that they were wont to have together, and lay on a night with her, and engendered on her a child. When his wife knew that she was great and let him have knowledge thereof, and when he wist that it was a son, he commanded that it should be named Thief, because he had engendered it by theft. After, for to quench the suspicion and the words of the people, he suffered that his wife should come to him as she did tofore, and anon after she conceived a daughter, whom he commanded to name a Fox's Whelp.

And after [he] came to St. Remigius and confessed him of his sin, and took the stole off his neck and would leave his bishopric. But St. Remigius, after he had confessed him, comforted him, and gave him penance, and shut him in a little cell seven years long, and

gave to him bread and water, and in the meanwhile he governed the church himself.

At the end of seven years an angel came to the prison, and said to him that he had done well his penance, and bade him go out of the prison. To whom he said: I may not go out, for my lord St. Remigius hath closed the door and sealed it.

And the angel said to him: Know thou that the door of heaven is opened to thee; I shall open this door without breaking of the seal which St. Remigius hath sealed.

And anon the door was opened. Then Genebald fell down in the midst of the door in manner of a cross, and said: If our Lord Jesu Christ came hither I shall not go out but if St. Remigius, which shut and closed me herein, come and bring me out.

And then the angel went anon and fetched St. Remigius and brought him to Laon, and he delivered him out of prison, and remised him and set him again in his see there, where he lived after, all the days of his life, holily.

After his death, Thief his son was made bishop after him, which is also a saint in heaven.

And at the last St. Remigius, after that God had shown many miracles for him, he departed out of this life unto everlasting joy the year of the incarnation of our Lord five hundred.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE RESURRECTION

Chapter 54 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, glosses, and explanatory notes.

Heretofore we have made mention of deviation of the human lineage, which dureth from Septuagesima unto Easter. Hereafter we shall make mention of the time of reconciliation. The resurrection of our Lord Jesu Christ was the third day after his death. And of this blessed resurrection seven things be to be considered. First, of the time that he was in the sepulchre, that be three days and three nights he was in the sepulchre, and the third day he arose. Secondly, wherefore he arose not anon when he was dead, but abode unto the third day. Thirdly, how he arose. Fourthly, wherefore his resurrection tarried not until the general resurrection. Fifthly, wherefore he arose. Sixthly, how ofttimes he appeared in his resurrection. And the seventh, how the holy fathers which were enclosed in a part of hell he delivered, and what he did, etc.

1. OF THE TIME OUR LORD WAS IN THE SEPULCHRE

As to the first point, it ought to be known that Jesus was in the sepulchre three days and three nights. But, after S. Austin, the first day is taken by synechdoche, that is that the last part of the day is taken which dureth from Easter unto the utas of Whitsuntide, like as holy Church hath ordained. The second day is taken all whole. The third is taken after the first part of the day. Thus there be three days, and every day hath his night going before.

And after Bede the order of the day was changed, and the course ordained, for before, the days went before and the nights followed, after the time of the passion that order was changed, for the nights go before, and this is by mystery. For man first overthrew in the day and fell into the night of sin. And by the passion and resurrection of

Jesu Christ he came again from the night of sin unto the day of grace.

2. WHEREFORE OUR LORD AROSE NOT ANON WHEN HE WAS DEAD, BUT ABODE UNTO THE THIRD DAY

As touching the second consideration, it ought to be known that it is according to reason that anon after his death he ought not to arise, but ought to abide unto the third day, and for five reasons.

For To Cure Our Double Death

The first for the signification to that that the light of his death should cure our double death, and therefore one day whole and two nights, he lay in the sepulchre, that by the day we understand the light of his death, and by the two nights our double death. And this reason assigneth the gloss upon S. Luke, *Luce vicesimo* , upon this text: *Oportebat Christum pati, etc.* 1

For To Prove That His Death Was Veritable

The second for certain probation. For right so as in the mouth of twain or of three is the witness established, right so in three days is proved all deed and fait veritable. And to the end to prove that his death was veritable, he would lie therein three days.

For To Show His Puissance

The third for to show his puissance; for if he had arisen anon, it should seem that he had not such might for to give him life as he had to raise him. And this reason toucheth the Apostle *ad Corinthios xv* . 2 Therefore is there first made mention of his death. Like as his death was verily showed so his very resurrection is showed and declared.

For To Figure the Restoration

Fourthly, for to figure the restoration. And this reason assigneth Petrus Ravenensis: â□□Jesu Christ would be three days in his sepulchre in figure, in benefit doing.â□□ That is to wit, to restore them that be fallen, to repair them that be in the earth, and to redeem them that were in hell.

For the Representing the Treble Estate of Rightful Men

The fifth, for the representing of treble estate of rightful men. And this reason assigneth S. Gregory upon Ezechiel saying:

> The sixth day of the week Jesus suffered death, the Saturday he lay in the sepulchre, the Sunday he arose. The present life is yet to us the sixth day, for in anguishes and sorrows we be tormented. The Saturday also is that we rest us in our sepulchre, for after the death we shall find the rest for our souls. The Sunday is the eighth day. That day we shall be free of the death and of all sorrow in body and in soul in glory. Then the sixth day is to us sorrow, the seventh rest, and the eighth glory.

3. HOW OUR LORD AROSE

Mightily

As to the third consideration, how he arose, it appeareth verily that he arose mightily. For by his proper might he arose, *Johannis nono: Potestatem habeo, etc.:* â□□I have said I have power to deliver my soul and I have power to resume it again.â□□ That is to say, â□□to die when I will.â□□

Joyously

Secondly, he arose joyously, for he took away all misery, all infirmity, and all servitude. Whereof he saith the gospel of John, *Johannis xxvi.,* he said: â□□When I shall arise again I shall advance me and go tofore you into Galilee, where ye shall see me free and delivered.â□□ Galilee is as much to say as â□□transmigration,â□□

that is to say â□□dying.â□□ Jesu Christ then, when he arose, went before us, for he went from misery to glory, and from corruption to incorruption. Whereof S. Leo the Pope saith: â□□After the passion of Jesu Christ, the bonds of death broken, he was transported from infirmity to virtue, from mortality to perpetuity, and from villainy to glory.â□□

Profitably

Thirdly, he rose profitably, for he carried with him his prey. Whereof saith Jeremy the fourth chapter, *Ascendit leo de cubili, etc.:* â□□The lion is risen out of his bed. Jesus ascended on high upon the cross, and the robber of the people enhanced himself.â□□ Jesu Christ robbed hell, wherein was the human lineage. As he had said, *Cum exaltatus fuero, etc.* [John 12:32], â□□When I shall ascend on high I shall draw to me all mineâ□□ of whom hell hath holden and kept the souls, which were enclosed in darkness and the bodies in sepulture.

Marvellously

Fourthly, he arose marvellously. For he arose without opening of the sepulchre which abode fast closed. For like as he issued out of his mother's belly, and to his disciples, the doors closed and shut, so he issued out of his sepulchre. Whereof is read in *Scholastica Historia,* of a monk of St. Laurence Without the Walls, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eleven, which marvelled of a girdle with which he was girt, that without undoing or opening it was cast tofore him. Whereof when he saw it he marvelled, and he heard a voice in the air saying: â□□Thus may Jesu Christ issue out of his sepulchre, and the sepulchre all closed.â□□

Truly

Fifthly, he arose truly, for he arose in his proper body, and by six manners he showed that he was verily risen. First, by the angel which lied not. Secondly, by many and ofttimes appearing. Thirdly,

by eating openly and by no art fantastic. Fourthly, by palpation of his very body. Fifthly, by ostention of his wounds, by which he showed that it was the proper body in which he had verily suffered death. Sixthly, by his presence in coming into the house, the gates shut, when he entered suddenly and invisibly, by which he showed that his body was glorified. Seventhly, he arose immortally, for he shall never die, *Johannis vi.: Christus resurgens, etc.* 3

And S. Denis in an epistle that he made to Demophilus saith that Jesu Christ after his ascension said to an holy man named Carpo, â□□I am all ready yet to suffer for to save manâ□□ – by which it seemeth that if it were need, that yet he were ready to suffer death as it is contained in the same epistle. This holy man, Carpo, told to S. Denis that a paynim perverted a Christian man and brought him out of the faith. And this Carpo took such anger therefore in his heart that he was sick. And this Carpo was of so great holiness that as oft as he sang mass an heavenly vision appeared to him. But when he should pray for the conversion of them both daily, he prayed God that both twain might be burnt in a fire.

And on a time about midnight he made this prayer unto God, and suddenly the house in which he was in, was divided in two parts, and a right great furnace appeared there. And he looked up and beheld the heaven, and saw it open, and Jesu Christ which was environed with a great multitude of angels, and beside the furnace these two men were trembling for great dread that they had; the which men were bitten of serpents that issued out of the furnace, which drew them by force into the furnace; and also of other men they were reproved and villained.

And this holy man Carpo in beholding them had great delight, and took pleasaunce in their punition; in such wise that he left the vision of heaven and set not thereby, but was angry that they fell not suddenly into the furnace.

And then as he looked up into heaven, he saw the vision that he had before seen. And Jesu Christ which had pity of these two men

arose up out of his throne, and came unto them with a great multitude of angels, and put forth his hand and delivered them. And Jesus said to Carpo: â□□Smite me, from henceforth I am ready to suffer for to save man.â□□

This ensample reciteth S. Denis.

4. WHEREFORE HIS RESURRECTION TARRIED NOT UNTIL THE GENERAL RESURRECTION

As to the fourth article, wherefore he abode not until the general resurrection, three reasons be assigned.

The first for the dignity of his body, for he was deified and came from the Deity, and therefore it was no reason that his body should so long lie in the earth. Whereof David saith, *Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem:* â□□Thou shalt not suffer thine holy body to see corruption.â□□

The second reason is for the steadfastness of the faith. For if he had not then arisen, the faith had perished, men would not have believed that he had been very God. And that appeareth well, for in his passion, save our Lady, all lost faith. But when they had knowledge of his resurrection they recovered it again, as saith S. Paul, *Si Christus non surrexerit vane est fides nostra:* â□□If Jesu Christ had not risen our faith had been vain or noneâ□□ [I Corinthians 15:17].

The third cause [is] for the exemplar of our resurrection: there should be but few that should believe the resurrection to come if Jesu Christ had not risen. And this is our example and our hope. And therefore say the apostles, â□□Jesu Christ is arisen and we shall arise, for his resurrection is cause of ours.â□□ Whereof saith S. Gregory: â□□Our Lord by example hath showed that he promised in reward, as that we should know him to have risen. Thus in ourself we should have hope of the reward of his resurrection, and we ought to know that Jesu Christ would not prolong his

resurrection above three days, to the end that desperation should not be in the world.â□□

5. WHEREFORE OUR LORD AROSE

As to the fifth article, it is wherefore he arose. He arose for four things much profitable to us. For his resurrection made the justification of our sins, enseigneth new life of manners, engendereth the hope of reward, and ordaineth the resurrection of all.

Of the first saith S. Paul *ad Romanos:* â□□Jesu Christ died for our sins and arose for to justify usâ□□ [Romans 4:25].

Of the second: â□□Like as Jesu Christ arose by the glory of the Father, which is a new glorious life, so ought we in spiritual life to take new mannersâ□□ [Romans 6:4].

Of the third: â□□By his great mercy God hath raised us in hope of life by the resurrection of Jesu Christâ□□ [I Peter 1:3].

Of the fourth it is said to us in Scripture: â□□Jesu Christ arose from death, for by man is death come to men, and by man, that is Jesu Christ, the life is come to men. Thus be they the first of dead men. Adam of them that died, and Jesu Christ of them that be alive by his resurrectionâ□□ [I Cor. 15:20].

And thus it appeareth that Jesu Christ had four properties in his resurrection.

The first is, that our resurrection is deferred unto the last resurrection, and Jesu Christ arose the third day. As saith the gloss upon this psalm: *Ad vesperum demorabitur fletus, etc.,* â□□At evensong time shall be weeping, and on the morn gladness and joyâ□□ [Psalm 29:6]. The gloss saith that the resurrection of Jesu Christ is cause sufficient of the resurrection of souls in this present time, and of the bodies in time to come.

The second property is, that we rise by him, and he arose by himself. Whereof saith S. Ambrose: â□□How might he seek help to raise his body, which raised other?â□□

The third property is, that we become dust or ashes, and his body might not be turned into ashes.

The fourth property is, that his resurrection is cause sacramental of our resurrection.

6. HOW OFTTIMES OUR LORD APPEARED IN HIS RESURRECTION

As touching the sixth article, how oft he appeared the day of his resurrection. He appeared five times.

First to Mary Magdalene, *Marci ultimo* [Mark 16:9]. After his resurrection he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, which is figure of penitents. And for five reasons he appeared to her. First, for she loved him most ardently. Because she loved so much, God forgave and pardoned her many sins. Secondly, for to show that he died for sinners, Matthew ix.: *Non veni vocare, etc.,* â□□I came not for to call rightful men but sinners to penance.â□□ Thirdly, for to verify his word, Matthew xxi.: *Amen dico quia meretrices, etc.:* To the hypocrites and pharisees he saith that common women and the publicans should go before them to the kingdom of heaven. Fourthly, for because that like as a woman was messenger of death, so a woman should be messenger of life, after the gloss. Fifthly, like as sin abounded, so should grace more abound, like as the apostle saith *ad Romanos v* [Romans 5:20].

The second time he appeared to the three Maries which returned from the monument, when he said to them: *Avete,* God greet you; and then they approached him and held his feet. And that is the figure of humble prayers. To whom our Lord appeared, as well for the reason of the nature as for the reason of the affection. For they

held his feet, which signifieth the affection of the heart.

Thirdly he appeared to St. Peter, but when or in what place it is not known, but if it were by adventure when he returned from the monument with St. John. For it might well be that St. Peter in some place turned from St. John, where God appeared to him, or by adventure when he was alone in the monument. Like as it is said in *Scholastica Historia* , or peradventure in a cave or a fosse. For it is read in the histories, when he renied and forsook our Lord, that he fled into a cave where as the mountain is which is called the mountain of the cock; or else after that it is said that he wept three days continually after that he had renied God, and there Jesus appeared to him and comforted him, saying: â□□Peter, bear the virtue of obedience,â□□ to whom our Lord showeth him.

Fourthly he appeared to his disciples which went to Emaus, which is as much as to say as â□□desire of counsel,â□□ and signifieth to visit the poor members of Jesu Christ and to help them. As it is said in the gospel: Go and sell all that thou hast, and give it to poor people.â□□

Fifthly he appeared to his disciples which were together in a place closed. And this signifieth religious men that be in the world with the gates of their five wits closed. These five apparitions were the day of his resurrection.

And these five representeth the priest in his mass when he turneth him five times to the people. But the third turning is in silence, which signifieth the apparition made to S. Peter, which is not known when it was made ne in what place.

Sixthly he appeared the eighth day to his disciples when St. Thomas was there, which had said that he would not believe it till he had seen the wounds, the nails, and that he had put his hands in his side.

The seventh time he appeared fishing, *Johannis ultimo* , and that

signifieth preachers which be fishers of men.

The eighth time he appeared to his disciples in the Mount Tabor, Matthew ultimo, and that signifieth them that been contemplative, for in the said hill was our Lord transfigured.

The ninth time he appeared to eleven disciples where they sat at table, whereat he reproved their incredulity and hardness of heart; by which we understand the sinners in the eleven number of transgression set, whom our Lord by his mercy sometime visiteth.

The tenth time he appeared to his disciples in the Mount of Olives, by which is signified them that be full of mercy and that love compassion, to whom our Lord appeareth, which is Father of mercy and of pity. From this place he ascended up into heaven.

There be three other manner of apparitions of which is made mention, which were made the day of the resurrection, but they be not had in the text of the gospel.

The first was that he appeared to S. James the Less, which is named James Alphei, of which thou shalt find in his legend.

The second that he appeared was to Joseph, as it is read in the gospel of Nicodemus. For when the Jews had heard that Joseph had demanded the body of Jesus of Pilate, and that he had put it in his monument, they were angry and had indignation on him, and took him and put him in a secret place, where diligently they closed him and kept him, and would have slain him after their sabbath day. And Jesus the night of his resurrection entered into the house where he was in, and overlift up the four corners of the house, and wiped and cleansed his visage and kissed him. And without breaking of any lock or seal he brought him into his house in Arimathea.

The third is after that it is believed he appeared unto his mother Mary, the glorious Virgin, and how be it that the holy Evangelists

speak nothing thereof, the Church of Rome approveth it. For the same day is made station at our Lady the major. And if we should not believe because the Evangelists make no mention thereof, it should follow that after his resurrection he appeared not to her; but that ought not to be believed that such a son should not leave his mother without visiting, and do to her so little honour. And peradventure the Evangelists speak no word of her because it appeareth not to them but to set witness of the resurrection. And the Virgin Mary ought not to be set in for no witness. For if the words of strange women were reputed for leasings, much more should the mother be because of the love that she had to him that was her son. And though the Evangelists have not written it, yet they knew well for certain that it is right that first he should enhance and comfort her that had most pain and sorrow for his death. And that witnesseth S. Ambrose in the third book of Virgins: *Vidit Maria, etc.:* â□□Mary saw the resurrection and she believed it perfectly. Mary Magdalene saw it and yet she doubted it.â□□

7. HOW HE DELIVERED THE HOLY FATHERS WHICH WERE ENCLOSED IN A PART OF HELL

Of the seventh, how Jesu Christ drew the holy fathers out of hell, and what he made there, the Evangelist telleth not clearly. Nevertheless Saint Austin in a sermon, and Nicodemus in his gospels, show it somewhat. And Saint Austin saith:

> Anon as Jesu Christ had rendered the spirit, the soul that was united to his Godhead was quick and living in the deepness of hell descended. And when he was at deepest of the darkness, like as a robber shining and terrible to the tyrants of hell, they beheld him and began to demand and enquire:
>
> > Who is he that is so strong, so terrible, so clear and so shining? The world, which is to us subject, sent to us never such one dead, ne he sent to us never such gifts into hell. Who is he then that is so constant that is entered into the furthest end of our parts, and he doubteth not only of our torments, but yet he hath unbound them of their bonds

> whom we held and kept? And they that were wont to wail and weep under our torments, assail us now by their health. And now not only they fear us, but now threaten and menace us.

And they said to their prince: â□□What prince art thou? All thy gladness is perished and all thy joys be converted into weepings. When thou hangedst him in the cross thou knewest not what damage thou shouldst suffer in hell.â□□

After these cruel words of them of hell, at the commandment of our Lord all the locks, all the bars and shuttings been broken, and to-frushed. And lo! the people of saints that come kneeling tofore him in crying with piteous voice, saying:

> Our Redeemer! Thou art come for to redeem the world, we have abided thee every day; thou art descended into hell for us, and leave us not, but that we be with thee when thou shalt return to thy brethren. Lord sweet God, show that thou hast despoiled hell, and bind the author of death with his bonds, render to the world now gladness, and quench the pains; and for thy pity unbind the caitiffs from servitude whiles thou art here, and assoil the sinners when thou descendest into hell, them of thy party.

This said Saint Austin.

And it is read in the gospel of Nicodemus that Carinus and Leucius, sons of old Simeon, arose with Jesu Christ. And they were adjured and sworn of Ananias, of Caiaphas, of Nicodemus, of Joseph, and of Gamaliel, that they should tell and say what Jesus did in hell. And they rehearsed and said:

> When we were with our fathers in the place of obscurity and darkness, suddenly it was all so light and clear as the colour of the sun, like purple, gold, and light royal, which illumined all the habitation upon us. And anon Adam the father of the human lineage began to enjoy, saying: â□□This light is the light of the

creator of the light sempiternal, which promised to send to us his light perpetual.â□□

And Isaiah cried: â□□This is the light of God the Father, like as I said living in the earth: â□□The people that were in darkness saw a great light.â□□â□□

Then came our Father Simeon, and in joying said: â□□Glorify ye our Lord, for I received Christ, a child born in the world, in to mine hands in the Temple, and I was constrained by the Holy Ghost to say, *Nunc viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum:* â□□I have now seen with mine eyen thine health which bringeth and hath made it ready before the face of all thy people.â□□â□□

After, came one which seemed to be an hermit, and when we demanded him what he was, he answered that he was â□□John that baptized Christ, and he that am gone before him for to make ready his way, and showed him with my finger when I said: *Ecce agnus Dei,* and am descended for to show to you that he cometh soon to visit you.â□□

Then said Seth: â□□When I came to the gate of Paradise for to pray our Lord to send me his angel, and that he would give to me of the oil of mercy for to anoint the body of Adam my father, which was sick, the angel Michael appeared to me and said: â□□Labour not in praying by weeping for things here, anon they were transfigured and were no more seen.â□□â□□

And hereof speaketh Gregory Nyssen and S. Austin, like as is found in some books.

Anon as Jesu Christ descended into hell, the night began to wax clear. And anon the porter black and horrible among them in silence began to murmur, saying: â□□Who is he that is so terrible and of clearness so shining? Our master received never none such into hell, ne the world cast never none such into our cavern. This is an assailer, and not debtor, a breaker and

destroyer, and no sinner but a despoiler, we see him a judge but no beseecher, he comes for to fight and not to be overcome, a caster out and not here a dweller.â□□

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NOTES

1 Actually the phrase quoted is from Luke 24:46. Neither of my sources for the *Glossa Ordinaria* explains that verse in the way Voragine claims.

2 I Corinthians 15:3, â□□For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures.â□□

3 The reference is actually to Romans 6:9, â□□For we know that since Christ was raised from the dead, he cannot die again; death no longer has mastery over him.â□□

HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. ROCKE

William Caxton included this translation of a Latin life of St. Roch in his 1483 translation of the Golden Legend. 1 (Roch was born almost a century after the Legend was completed in 1276.) This "reader's version" of Caxton's text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and translation glosses.

ST. ROCHÂ□□S BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

St. Rocke was born in Montpelier, which is a town of great name upon the border of France, and was born of noble progeny. His father was lord of Montpelier, and was named John, and was come of the noble house of France. And though he was noble of birth, and rich of lordship, he was also virtuous in all humanity. He had a wife of noble kindred and fair of visage named Libera, which both devoutly served our Lord Jesu Christ, and lived in divine love and holy works. And how well that they thus had lived long, yet had they no child ne heir, wherefore they oft made their prayers, and vowed pilgrimages.

And on a day most specially, the wife made her prayers to our Blessed Lady, praying devoutly for to have a child, and was in very contemplation, in which she heard the voice of an angel saying: O Libera, God hath heard thy prayer, and thou shalt receive of him grace of thy petition.

And anon she went to her husband and told him as she had heard of the angel. And then they, hereof joyful, accomplished the act of matrimony, and she conceived, and at time was delivered of a son, which in his baptism was named Rochus or Rocke. And this Rocke had impressed in the shoulder on his left side a cross, which was a token that he should be acceptable and beloved of God, which thing when his father and mother saw they blessed God.

And his mother herself nourished and gave suck to the child, and

fed it and committed and did gladly the other business of a nurse. Which devout mother fasted twice in the week, and the blessed child Rocke abstained him twice also, when his mother fasted in the week, and would suck his mother but once that day, which was to all a great wonder, and that day he was gladder, merrier, and sweeter than the other.

And after, when he came to five years of age, he disposed him to the works of penance, and was much obedient to father and mother. And in the twelfth year of his age he fasted many and divers fastings for Christ's love. And the more his members grew, the more the cross, that tofore was spoken of, appeared larger and more apparent.

In that time the father of St. Rocke was sick and saw his last end approach, and called to him his son Rocke, and said: O mine only son Rocke, thou seest well that I shall shortly finish my life; alway the will of God be fulfilled, and four things, with my lordship and heritage, I leave to thee, and command thee to accomplish. First, like as thou hast begun that thou serve busily God. Secondly, that thou remember poor people, widows and orphans. Thirdly, I constitute and ordain thee governor and dispenser of all my treasures, that thou dispend them in charitable and meek works. And fourthly that, with all diligence thou haunt and frequent the hospitals of sick and poor men.

These foresaid things Rocke promised to his father to fulfil them to his power. And anon after his father died, whom Rocke buried honourably, and laid in a sepulture, and in the twentieth year of his age he buried also his devout mother. And in few days he executed the testament of his father effectually, and visited religious places of poor people; wretches oppressed, and sick men, he cured by counsel and works; widows and orphans he comforted; and poor maidens to marry he relieved. And in these good offices and works he dispended his father's goods. And when he had finished his father's commandments he decreed to leave the country of Montpelier and to make and seek other divers pilgrimages, and clad

him with the habit of a pilgrim, and covered his head with a bonnet, a scrip on his shoulder, and a pilgrim's staff in his right hand, and so departed.

HIS MINISTRY IN ITALY DURING THE PLAGUE

And after many desert places he came to Rome, but tofore he came into a town called in Latin Aquapendens, where as was a common and hard pestilence, which, when Rocke knew of many by the way, he desirously went unto the hospital of that town, called Water-hanging, and gat with great prayers and labour of one Vincent, which had the rule of the hospital, that he might there, day and night, serve the sick people.

Vincent was afeard and dreaded lest Rocke, which was a young flowering man should be smitten with pestilence. But after that he came, them that were sick he blessed in the name of Christ, and as soon he had touched the sick men they were all whole. And they said and confessed as soon as and this holy man Rocke was come in. All they that were vexed and sick, and the fire of pestilence had infected, he extincted it and delivered all the hospital of that sickness. And after he went through the town, and each house that was vexed with pestilence he entered, and with the sign of the cross and mind of the passion of Jesu Christ he delivered them all from the pestilence. For whomsoever Rocke touched, anon the pestilence left him.

And when the town of Water-falling was delivered from the contagion of the pestilence, Rocke went to the city of Cesena which is a great city of Italy, which no less pestilence vexed, and he in a short space delivered it from the pestilence. And from thence he came to Rome, which was then so full of pestilence that unnethe in all the town could not be found one house void thereof.

In those days there was at Rome a cardinal of the title of Angleria, which is a province of Lombardy, and the blessed Rocke came into this cardinal's place. And as he stood tofore him a little, suddenly a

marvellous comfort and hope entered into the courage of the cardinal. He understood the young man Rocke to be right dear with God, for his cheer, his manners, and his attemperance showed it, wherefore he commended him to Rocke that he should deliver him from the pestilence and conserve him. And then Rocke did sign in the cardinal's forehead and made with his finger a cross. And anon an apparent sign and a very cross was seen impressed in his forehead, and so the cardinal was preserved from the pestilence. Nevertheless, for the novelty of the thing, he prayed St. Rocke that the token of the cross should be taken away, lest thereby it should be to the people a new spectacle. Then Rocke exhorted the cardinal that he should bear the sign of the cross of our Redeemer, in memory of his passion, in his forehead perpetually, and worship it reverently, by which sign he was delivered from the hard pestilence.

The cardinal then brought St. Rocke to the pope, which anon saw that is godly, a bright ray and heavenly, shining out of the forehead of Rocke. And after, when his divine virtue was known to the pope, Rocke obtained of him full remission of sin. Then the cardinal began to inquire of Rocke of his lineage and of his country, but Rocke affecting no mortal glory, hid his lineage and received again of the pope his blessing and departed from him. And abode at Rome with the same cardinal three years continually, and laboured in visiting and helping the poor people and them that were sick of the pestilence.

And after three years the cardinal, being old, died, and Rocke forsook Rome and came to the town of Armine, a noble city of Italy, which also he delivered from the said pestilence. And when that town was delivered, he went to the city of Manasem in Lombardy, which was also sore oppressed with sick men of the pestilence, whom with all his heart he served diligently, and by the help of God made that town quit of the pestilence. And from thence went to Piacenza, for he understood that there was great pestilence. Rocke was ever of great study how he might, in the name of Jesu and of his passion, deliver mortal men from the hurt of pestilence. And so an whole year he visited the houses of poor men, and they that had

most need, to them he did most help, and was always in the hospital.

ST. ROCH HIMSELF CONTRACTS THE PLAGUE

And when he had been long in the hospital of Piacenza, and had helped almost all the sick men therein, about midnight he heard in his sleep an angel thus saying: O Rocke, most devout to Christ, awake and know that thou art smitten with the pestilence, study now how thou mayst be cured. And anon he felt him sore taken with the pestilence under his both arms. . . . And he was so sore vexed with the pain, that they that were in the hospital were deprived of their sleep and rest of the night, wherefore St. Rocke arose from his bed and went to the utterest place of the hospital, and lay down there abiding the light of the day.

And when it was day the people going by saw him, and accused the master of the hospital of offence, that he suffered the pilgrim to lie without the hospital, but he purged him of that default, saying that: The pilgrim was smitten with the pestilence as ye see, and unwitting to us he went out.

Then the citizens incontinent put out St. Rocke from the city and suburbs, lest by him the city might be the more infected. Then St. Rocke, sore oppressed with fervent pain of the pestilence, suffered patiently himself to be ejected out of Piacenza, and went into a certain wood, a desert valley not far from Piacenza, always blessing God. And there as he might he made him a lodge of boughs and leaves, always giving thankings to our Lord, saying: O Jesu, my Saviour, I thank thee that thou puttest me to affliction like to thine other servants, by this odious ardour of pestilence, and most meek Lord, I beseech thee to this desert place, give the refrigery and comfort of thy grace.

And his prayer finished, anon there came a cloud from heaven by the lodge that St. Rocke had made within boughs, whereas sprang a fair and bright well, which is there yet unto this day. Whose water

St. Rocke drank, being sore athirst, and thereof had great refreshing of the great heat that he suffered of the pestilence fever.

There was nigh unto that wood a little village in which some noblemen dwelled; among whom there was one well beloved to God named Gotard, which had great husbandry, and had a great family and household. This Gotard held many hounds for hunting, among whom he had one much familiar, which boldly would take bread from the board. And when Rocke lacked bread, that hound, by the purveyance of God, brought from the lord's board bread unto Rocke.

Which thing when Gotard had advertised oft that he bare so away the bread, but he wist not to whom ne whither, whereof he marvelled, and so did all his household. And the next dinner he set a delicate loaf on the board, which anon the hound by his new manner took away and bare it to Rocke. And Gotard followed after and came to the lodge of St. Rocke, and there beheld how familiarly the hound delivered the bread to St. Rocke.

Then Gotard reverently saluted the holy man and approached to him, but St. Rocke, dreading lest the contagious air of the pestilence might infect him, said to him: Friend, go from me in good peace, for the most violent pestilence holdeth me.

Then Gotard went his way and left him, and returned home, where, by God's grace, he said thus to himself all still: This poor man whom I have left in the wood and desert, certainly is the man of God, sith this hound without reason bringeth to him bread. I therefore, that have seen him do it, so ought sooner to do it, which am a Christian man.

By this holy meditation Gotard returned to Rocke and said: Holy pilgrim, I desire to do to thee that thou needest, and am advised never to leave thee. Then Rocke thanked God which had sent to him Gotard, and he informed Gotard busily in the law of Christ. And when they had been awhile together the hound brought no more

bread. Gotard asked counsel how he might have bread, for more and more he hungered and asked remedy of St. Rocke. St. Rocke exhorted him after the text, saying: In the sweat of thy visage thou shalt eat thy bread, and that he should return to the town, and leave all his goods to his heirs, and follow the way of Christ and demand bread in the name of Jesu.

Then Gotard was ashamed to do so where he was known, but at the last by the busy admonition of St. Rocke, Gotard went to Piacenza, whereas he had great knowledge, and begged bread and alms at the door of one of his gossips. That same gossip threatened sharply Gotard, and said he shamed his lineage and friends by this foul and indecent begging, and put him away, being wroth and scorning him. For which cause Gotard was constrained to beg busily at the doors of other men of the city. And the same day the gossip that so had said to Gotard was taken sore with the pestilence, and many others that denied alms to Gotard. And then anon the city of Piacenza was infect with contagious pestilence, and Gotard returned to the wood and told to St. Rocke all that was happed.

And St. Rocke told to Gotard tofore, that his gossip should hastily die, which was done indeed. And St. Rocke, moved with pity and mercy, being full sick, went into Piacenza, being full of pestilence, and left Gotard in the wood. And though St. Rocke were sore vexed with the pestilence, yet he with great labour went to Piacenza and with touching and blessing he helped and healed them all, and also cured the hospital of the same city. And he being sore sick and almost lame returned again to Gotard into the wood. And many that heard that he and Gotard were in the place of the desert valley,came to them whom they found all with Rocke, and tofore them all he did these miracles. The wild beasts which wandered in the wood, what hurt, sickness or swelling they had, they ran anon to St. Rocke, and when they were healed they would incline their heads reverently and go their way.

And a little while after Gotard, and his fellows, for certain necessities

and errands, returned into Piacenza and left that time St. Rocke alone in the valley. And St. Rocke made his prayers to Almighty God that he might be delivered from the wounds of pestilence, and in this prayer he fell asleep. And in the meanwhile returned Gotard from the city, and when he came and joined him to Rocke sleeping, he heard the voice of an angel saying: O Rocke, friend of God, our Lord hath heard thy prayers, lo, thou art delivered from the pestilence, and art made all whole, and our Lord commandeth that thou take the way toward thy country.

With this sudden voice Gotard was astonished which never tofore knew the name of Rocke. And anon Rocke awoke, and felt himself all whole by the grace of God like as the angel said. And Gotard told unto Rocke how he had heard the angel and what he had said. Then St. Rocke prayed Gotard that he should keep his name secret and to tell it to no man, for he desired no worldly glory.

Then after a few days St. Rocke with Gotard and his fellows abode in the desert, and informed them all in godly works, and they then began to wax holy, wherein he exhorted them and confirmed, and left them in that desert valley.

ST. ROCH DIES IN PRISON

And St. Rocke, as a pilgrim doing penance, entended, burning in the love of God, toward his country and came to a province of Lombardy called Angleria, and applied him toward Almaine where the lord of his province made war with his enemy, whose knights took St. Rocke as a spy, and delivered him to their lord as a traitor. This blessed saint, always confessing Jesu Christ, was deputed unto a hard and strait prison, and the blessed Rocke patiently went into prison and suffered it gladly. Where day and night remembering the name of Jesu, he commended him to God, praying that the prison should not disprofit him, but that he might have it for wilderness and penance. And there he abode five years in prayers.

In the end of the fifth year, when God would that his soul should be

brought into the fellowship of his saints and be always in the sight of God, he that bare meat to St. Rocke into the prison, as he was accustomed every day, he saw a great light and shining in the prison, and St. Rocke kneeling on his knees praying, which all these things he told to his lord. And the fame hereof ran all about the city, so that many of the citizens ran to the prison because of the novelty of this thing. And there saw and beheld it and gave laud thereof to Almighty God, and accused the lord of cruelty and woodness.

Then at the last, when St. Rocke knew by the will of God that he should finish his mortal life, he called to him the keeper of the prison, and prayed him that he would go to his lord, and to exhort him in the name of God and of the glorious Virgin Mary, that he would send to him a priest, of whom ere he died he would be confessed, which thing was anon done. And when he had confessed him to the priest and devoutly taken his blessing, he prayed him that he might abide alone three days next following for to be in his contemplation, by which he might the better have mind of the most holy passion of our Lord. For Rocke felt well then that the citizens prayed the lord for his deliverance, which things the priest told to the lord.

And so it was granted to St. Rocke to abide there alone three days. And in the end of the third day the angel of God came to St. Rocke, saying thus: O Rocke, God sendeth me for thy soul, of whom in this last part of thy life that what thou now desirest thou shouldest now ask and demand.

Then St. Rocke prayed unto Almighty God with his most devout prayer, that all good Christian men which reverently prayed in the name of Jesu to the blessed Rocke might be delivered surely from the stroke of pestilence. And this prayer so made, he expired and gave up the ghost.

Anon an angel brought from heaven a table divinely written with letters of gold into the prison, which he laid under the head of St. Rocke. And in that table was written that God had granted to him his

prayer, that is to wit, that who that calleth meekly to St. Rocke he shall not be hurt with any hurt of pestilence. And then after the third day the lord of the city sent to the prison that St. Rocke should be delivered out of it. And they that came to the prison found St. Rocke departed from this life, and saw through all the prison a marvellous light, in such wise that without doubt they believed him to be the friend of God. And there was at his head a great taper burning, and another at his feet, by which tapers all his body was light.

Furthermore, they found under his head the foresaid table, by which they knew the name of the blessed Rocke by authority. Which name known, the mother of the lord of that city knew many years tofore St. Rocke to be the son of the lord John of Montpelier, which was brother germain to this lord of whom we have said, which thing, and all that was done, was because they knew not his name. Then they knew him to be nephew to the lord, and also by the sign of the cross which St. Rocke bare, as tofore is said that he had it when he was born out of his mother's belly.

Then they being thereof penitent, and in great wailing and sorrow, at the last with all the people of the city they buried St. Rocke solemnly and religiously, which soon after the holy saint was canonised by the pope gloriously. And in his glorious name and honour they builded a great and large church.

Then let us reverently with devotion pray unto this glorious saint St. Rocke, that by his intercession and prayer we may be delivered from the hard death of pestilence and epidemic, and that we may so live in this life and be penitent for our sins, that after this short life we may come unto everlasting life in heaven. Amen. The feast of St. Rocke is always holden on the morn after the day of the Assumption of our Lady, which life is translated out of Latin into English by me, William Caxton.

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OF ST. SEBASTIAN

Chapter 23 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Sebastian was a man of great faith, a good Christian man, and was born in Narbonne, and after taught and endoctrined in the city of Milan, and was so well beloved of Diocletian and Maximian, emperors of Rome, that they made him master and duke of their meiny and power, and always would have him in their presence. And he was always with them in habit of a knight, and was girded with a girdle of gold above like as was used. And all this did he not for jollity, ne for cause that he dreaded death, or to die for the love of Jesu Christ, but he did it for to comfort the Christian men in their belief when they were in distress for to reny the faith for dread of tormenting their body.

SEBASTIAN'S COUNSEL GIVES FORTITUDE TO TWO CHRISTIAN MARTYRS

It happed that two brethren german, very Christian men and noble of lineage named Marcus and Marcellianus, were taken and constrained by the emperor for to worship and do sacrifice unto the idols, and there was given to them thirty days to be in prison without to receive death for their Christian faith, within which time they might counsel and advise themselves whether they would do sacrifice to the idols or to leave, and their friends were suffered in this time of respite to come to them in prison, for to entreat and revoke them from their faith for to save their lives.

Then came their parents and friends to them, and began to say: Whence cometh this hardness of heart that ye despise the old age of your father and mother which be now old? Ye get unto them new sorrows. The great pain that they had in your birth was not so great as the sorrow that they have now, and the sorrow that your mother suffereth is not to rehearse, wherefore right dear friends we pray

you that ye will to these sorrows put some remedy, and depart you and leave the error of the Christian men.

And anon, after these words, their mother came, and entered in, in crying and tearing the hair of her head and in showing her paps, and said all weeping: Alas! I am mechant and unhappy that lose my two sons that I have given suck and nourished so sweetly. Thou, fair son, thou wert sweet and debonair to me.

And to that other she said: Thou wert like and semblest well thy father. Alas! to what mischief and sorrow am I delivered for you my fair sons; I lose my sons which by their own will go for to die. My most dear children, have ye mercy on your sorrowful mother, that am in so great misease and in so great weepings for you; O poor caitiff that I am, what shall I do that lose my two sons? and to the death I see them go by their free will. Alas! this is a new manner of death, for to desire the death tofore it come.

The mother had unnethe said her complaint but that their father was brought between two servants, which at the entry showed to his sons dust upon the poverty of his hoar head and cried: Alas I sorrowful caitiff come to the death of my two sons, which by their own agreement will die. O my over dearest sons that were the sustenance and staff of mine old age, sweetly nourished and taught and learned in science, what is this open foolishness and rage that is come on you and causeth you to love and desire so the death? There was never such a folly ne rage seen in the world. O ye my friends come forth and help me to beweep my children, ye that have hearts of pity, and ye old and young, weep ye, and I will weep so much that I see not the death of my sons.

In the while that the father thus wept and said, came the two wives of these two sons, which bare in their arms their children, which weeping and crying said: Say ye now that be our dear husbands, in what ward leave ye us and your children! Alas, what shall become of us, our children, and our goods, that for your sake shall be lost? Alas caitiffs that we be, what thing is to us happened? how have ye

hearts of iron? in what manner may ye so be hardened, so out of nature, and so cruel, that also despise your father and mother and refuse all your friends, chase away your wives, and reny and forsake your children, and with your will deliver yourselves for to die shamefully?

Of these lamentable words tofore written, the two said sons Marcus and Marcellianus were so abashed and their hearts mollified, that almost they were returned from the Christian faith, and would for the favour of their parents and friends have done sacrifice unto the idols. But at these words was St. Sebastian as a knight; when he saw them thus travailed, and so amollished anon came to them and said: O right noble knights of Jesu Christ, wise and hardy, which be come to the victory and now go aback, and for a few blandishing words vain and miserable, ye will lose the victory permanable, lose ye not the everlasting life for the blandishing words of women, be ye example to other Christian men for to be strong in the faith. Address ye your hearts above the world, and lose ye not your crown for the weepings of your wives and your children. They that now weep, certes should this day be glad and joyous if they knew that ye know. They ween that there be none other life but this which they see tofore their eyes, which after this shall come to nought: if they knew what is that other life without death and without heaviness, in which is joy permanable and everlasting, without doubt they would haste them for to go with you unto that life and should repute this life as vain. For it is full of misery and also false, and sith the beginning of the world hath deceived all his friends and conquered all them that have affiance in him, for she hath lied in her promise, yet doth she daily in this life more harm. For she maketh gluttons, and other she maketh lecherous, she maketh thieves for to slay, and the angry cruel, and the liars false and deceivable. She putteth discord among wedded and married people, and debate among the peaceable. By the world cometh all malice and also felony. This evil do they that in this life put their desires and ween long to live therein, and when they that thus serve the world have used their life in doing this evil aforesaid, then giveth she to them her daughter, that is the death perpetual – that is the reward that the life of this world giveth to her

servants that depart from this world dispurveyed, and bear nothing with them but their sins.

After this St. Sebastian turned him to their parents and friends and said to them in this manner: O ye my friends, lo, here the life of this world which deceiveth you in such wise that ye discounsel your friends from the everlasting life, ye distrouble your children that they should not come to the company of heaven, and to the honour permanable and to the amity of the emperor celestial, by your foolish words and your false weepings; if they should assent to your repeal, they should but a while dwell with you, and after should depart from your company where ye should see them in torments that should never end, whereas cruel flame devoureth the souls of miscreants and worshippers of idols, and the dragons eat the lips of cursed men, and the serpents destroy them that be evil; there where is heard nothing but wailings, weepings, and horrible cries of souls which burn continually in the fire of hell, and ever shall burn without dying. Suffer ye that your sons escape these torments, and think how ye may escape and let them suffer death for the love of Jesu Christ. Think not but they, when they shall be thus departed from you, go for to make ready your place and your mansion in heaven, where ye and your children may be in joy perpetual.

In this hour and time that St. Sebastian, that was in habit of a knight clad with a mantle and girt with a girdle of gold, and had said these words, anon came a great light, in the which appeared a youngling clad with a white mantle among seven angels, and gave to St. Sebastian the peace saying: Thou shalt be alway with me.

This saw the wife of Nicostratus named Zoe in whose house Marcus and Marcellianus were in prison, which had been mute and dumb six years by a sickness that she had; but she had understood that which St. Sebastian had said and had seen the light about him, and she fell down to his feet, and by signs of her hands made prayers to him.

And after when St. Sebastian knew that she had lost her speech,

anon he said to her: If I be the servant of Jesu Christ and if all that I have said be true, then I pray him that he will render to thee thy speech again that opened the mouth of Zacharias the prophet. And anon escried this woman much high, and said: The word that thou hast said is very true, and blessed be thou and the word of thy mouth, and blessed be all they that by thee believe in Jesu Christ the son of God, for I have seen certainly seven angels tofore thee holding a book, in which was written all that which thou hast said, and cursed be they that believe thee not.

And Nicostratus husband of this woman, and the father and mother, and all the friends of Marcellianus and Marcus received the Christian faith and were all baptized by Polycarpus the priest unto the number of seventy-eight persons, men, women, and children. And ten days during they abode together in orisons and prayers, and thanked God of his benefits.

Among them was Tranquillinus, father unto the holy martyrs aforesaid, which had eleven year during, the gout in his feet and hands, and as soon as Polycarp had baptized him he became as whole and sound in his feet and hands as a child.

THE CHRISTIANS CONVERT THE PROVOST CHROMATIUS AND HIS SON

After the ten days, Agrestin and Chromatius, provosts of Rome, made Tranquillinus their father to come tofore them, and demanded of him how his sons were advised and counselled, and he answered: Much well did ye when ye gave to them respite, for in the meantime they that should have died have found life and joy.

And the provost supposed that his sons had been turned, and said: To-morn I shall see how thy sons shall make sacrifice to the idols, by whom thou and they may dwell in peace.

And Tranquillinus said: Gentle man, if thou wilt justly adore and work about me and my sons thou shalt find that the name of

Christian men is of great virtue.

And the provost said: Tranquillinus, art thou wood?

And he answered: I have been out of my wit, but as soon as I believed in Jesu Christ I received health of body and of soul.

The provost said: I see well that the respite of thy sons hath brought thee in error.

Tranquillinus said: Know you of what works come error?

The provost bade him say, and he said: The first error is to leave the way of life and go by the way of death for to dispute that men which be dead for to be gods, and to adore their images, made of wood or of stone.

The provost said: Then they be no gods that we adore?

Tranquillinus said: It is read in our books what men they were that ye adore for gods, how evil they lived, and how mechantly they died. Saturnus whom ye worship for god was lord of Crete, and ate the flesh of his children. How, is not he one of your gods? And Jupiter his son, whom ye adore, which slew his father, and took his sister to his wife, what evil was this? How art thou in great error that adorest this cursed man, and sayest to the image of stone, "Thou art my god," and to the stock of tree, "Help me"?

The provost said: If there be none but one God invisible that ye adore, wherefore then adore ye Jesu Christ whom the Jews crucified?

Tranquillinus answered: If thou knewest of a ring of gold in which were a precious stone, lying in the mire of a valley, thou wouldst send thy servants for to take up this ring and if they might not lift it up, thou wouldst unclothe thyself of thy clothes of silk and do on a coarse coat and wouldst help to take up this ring and make a great

feast.

The provost said: Wherefore hast thou put forth this proposition now?

Tranquillinus answered: For to show to thee that we adore one only God.

The provost said: What understandest thou by this ring?

Tranquillinus said. the gold of the ring is the body human, and the precious stone signifieth the soul which is enclosed in the body. The body and the soul make a man, like as the gold and the precious stone make a ring, and much more precious is the man to Jesu Christ than the ring is to thee. Thou sendest thy servants for to take up this ring out of the dirt or mire, and they may not. Thus sent God into this world the prophets for to draw the human lineage out of the ordure of sins, and they might not do it. And like as thou shouldst leave thy rich clothes and clothe thee with a coarse coat, and wouldst descend into the privy, and put thy hands into foul ordure to take up the ring, right so the majesty of God hid the light of his divinity by a carnal vestment, which he took of our nature human, and clad him therewith and descended from heaven, and came here beneath into the privy of this world, and put his hands in the ordure of our miseries in suffering hunger and thirst, and took us up out of the filth and washed us from our sins by the water of baptism. And thus he which despiseth thee because thou shouldst descend in a foul habit to take up the ring, thou mightest well put him to death. Thus all they that reny or despise Jesu Christ because he humbled himself for to save man, may in no wise escape from the death of hell.

The provost said: I see well that these be but fables; thou hast taken respite for thy sons, knowest thou not well that the emperor our lord is cruel against Christian men?

Tranquillinus said: It is folly to doubt more human puissance than

the puissance divine, they that be cruel against us may well torment our bodies but they may not take from our heart Jesu Christ.

Then the provost put Tranquillinus in the hands of the sergeants saying: Show to me the medicine by which thou art healed of thy gout, and I shall give to thee gold without number.

Tranquillinus said: Know thou that much evil shall come to them that sell and buy the grace of God, but if thou wilt be whole of the malady of the gout, believe in Jesu Christ and thou shalt be whole as I am.

The provost said: Bring him to me that hath healed thee.

Tranquillinus went to Polycarp and said to him all this, and brought him with St. Sebastian unto the provost and informed him in the faith, and he prayed them that he might have his health, and St. Sebastian said that he should first reny his idols and give him licence to break them, and then he should have his health.

Then Chromatius the provost said that his servants should break them. St. Sebastian said: They be afeared and dare not break them, and if the fiends hurt any of them by any occasion, the misbelievers would say that they were hurt because they brake their gods.

And then Polycarp and St. Sebastian destroyed more than two hundred idols. Then said they to the provost: Why hast thou not received the health whilst we brake the idols? Thou keepest yet thy misbelief or else keepest yet some idols.

Then he showed them a chamber which was light as had been of stars, whereupon his father had dispended two hundred pods of gold, by which he knew things for to come. Then said St. Sebastian: As long as thou keepest this whole thou mayst never have health.

And then he agreed it should be broken. Tiburtius, his son, which was a noble young man, said plainly that so noble a work should not

be destroyed: How well I will not be against my father's health, this will I well, that there be ordained two furnaces of fire burning, and then I will that ye destroy this work, and if my father have his health I shall be content, and if he receive not his health, then I will that ye two shall be burnt in these two furnaces of fire all quick.

And St. Sebastian said: Be it as thou hast said.

And forthwith they went and brake the chamber. And in the meanwhile the angel of our Lord appeared to the provost and said his health was given to him, and anon he was all whole, and ran after him for to have kissed his feet, but he denied him for he had not received baptism. And then he and Tiburtius his son with one thousand four hundred of their family were baptized.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ZOE, TIBURTIUS, MARCUS, AND MARCELLIANUS

Then Zoe was taken of the miscreants and tormented so long that she gave up the spirit. And when Tranquillinus heard that, he came forth and said: Alas! why live we so long? Women go tofore us to the crown of martyrdom.

And within a few days after he was stoned to death. And Tiburtius was commanded that he should go barefoot upon burning coals or else do sacrifice to the idols, and then he made the sign of the cross upon the coals and went on them barefoot, and he said: Me thinketh I go upon rose flowers in the name of our Lord Jesu Christ.

To whom Fabian the provost said: It is not unknown to us that your Jesu Christ is a teacher of sorcery.

To whom Tiburtius said: Hold thy peace thou cursed wretch, for thou art not worthy to name so worthy, so holy ne so sweet a name.

Then the provost was wroth and commanded to smite off his head, and so he was martyred. And then Marcellianus and Marcus were

sore tormented and bound to a pillar, and as they were so bound they said: Lo! how good and joyful it is brethren to dwell together.

To whom the provost said: Ye wretches, do away your madness and deliver yourselves.

And they said: We were never so well fed, we would that thou wouldest let us stand here till that the spirits should depart out of our bodies.

And then the provost commanded that they should be pierced through the body with spears, and so they fulfilled their martyrdom.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN

After this St. Sebastian was acccused to the emperor that he was Christian, wherefore Diocletian, the emperor of Rome, made him come tofore him, and said to him: I have always loved thee well, and have made thee master of my palace; how then hast thou been Christian privily against my health, and in despite of our gods?

St. Sebastian said: Always I have worshipped Jesu Christ for thy health and for the state of Rome, and I think for to pray and demand help of the idols of stone is a great folly.

With these words Diocletian was much angry and wroth, and commanded him to be led to the field and there to be bounden to a stake for to be shot at. And the archers shot at him till he was as full of arrows as an urchin is full of pricks, and thus left him there for dead.

The night after came a Christian woman for to take his body and to bury it, but she found him alive and brought him to her house, and took charge of him till he was all whole. Many Christian men came to him which counselled him to void the place, but he was comforted and stood upon a step where the emperor should pass by, and said to him: The bishops of the idols deceive you evilly which accuse the

Christian men to be contrary to the common profit of the city, that pray for your estate and for the health of Rome.

Diocletian said: Art thou not Sebastian whom we commanded to be shot to death.

And St. Sebastian said: Therefore our Lord hath rendered to me life to the end that I should tell you that evilly and cruelly ye do persecutions unto Christian men.

Then Diocletian made him to be brought into prison into his palace, and to beat him so sore with stones till he died. And the tyrants threw his body into a great privy, because the Christian men should make no feast to bury his body, ne of his martyrdom. But St. Sebastian appeared after to St. Lucy, a glorious widow, and said to her: In such a privy shalt thou find my body hanging at an hook, which is not defouled with none ordure, when thou hast washed it thou shalt bury it at the catacombs by the apostles.

And the same night she and her servants accomplished all that Sebastian had commanded her. He was martyred the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty seven.

MIRACLES OF ST. SEBASTIAN

The Woman Who Might Not Abstain from Her Husband

And St. Gregory telleth in the first book of his Dialogues that a woman of Tuscany which was new wedded was prayed for to go with other women to the dedication of the church of Sebastian, and the night tofore she was so moved in her flesh that she might not abstain from her husband, and on the morn, she having greater shame of men than of God, went thither, and anon as she was entered into the oratory where the relics of St. Sebastian were, the fiend took her and tormented her before all the people. And then the priest took the coverture of the altar and covered her, and then the devil assailed the priest. Her friends led her to the enchanters that

they should enchant the fiend, but as soon as they began the enchantment, by the judgment of God a legion of devils entered into her, that is six thousand six hundred and sixty six, and vexed her more sharply than tofore, and an holy man named Fortunatus by his prayers healed her.

The Great Plague in Italy

It is read in the gestes of the Lombards that, in the time of King Gumbert all Italy was smitten with so great a pestilence that unnethe they that were alive might bury the dead, and this pestilence was most at Rome and Pavia. Then the good angel was seen visibly of many, and an evil angel following bearing a staff whom he bade smite and slay, and as many strokes as he smote an house, so many dead persons were borne out of it. Then at last it was shewed to one by God's grace that this pestilence should not cease till that they had made an altar to St. Sebastian at Pavia, which then was made in the church of St. Peter, and anon the pestilence ceased, and thither from Rome relics of St. Sebastian were brought.

CONCLUSION

And St. Ambrose in his preface saith thus: O Lord, the blood of thy blessed martyr St. Sebastian was shed for the confession of thy name, he hath showed thy marvels that they profit in infirmity virtue, and giveth to our studies profit, and to them not steadfast to thee it giveth aid and help. Then let us pray to this holy martyr St. Sebastian that he pray unto our Lord that we may be delivered from all pestilence and from sudden death, and so depart advisedly hence, that we may come to everlasting joy and glory in heaven.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. SILVESTER

Chapter 12 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and underlined glosses for hard words.

Silvester was son of one Justa and was learned and taught of a priest named Cyrinus, which did marvellously great alms and made hospitalities. It happed that he received a Christian man into his house named Timothy, who no man would receive for the persecution of tyrants, wherefore the said Timothy suffered death and passion after that year whilst he preached justly the faith of Jesu Christ.

ST. SILVESTER IS IMPRISONED BY TARQUINIUS

It was so that the prefect Tarquinius supposed that Timothy had had great plenty of riches, which he demanded of Silvester, threatening him to the death but if he delivered them to him. And when he found certainly that Timothy had no great riches, he commanded to St. Silvester to make sacrifice to the idols, and if he did not he would make him suffer divers torments.

St. Silvester answered: False, evil man, thou shalt die this night, and shalt have torments that ever shall endure, and thou shalt know, whether thou wilt or not, that he whom we worship is very God.

Then St. Silvester was put in prison, and the provost went to dinner. Now it happed that as he ate, a bone of a fish turned in his throat and stuck fast, so that he could neither have it down ne up, and at midnight died like as St. Silvester had said, and then St. Silvester was delivered out of prison.

HE IS CHOSEN BISHOP OF ROME

He was so gracious that all Christian men and paynims loved him, for he was fair like an angel to look on, a fair speaker, whole of body, holy in work, good in counsel, patient and charitable, and firmly established in the faith. He had in writing the names of all the widows and orphans that were poor, and to them he administered their necessity. He had a custom to fast all Fridays and Saturdays. And it was so that Melchiades, the bishop of Rome, died, and all the people chose St. Silvester for to be the high Bishop of Rome, which sore against his will was made pope. He instituted for to be fasted Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and the Thursday for to be hallowed as Sunday.

THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE ESTABLISHES CHRISTIANITY IN ROME

Now it happed that the Emperor Constantine did do slay all the Christian men over all where he could find them, and for this cause St. Silvester fled out of the town with his clerks and hid him in a mountain. And for the cruelty of Constantine God sent him such a sickness that he became lazar and measel, and by the counsel of his physicians he got three thousand young children for to have cut their throats, for to have their blood in a bath all hot, and thereby he might be healed of his measelry.

And when he should ascend into his chariot for to go to the place where he should be bathed, the mothers of the children came crying and braying for sorrow of their children. And when he understood that they were mothers of the children, he had great pity on them and said to his knights and them that were about him: The dignity of the empire of Rome is brought forth of the fountain of pity, the which hath stablished by decree that who that slayeth a child in battle shall have his head smitten off. Then should it be great cruelty to us for to do to ours such thing as we defend to strange nations, for so should cruelty surmount us. It is better that we leave cruelty and that pity surmount us, and therefore me seemeth better to save the lives of

these innocents, than by their of death I should have again my health, of the which we be not yet certain. Ne we may recover nothing for to slay them, for if so were that I should thereby have health, that should be a cruel health that should be bought with the death of so many innocents.

Then he commanded to render and deliver again to the mothers their children, and gave to every each of them a good gift, and thus made them return to their houses with great joy, from whence they departed with great sorrow, and he himself returned again in his chariot unto his palace.

Now it happed that, the night after, St. Peter and St. Paul appeared to this Emperor Constantine, saying to him: Because thou hast had horror to shed and spill the blood of innocents, our Lord Jesu Christ hath had pity on thee, and commandeth thee to send unto such a mountain where Silvester is hid with his clerks, and say to him that thou comest for to be baptized of him and thou shalt be healed of thy malady.

And when he was awaked he did do call his knights and commanded them to go to that mountain and bring the Pope Silvester to him courteously and fair, for to speak with him.

When St. Silvester saw from far the knights come to him, he supposed they sought him for to be martyred, and began to say to his clerks that they should be firm and stable in the faith for to suffer martyrdom. When the knights came to him they said to him much courteously that Constantine sent for him, and prayed him that he would come and speak with him.

And forthwith he came, and when they had intersaluted each other, Constantine told to him his vision. And when Silvester demanded of him what men they were that so appeared to him, the emperor wist not ne could not name them. St. Silvester opened a book wherein the images of St. Peter and St. Paul were pourtrayed, and demanded of him if th…

Ryan's translation (I, 65)]:

Looking at the pictures, the emperor identifies the saints as the ones who had appeared to him. After a week of fasting, he is baptized by Silvester. A great light attends this event, Constantine has a vision of Christ, and his leprosy is cured. He then issues seven decrees on seven successive days:

1. In Rome, Christ is to be worshiped as truly divine.
2. Blasphemy against Christ will be punished.
3. Anyone wronging a Christian will lose half his property.
4. The Bishop of Rome is head of all the bishops.
5. Anyone seeking sanctuary in a church is immune from harm.
6. No one can build a church in a city without permission of that cityâs

[end of lacuna]
…bishop. The seventh, that the dime and tenth part of the possessions should be given to the church.

After this the emperor came to St. Peter's church and confessed meekly all his sins tofore all people, and what wrong he had done to Christian men, and made to dig and cast out to make the foundements for the churches, and bare on his shoulders twelve hods or baskets full of earth.

THE DEBATE BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH SCHOLARS

When Helen, the mother of Constantine, dwelling in Bethany, heard say that the emperor was become Christian, she sent to him a letter, in which she praised much her son of this that he had renounced the false idols, but she blamed him much that he had renounced the law of the Jews, and worshipped a man crucified. Then Constantine remanded to his mother that she should assemble the greatest masters of the Jews, and he should assemble the greatest masters of the Christian men, to the end that they might dispute and know which was the truest law.

Then Helen assembled twelve masters which she brought with her, which were the wisest that they might find in that law, and St. Silvester and his clerks were of that other party. Then the emperor ordained two paynims, gentiles, to be their judges, of whom that one was named Crato, and that other Zenophilus, which were proved wise and expert, and they to give the sentence, and be judge of the disputation.

Then began one of the masters of the Jews for to maintain and dispute his law, and St. Silvester and his clerks answered to his disputation, and to them all, always concluding them by scripture. The judges which were true and just, held more of the party of St. Silvester than of the Jews.

Then said one of the masters of the Jews named Zambry, I marvel, said he, that ye be so wise and incline you to their words, let us leave all these words and go we to the effect of the deeds.

Then he did do come a cruel bull, and said a word in his ear, and anon the bull died. Then the people were all against Silvester.

Then said Silvester, believe not thou that he hath named in the ear the name of Jesu Christ, but the name of some devil, know ye verily it is no great strength to slay a bull, for a man, or a lion, or a serpent may well slay him, but it is great virtue to raise him again to life, then if he may not raise him it is by the devil. And if he may raise him again to life, I shall believe that he is dead by the power of God.

And when the judges heard this, they said to Zambry, that had slain the bull, that he should raise him again. Then he answered that if Sylvester might raise him in the name of Jesus of Galilee his master, then he would believe in him, and thereto bound them all the Jews that were there.

And St. Silvester first made his orisons and prayers to our Lord, and sith came to the bull and said to him in his ear: Thou cursed creature that art entered into this bull and hast slain him, go out in

the name of Jesu Christ, in whose name I command thee, bull: arise thou up and go thou with the other beasts debonairly.

And anon the bull arose and went forth softly. Then the queen and the judges, which were paynims, were converted to the faith.

ST. SILVESTER BINDS THE DRAGON

In this time it happed that there was at Rome a dragon in a pit, which every day slew with his breath more than three hundred men. Then came the bishops of the idols unto the emperor and said unto him: O thou most holy emperor, sith the time that thou hast received Christian faith the dragon which is in yonder fosse or pit slayeth every day with his breath more than three hundred men.

Then sent the emperor for St. Silvester and asked counsel of him of this matter. St. Silvester answered that by the might of God he promised to make him cease of his hurt and blessure of this people. Then St. Silvester put himself to prayer.

And St. Peter appeared to him and said: Go surely to the dragon and the two priests that be with thee take in thy company, and when thou shalt come to him thou shalt say to him in this manner: âOur Lord Jesu Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified, buried and arose, and now sitteth on the right side of the Father, this is he that shall come to deem and judge the living and the dead, I commend thee Sathanas that thou abide him in this place till he come.â Then thou shalt bind his mouth with a thread, and seal it with thy seal, wherein is the imprint of the cross. Then thou and the two priests shall come to me whole and safe, and such bread as I shall make ready for you ye shall eat.

Thus as St. Peter had said, St. Silvester did. And when he came to the pit, he descended down one hundred and fifty steps, bearing with him two lanterns, and found the dragon, and said the words that St. Peter had said to him, and bound his mouth with the thread, and sealed it, and after returned, and as he came upward again he

met with two enchanters which followed him for to see if he descended, which were almost dead of the stench of the dragon, whom he brought with him whole and sound, which anon were baptized, with a great multitude of people with them. Thus was the city of Rome delivered from double death, that was from the culture and worshipping of false idols, and from the venom of the dragon.

At the last when St. Silvester approached towards his death, he called to him the clergy and admonished them to have charity, and that they should diligently govern their churches, and keep their flock from the wolves. And after the year of the incarnation of our Lord three hundred and twenty, he departed out of this world and slept in our Lord, etc.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES SIMON AND JUDE

Chapter 159 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Simon Cananean and Judas Thaddeus were brethren of James the Less and sons of Mary Cleophas, which was married to Alpheus. And Jude was sent of Thomas to the king Abgarus of Edessa after the ascension of our Lord.

KING ABGARUS WRITES TO JESUS

And it is read in the History Scholastic that the said Abgarus sent an epistle unto our Lord Jesu Christ in this manner:

> Abgarus the son of Euchania to Jesus, blessed Saviour, which appeareth in the places of Jerusalem, sendeth salutation. I have heard of thee, and that the healths and recoverings that thou makest and dost, be without medicines and herbs, and that thou makest the blind to see by thine only word, and the lame to go, the mesels to be cured and made whole, and the dead bodies to live again. Which things heard of thee, I ween in my courage that thou art one of two, that is that thou art God that art descended from heaven for to do this, or that thou art the son of God that dost such things. Wherefore I pray thee by writing that thou wilt travail so much as to come to me and heal me of my malady, of which I have long been vexed. And I have heard say that the Jews murmur against thee and lie in await against thee. Come therefore to me, for I have a little city, but it is honest, and shall shall well suffice to us both.

Our Lord Jesus answered him by writing in these words:

> Blessed art thou that hast believed in me when thou hast not seen me. It is written of me, that they that see me not shall believe in me, and they that see me shall not believe. Of that thou hast written to me that I shall come to thee, me behoveth to [i.e., I must] accomplish that which I am sent for, and after to be received of him from whom I am sent. When I am ascended, I shall send to thee one of my disciples to heal thee and quicken thee.

THE PAINTING OF JESUS' FACE

This is written in Historia Ecclesiastica. And when Abgarus saw that he might not see God presently, after that it is said in an ancient history, as John Damascene witnesseth in his fourth book, he sent a painter unto Jesu Christ for to figure the image of our Lord, to the end that at least that he might see him by his image, whom he might not see in his visage.

And when the painter came, because of the great splendour and light that shone in the visage of our Lord Jesu Christ, he could not behold it, ne could not counterfeit it by no figure. And when our Lord saw this thing he took from the painter a linen cloth and set it upon his visage, and emprinted the very phisiognomy of his visage therein, and sent it unto the king Abgarus which so much desired it.

And in the same history is contained how this image was figured. It was well-eyed, well-browed, a long visage or cheer, and inclined, which is a sign of maturity or ripe sadness.

THE POWER OF JESUS' LETTER TO ABGARUS

That epistle of our Lord Jesu Christ is of such virtue, that in the city of Edessa no heretic ne no paynim may live therein, ne none tyrant may grieve it. For if any people come against that city by force of arms, a child shall stand upon the gate, and shall read that epistle, and that same day either the enemies shall flee and be afraid, or they shall make peace with them of the town. And as is said: This hath been done. But this city hath been sith taken of the Saracens

and touched in such wise, that for the multiplying of sins this benefit is lost.

THE MISSION OF ST. JUDE THADDEUS TO KING ABGARUS

Also it is read in the History Ecclesiastic that when our Lord was ascended into heaven, Thomas the apostle sent Thaddeus, that was Jude, unto the king Abgarus according to the promise of our Lord. And when he was come to him, and had told to him that he was messenger of our Lord Jesu Christ, which had promised to send him one, then Abgarus saw in the visage of Thaddeus a marvellous and godly brightness. And when he had seen it he was all abashed and afeared, and worshipped our Lord saying: " Verily, thou art the disciple of Jesu Christ, Son of God, which sent to me word that he would send to me some one of his disciples that should heal me and give to me life."

To whom Thaddeus said: "If thou believest in the Son of God thou shalt have all the desires of thine heart."

And Abgarus said: "I believe on him, verily, and those Jews that slew him, I would gladly slay them if it were possible to me, and had power, howbeit that the authority letteth it."

And as it is read in some places and books, that Abgarus was leper, and Thaddeus took the epistle of our Saviour, and rubbed and frotted therewith the visage of Abgarus, and anon he received full health.

SIMON AND JUDE ADVISE DUKE BARDACH IN MESOPOTAMIA

Judas preached first in Mesopotamia and in Pontus, and Simon preached in Egypt, and from thence came they into Persia, and found there two enchanters, Zaroes and Arphaxat, whom S. Matthew had driven out of Ethiopia. And found there also Baradach, a duke of the kings of Babylon, which should go in battle against them of India, and could have none answer of his gods. And then they went to a temple nigh to the city, and there they had answer

that because that the apostles that were come they might not answer. Then the duke did enquire for them, and found them, and demanded them wherefore they were come, and what they were.

Which answered: "If thou demand of our lineage, we be Hebrews, and if thou demand of our condition, we be servants of Jesu Christ, and if thou demand wherefore we be come, we be for your health."

To whom the duke answered: "When I shall return joyously from the battle I shall hear you."

To whom the apostles said: "It is more convenable to thee to know him now, by whom thou mayst overcome and appease them that be rebel to thee."

And the duke answered: "I see you more mighty than our gods; I pray you to say to us tofore the end of the battle."

And the apostles said: "Because that thou knowest thy gods to be liars, we command them that they give answer to that [which] thou demandest, because that when they have we shall prove that they have lied."

Then the idols said that the battle should be great, and much people should be overthrown on both sides. And then the apostles began to laugh and the duke said to them: "I am afeard and ye laugh."

And the apostles said: " Doubt ye nothing, for peace shall be made among you, and tomorn at the hour of tierce the messengers of the Medes shall come, and shall submit them to thy puissance with peace."

And then the bishops of the idols made a great laughter, and said to the duke: "These men here would assure thee here, to the end that thou shouldst believe foolishly, and that thou shouldst be betaken of thine adversaries."

And the apostles said: "We say not abide a month, but one day only, and thou shalt be vanquisher all in peace."

Then the duke made to be kept that one and that other, that they that said the truth should be honoured, and the liars punished. Then on the morn, like as the apostles had said, it happed, and then the duke would have burnt the bishops of the idols, but the apostles letted him that he should not slay them, for they were not come for to slay but for to quicken the dead. And then the duke much marvelled that they would not that they should be slain ne receive none of their goods, and brought them to the king and said: "These be gods hid in form of men."

THE ENCHANTERS CONSPIRE AGAINST SAINTS SIMON AND JUDE

And when he had told all to him in the presence of his enchanters, the enchanters, being moved of envy, said that they were malicious and wicked men, and purposed some malice against the realm subtly. Then the duke said to them: "Now if ye dare, assay ye and dispute with them."

And the enchanters said: "If thou wilt, thou shalt see that they shall not now speak. We being present, make men to come hither that be eloquent and can well speak. And if they dare speak tofore us despise ye us, and say we be fools."

And then were brought tofore them many advocates, and anon they were made dumb tofore the enchanters, so that by signs they might not show that they might not speak. Then said the enchanters to the king: "To the end that thou know that we be gods, we shall suffer them to speak, but they shall not mow go, and then we shall give to them their going and shall take away their sight, and yet shall their eyes be open."

And when they had done all these things, the duke brought the advocates all confused unto the apostles, and when the advocates

saw the apostles so evil clothed, they had of them great despite in their courage. To whom Simon said: "Ofttimes it happeth that among coffers of gold wrought with precious stones be right evil things enclosed, and within coffers of tree be laid gold rings and precious stones. Promise ye that ye will forsake the idols and will worship one only God invisible, and we shall make the sign of the cross in your foreheads, and ye shall then mow confound these enchanters."

And when these advocates had renounced the idols and were marked in the foreheads with the sign of the cross, they entered again to the king tofore the enchanters. Then might they not be overcome of the enchanters, but confounded them openly before the king and all the people. The enchanters were then angry, and made to come a great multitude of serpents. Then the apostles came anon by the commandment of the king, and filled their mantles with the serpents, and threw them against the enchanters, saying: "Move ye not in the name of our Lord Jesu Christ but be ye to-torn and beaten, so that ye cry and bray in showing what sorrow and pain ye suffer."

And then when the serpents bit and eat the flesh of the enchanters, they cried and howled like wolves, and the king and the others prayed the apostles that they would suffer them to die with the serpents. And the apostles answered that they were sent for to bring men from death to life, and not from life to death. Then made they their prayers and commanded the serpents that they should take from them again the venom that they had shed, and return again to the places that they came from.

And the enchanters felt greater pain when they drew out their venom again, than they did the first time when they bit them. And the apostles said to them: "Ye shall feel this pain three days, and at the third day ye shall be whole, so that ye depart from your malice."

And when they had been tormented three days without meat and drink and without sleep, the apostles came to them and said: "God

deigneth not to have service by force, and therefore arise ye all whole and go your way, ye have power to do what ye will.

And they, abiding in their malice, arose up and fled from the apostles and moved almost against them all Babylon.

THE UNWED MOTHER AND THE HOLY DEACON

After, the daughter of a duke conceived a son by fornication, and at her deliverance thereof she defamed an holy deacon, and said that he had defouled her and she had conceived of him. And when the friends of her would have slain the deacon, the apostles came and demanded when the child had been born. And they said: "Yesterday, the first hour of the day."

And the apostles said: "Bring hither the child to us, and also the deacon that ye accuse."

And when that was done, the apostles said to the child: "Say to us in the name of our Lord if this deacon hath done this deed."

And the child answered: "This deacon is chaste and an holy man, ne he never defouled his flesh."

And then the parents and friends required that the apostle should demand who had done that felony. They answered: "It appertaineth to us for to excuse the innocents, and not betray ne hurt them that be culpable."

TWO CRUEL TIGERS

That time it happed that two cruel tigers, which were enclosed in a pit, brake out and devoured all them that they met and encountered, and then the apostles came to them and made them as meek and debonair, in the name of our Lord, as they had been sheep or lambs.

SIMON AND JUDE GAIN CONVERTS IN MESOPOTAMIA AND ARE MARTYRED

And then the apostles would have departed thence, but they were holden by prayers so that they abode there a year and three months, and in that espace of time the king and more than sixty thousand men were baptized, without children.

And the foresaid enchanters went into a city called Suamar, whereas were seventy bishops of idols, whom they moved against the apostles, so that when they came thither, either they should do sacrifice to the idols or they should be slain. And when the apostles had gone round about the province, they came to said city, and anon all the bishops and the people took them and brought them to the temple of the sun. And the devils began to cry in the simulachres: What will these apostles of the living God do to us? Lo! how we be burnt by flames in their entering into this city.

And then the angel of our Lord appeared unto the apostles, and said to them: "Choose ye of two things that one, that is, either that this people be suddenly dead or slain, or that ye be martyred."

To whom they said: "We will that thou convert them here, and lead us to the pain of martyrdom."

And they then commanded silence, and the apostles said: "Because that ye shall know that these idols be full of devils, we command them for to come out, and that each of them break and destroy his false image." And anon two Ethiopians, black and naked, issued out of the idols, all the people seeing which were abashed, and all tobrake their idols, and went their way, crying cruelly.

And when the bishops saw this, they ran upon the apostles and hewed them to death anon. And that same hour, which was right fair weather, came so great thunder and lightning that the temple was smitten in three, and the two enchanters were turned into coals by the stroke of thunder.

And the king bare the bodies of the apostles into his city, and did do make a church of marvellous greatness in the honour of them.

OTHER ACCOUNTS OF SIMON'S ACTS AND DEATH

And it is founden in divers places, of S. Simon, that he was nailed to the cross, which thing Isidore saith in the Book of the Death of the Apostles, and Eusebius in the History Ecclesiastic, and Bede upon the Acts of the Apostles, and Master John Beleth in his Summa witnesseth the same. And as they say, when he had preached in Egypt, he came again and was made bishop in Jerusalem after the death of James the Less, and was chosen of the court of the apostles, and it is said that he raised thirty dead men to life. When he had governed the church of Jerusalem many years, unto the time of Trajan the emperor, in the time that Atticus was consul in Jerusalem, of whom he was taken and tormented and done to much wrong. And at the last he was tormented and fixed to the cross, and the judge and all they that were there marvelled that the man which was six score years old might suffer the torment of the cross. And some say verily that it was not this Simon that suffered the martyrdom of the cross, but it was another, the son of Cleophas, brother of Joseph, and Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, witnesseth it in his chronicle. For Isidore and Eusebius corrected their chronicles of that they said tofore, which appeareth by Bede, that when he felt this he revoked it in his retractions. And the same witnesseth Usuard in his Martyrology.

Then let us devoutly pray these apostles to be our special advocates unto our blessed Lord Jesu Christ their master, to have pity and mercy on us. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. SIXTUS

Chapter 114 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides paragraph breaks and glosses.

Sixtus, the pope, was of Athens, and was first a philosopher, and after, was disciple of Jesu Christ, and was the sovereign bishop. And after was presented to Decius and Valerian, emperors, with two of his disciples and deacons Felicissimus and Agapitus. And when Decius might not incline them in no manner, he made them to be brought to the temple of Mars for to sacrifice to him, or for to be put in prison of Mamertine.

And when he had refused to do sacrifice and was brought into prison of Mamertine, the blessed St. Laurence cried after him saying: Father, whither goest thou without thy son? Priest, whither goest thou without thy minister?

To whom Sixtus said: Son, I leave thee not, but greater battles be due to thee. After three days, thou deacon shalt follow me priest, but in the meanwhile take the treasures of the church and depart them where thou wilt.

And when he had distributed them to poor Christian men, Valerian the provost ordained that Sixtus should be brought again for to do sacrifice in the temple of Mars, and if he refused it he should have his head smitten off. And when he was led, the blessed Laurence cried after him saying: Father, leave me not, for I have dispended all thy treasures.

And then the knights heard speak of the treasures, and held Laurence, and then they beheaded Sixtus, Felicissimus and Agapitus, and so they three suffered death together.

In this same day [i.e. August 6, Feast of St. Sixtus] is the feast of

the Transfiguration of our Lord, and the blood of Christ is renewed of new wine if it may be founden of a ripe grape, in some churches, and this day be the grapes blessed in some places, and the people take thereof and eat it instead of holy bread. And the reason why is, of this that our Lord said in his supper to his disciples: I shall not drink of this generation of the vine tofore I shall drink it new with you in the realm of my Father. And this transfiguration in that which he said new, representeth the glorious invocation that Jesu Christ had after his resurrection, and therefore, on this day of the transfiguration, which representeth the resurrection, men seek new wine. And it is to wit that some say that the transfiguration was made in veer, but the disciples disclosed it not, but kept it secret, because our Lord commanded that they should not disclose it till he was risen from death to life. But after they manifested and disclosed it on this day.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE

Chapter 5 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Thomas, when he was in Cæsarea, our Lord appeared to him, and said: The King of India, Gundoferus, hath sent his provost, Abbanes, for to seek men that can well the craft of masons, and I shall send thee to him.

And St. Thomas said: Sir, send me over all save to them of India.

And our Lord said to him: Go thy way thither surely, for I shall be thy keeper, and when thou hast converted them of India, thou shalt come to me by the crown of martyrdom.

And Thomas said to him: Thou art my lord, and I thy servant; thy will be fulfilled.

And as the provost went through the market, our Lord said to him: Young man, what wilt thou buy?

And he said: My lord hath sent me for to bring to him some that be learned in the science of masonry, that they might make for him a palace after the work of Rome.

And then our Lord delivered to him St. Thomas the Apostle, and told to him that he was much expert in that work.

THE WEDDING OF DENIS AND PELAGIA

And they departed and sailed till they came in a city, where the king made a wedding of his daughter, and had do cry that all the people should come to this feast of this marriage or else he would be angry. And it so happed that the provost and Thomas went thither, and an

Hebrew maid had a pipe in her hand and praised ever each one with some laud or praising. And when she saw the apostle she knew that he was an Hebrew because he ate not, but had alway his eyes firm toward heaven. And as the maid sang tofore him in Hebrew, she said: The God of heaven is one only God, the which created all things and founded the seas.

And the apostle made her to say these words again. And the butler beheld him, and saw that Thomas ate not ne drank not, but alway looked upward to heaven. And he came to the apostle and smote him on the cheek; and the apostle said to him, that in time to come it be pardoned to thee, and that now a wound transitory be given to thee, and said: I shall not arise from this place till the hand that hath smitten me be eaten with dogs.

And anon after, the butler went for to fetch water at a well, and there a lion came and slew him and drank his blood, and the hounds drew his body into pieces, in such wise that a black dog brought the right arm into the hall in the middle of the dinner. And when they saw this, all the company was abashed, and the maid remembered the words, and threw down her pipe or flute, and fell down at the feet of the apostle.

And this vengeance blameth St. Austin in his book of Faustius, and saith that this was set in of some false prophets, for this thing might be suspicious unto many things. Whether it be true or no it appertaineth not to me, but I wot well that they should be like as our Lord teacheth, which saith, "If any man smiteth thee on that one cheek, show and offer to him that other," and certainly the apostle held within his courage the will of God and of dilection, and without forth he required example of correction. This saith St. Austin.

And then, at the request of the king, the apostle blessed them that were new married, and said: Lord God give to these children the blessing of thy right hand, and set in their minds the seed of life.

And when the apostle was gone, there was found, in the hand of the

young man that was married, a branch of palm full of dates; and when he and his wife had eaten of the fruit they fell asleep, and they had one semblable dream. For them seemed that a king adorned with precious stones embraced them, and said: Mine apostle hath blessed you in such wise that ye shall be partakers of the glory perdurable.

Then they awoke, and told to each other their dream. And then the apostle came to them and said: My king hath appeared right now to you, and hath brought me hither, the doors being shut, so that my blessing may be fruitful upon you, and that ye may have the sureness of your flesh, the which is queen of all virtues and fruit of perpetual health, and above the angels' possessions of all good, victory of lechery, lord of the faith, discomfiture of devils, and surety of joys perdurable. Lechery is engendered of corruption, and of corruption cometh pollution, and of pollution cometh sin, and of sin is confusion engendered.

And he thus saying, two angels appeared to them and said: We be the two angels deputed for to keep you, and if ye keep well all the admonestments of the apostle we shall offer to God all your desires.

And then the apostle baptized them, and informed them diligently in the faith. And long time after the wife, named Pelagia, was sacred with a veil, and suffered martyrdom, and the husband named Denis was sacred bishop of that city.

THE PALACE OF THE KING OF INDIA

And after this, the apostle and Abbanes came unto the King of India, and the king devised to the apostle a marvellous palace, and delivered to him great treasure [i.e., to pay the costs of building the palace]. And the king went into another province, and the apostle gave all the treasure to poor people, and the apostle was alway in predications two years or thereabout ere the king came, and converted much people without number to the faith. And when the king came and knew what he had done, he put him and Abbanes in

the most deepest of his prisons, and purposed fully to slay them and burn.

And in the meanwhile Gad, brother of the king, died, and there was made for him a rich sepulchre, and the fourth day he that had been dead arose from death to life, and all men were abashed and fled. And he said to his brother: This man that thou intendest to slay and burn is the friend of God, and the angels of God serve him, and they brought me in to paradise, and have showed me a palace of gold and silver and of precious stones, and it is marvellously ordained. And when I marvelled of the great beauty thereof, they said to me: "This is the palace that Thomas hath made for thy brother." And when I said that I would be thereof porter, they said to me: "Thy brother is made unworthy to have it; if thou wilt dwell therein, we shall pray God to raise thee so that thou mayst go buy it of thy brother, in giving to him the money that he supposed he had lost."

And when he had said this he ran to the prison and required of the apostle that he would pardon his brother that he had done to him, and then delivered him out of prison, and prayed the apostle that he would take and do on him a precious vesture. And the apostle said to him: Knowest thou not that they which ween to have power in things celestial set nought in nothing fleshly ne earthly?

And when the apostle issued out of prison, the king came against him and fell down at his feet, and required of him pardon. Then the apostle said to him: God hath given to you much great grace when he hath showed to you his secrets; now believe in Jesu Christ and be ye baptized, to the end that thou be prince in the realm perdurable.

And then the brother of the king said: I have seen the palace that thou hast do make to my brother, and I am come for to buy it.

And the apostle said to him: If it be the will of thy brother it shall be done.

And the king said: Sith it pleaseth God, this shall be mine, and the apostle shall make to thee another; and if peradventure he may not, this same shall be common to thee and to me.

And the apostle answered and said: Many palaces be there in heaven which be made ready sith the beginning of the world, that be bought by price of the faith and by alms of your riches, which may well go tofore you to these palaces, but they may not follow you.

THE PREACHING OF ST. THOMAS

And after this, at the end of a month, the apostle made to assemble all them of the province, and when they were assembled he commanded that the feeble and sick should be set apart by themselves. Then he prayed for them, and they that were well enseigned and taught said Amen. And forthwith came a clear light from heaven which descended upon them, and smote down all the people and the apostle to the earth; and they supposed they had been smitten with thunder, and so lay by the space of half an hour. After, the apostle rose and said: Arise ye up for my lord is come as thunder, and hath healed us.

And anon they arose all whole and glorified God and the apostle. Then began the apostle to teach them, and to show to them the degrees of virtue.

The first is that they should believe in God which is one essence, and treble or three in persons, and showed to them examples sensible, how three persons be in one essence. The first example in a man is wisdom, and thereof cometh understanding, memory, and cunning. Cunning is of that thou hast learned the memory or mind, and retainest that thou shouldest forget. And the understanding is that thou understandest this that is taught to thee and showed. The second example is that, in a vine be three things, the stock, the leaf, and the fruit. The third example is that three things be in the head of a man, hearing, seeing, and tasting or smelling.

The second degree [is] that they receive baptism. The third, that they keep them from fornication. The fourth, that they keep them from avarice. The fifth, that they restrain them from gluttony. The sixth, that they keep their penance. The seventh, that they persevere and abide in these things. The eighth, that they love hospitality. The ninth, that in things to be done they require the will of God, and that they require such things by works. The tenth, that they eschew those things that be not for to be done. The eleventh, that they do charity to their enemies and to their friends. The twelfth, that they keep charity, and do work by diligence to keep these things. And after his predication, forty thousand men were baptized, without women and small children.

THE CONVERSION OF MIGDONIA AND THE QUEEN

And incontinent he went into the great India where he shone by miracles innumerable, for he enlumined and made to see Syntice, the friend of Migdonia, which was wife of Carisius, cousin of the king of India. And Migdonia said to Syntice: Weenest thou that I may see him?

Then Migdonia changed her habit on the advice of Syntice, and put herself among the poor women, and came whereas the apostle preached. And he began to preach of the maleurte and unhappiness of this life, and said that this life is unhappy, wretched and subject to adventures, and is so slippery and fleeting, that when one weeneth to hold it, it fleeth away. And after, he began to show to them by four reasons that they should gladly hear the word of God, and likeneth it to four manner of things: first, unto a colour which lighteth the eye of our understanding; secondly, to a syrup or a purgation, for the word of God purgeth our affection from all fleshly love; thirdly, unto an emplaister, because it healeth the wounds of our sins; and fourthly, unto meat, because the word of God nourisheth us, and delighteth in heavenly love. And in like manner, like as all these things avail not to the sick man but if he take and receive them, in like wise the word of God profiteth nothing

to a languishing sick man, if he hear it not devoutly.

And as the apostle thus preached, Migdonia believed in God, and refused the bed of her husband. Then Carisius did so much that he made the apostle to be set in prison. And Migdonia went to him and asked him forgiveness, because he was set in prison for her sake. And he comforted her sweetly, and said he would suffer it debonairly.

And then Carisius prayed the king that he would send the queen his wife's sister unto her, for to essay if she might turn her, and call her again from the Christian faith. And the queen was sent thither, and when she saw her, and knew of so many miracles as the apostle did, she said: They be accursed of God that believe not in his works.

Then the apostle taught them shortly that were there, four things; first, that they should love the church, honour and worship the priests, assemble them often in prayers, and often to hear the word of God. And when the king saw the queen, he said to her: Why hast thou abided there so long?

And she then answered: I had supposed that Migdonia had been a fool, but she is right wise, for she hath brought me to the apostle, which hath made me to know the way of truth, and they be overmuch fools that believe not the way of truth, that is to say, that they believe in Jesu Christ.

And never after would the queen lie with the king. And then the king was abashed, and said to his cousin: When I would have recovered thy wife I have lost mine, and my wife is worse to me than thine is to thee.

Then the king commanded that the apostle should be brought tofore him, his hands and feet bound; and was commanded that he should reconcile the wives to their husbands. And then the apostle said to the king, in showing to him by three examples that, as long as he

should be in the error of the faith they ought not to obey them. That is to wit, by the example of the king, by example of the tower, and by example of the fountain, and said to him: Thou that art king wilt have no services soiled ne foul, but thou hast cleanly servants and neat chamberers. And what weenest thou God loveth? Chastity and clean services. Am I then to blame if I preach to thee to love God and his servants whom he loveth? I have made them clean servants to him; I have founded a tower; and thou sayst to me that I should destroy it. Also I have dolven in the deep earth, and have brought forth a fountain out of the abysm, and thou sayst I should stop it.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS

Then the king was angry, and commanded to bring forth pieces of iron burning, and made to set the apostle on them all naked, his feet bound. And anon by the will of our Lord, a fountain of water sourded and sprang up, and quenched it all.

And then the king, by the counsel of his cousin, made him to be set in a burning furnace, which was made so cold that the next day he issued out all safe, without harm.

Said Carisius to the king: Make him to offer sacrifice to one of the gods only, in such wise that he fall in the ire of his God that thus delivereth him. And as they constrained him he said: king, thou art nothing more noble, ne more mighty than be thy painters and how despisest thou very God and worshippest a painting whom thou weenest to be thy God? Like as Carisius hath said to thee, that my God should be angry when that I worshipped thy god. And if he be angered, it should be more to thy god than to me, for when thou shouldest ween that I worshipped thy God, I should worship mine.

And the king said: Why speakest thou to me such words?

And then the apostle commanded in Hebrew the devil that was within the idol that, as soon as he kneeled tofore the idol, he should anon break it in pieces. And the apostle kneeled and said: Lo! see

ye that I worship, but not the idol; I adore, but not the metal; I worship, but not the false image, but I honour and worship my Lord Jesu Christ in the name of whom I command thee, devil, which art hid within this image, that thou break this false idol.

And anon he molt it as wax. And then the priests came lowing as beasts, and the bishop of the temple lift up a glaive and run the apostle through and said: I shall avenge the injury of my god.

And the king and Carisius fled away, for they saw that the people would avenge the apostle and burn the bishop all quick. And the Christian men bare away the body of the apostle and buried it worshipfully.

A MIRACLE OF ST. THOMAS

Long time after, about the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty, the body of the apostle was borne into Edessa, the city which sometime was said Rages, city of Media; and Alexander the Emperor bare it thither at the request of the Syrians. And in this city no man might harbor Jew, ne paynim, ne tyrant, that should live. After this Abagar, king of this city, desired to have an epistle written with the hand of our Lord, for if any men moved war against this city, they took a Christian child, and set him on the gate, and he should there read the epistle, and the same day, what for the virtue of the writing of our Saviour, as for the merits of the apostle, the enemies fled or else made peace.

THE FATHERS ON ST. THOMAS

Isidore, in the book of the Life of the Saints, saith thus of this apostle: Thomas, apostle and disciple of our Lord Jesu Christ, and like unto our Saviour, preached the Gospel unto miscreants, to them of Persia and of Media, to the Hircanians and Bactrians, and he entering into the parts of the orient, pierced through the entrails of the people. There demened his predication unto the title of his passion, and there was he pierced with a glaive and so died.

And Chrysostom saith that when Thomas came in to the parts of the three kings which came to worship our Lord he baptized them, and they were made helpers and aiders of our Lord and of Christian faith.

Pray we then to this holy apostle, St. Thomas, that he will be moyen unto our Lord that we may have grace of him to amend us in this present life, that we may come into his everlasting bliss. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. THEODORE

Chapter 165 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides paragraph breaks and glosses.

Theodore suffered death under Diocletian and Maximian in the city of Marine. 1 And when the provost said to him that he should do sacrifice and return to his first chivalry, Theodore answered: I serve my God and his son Jesu Christ.

To whom the provost said: Then thy God hath a son?

And Theodore said: Yea, certainly.

To whom the provost said: Of whom may we know him?

And Theodore said: Forsooth, ye may well know him and go to him.

And then there was term given to St. Theodore for to do sacrifice unto the idols. And he entered into the temple of Mars by night and put fire in it under, and burnt all the temple. And then he was accused of a man that had seen him, and was enclosed in the prison for to die there for hunger, and then our Lord appeared to him and said, â□□Theodore my servant, have thou good hope, for I am with thee.â□□ Then came to him a great company of men clad in white, the door being closed and began to sing with him.

And when the keepers saw that they were afeard and fled. Then he was taken out and warned to do sacrifice. He said: If thou burn my flesh by fire and consumest it by divers torments, I shall never reny my God as long as my spirit is in me.

Then he was hanged on a tree by commandment of the emperor, and cruelly his body was rent and torn with hooks of iron, that his bare ribs appeared. Then the provost demanded of him: Theodore,

wilt thou be with us or with thy God Christ?

And Theodore answered: I have been with my Jesu Christ, and am, and shall be. Then the provost commanded that he should be burnt in a fire. In which fire he gave up his spirit, but the body abode therein without hurt about the year of our Lord two hundred and seventy-seven. And all the people were replenished with right sweet odour, and a voice was heard which said: Come to me, my friend, and enter into the joy of thy Lord, and many of the people saw the heaven open.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. URBAN

In his translation of the Golden Legend, Caxton used a Latin text with additional chapters on church feasts not in Voragine's original as well as a French translation and an earlier English one. The latter is most likely the source of the following chapter, since it is not about a feast and lacks the French-English doublets that are common in other chapters. This "reader's version" of Caxton's text provides paragraph breaks and explanatory glosses.

St. Urban was pope after St. Calixtus, and the Christian people were in his time in over great persecution, but the mother of the emperor, whom Origen had converted, prayed so much her son that he left the Christian people in peace. Nevertheless there was one, Almachius, provost of Rome, and was their principal governour of the city, and he had cruelly smitten off the head of St. Cecilia.

This man was marvellously cruel against Christian men, and did diligently enquire where St. Urban was, and by one of his servants, named Carpasius, he was found in a dark place and a secret with three priests and three deacons. He commanded to put him in prison, and after, he did him to be brought tofore him and accused him that he had deceived five thousand people with St. Cecilia, and the noble men Tiburtius and Valerian, and made all them do sacrilege, and above this he demanded him the treasure of St. Cecilia and of the church.

To whom Urban said: I see now that covetise moveth thee more to persecute the Christian men than doth the sacrifice of thy gods; the treasure of St. Cecilia is ascended into heaven by the hands of poor people.

Then did he do beat St. Urban with plummets and also his fellows with him, and he praised the name of god Elyon, and the tyrant smiling said: This old fellow would be reputed wise, for he speaketh

and saith words that he understandeth not.

And when he saw that he might not overcome him, he commanded him and sent him to prison again, whereas St. Urban converted three captains of the town with the keeper of the prison, which was named Anolinus, and baptized them.

When the tyrant heard that Anolinus was become Christian, he did do bring him tofore him, and because he would do no sacrifice to his gods he did do smite off his head.

And when St. Urban and his fellows were brought tofore the idols, to the end that they should sacrifice and cense tofore the gods, St. Urban began to make his orison to God; and anon the idol fell down and slew twenty-two priests of the law that held fire for to make sacrifice.

Then were they beaten cruelly, and after brought for to make sacrifice, and then they spit in the idol and after made the sign of the cross in their foreheads, and kissed each other, and received capital sentence, that is to say they were beheaded, and so suffered death under Alexander the emperor, which began to reign the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty.

And anon after Carpasius was taken of the fiend in blaspheming his gods and in magnifying the Christian men against his will, he was strangled of the fiend, which thing his wife seeing, called Armenia, with her daughter Lucina and all her household received baptism of St. Fortunatus, priest. And after that the bodies of the saints were right honorably buried.

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OF S. TIMOTHY, AND INTERPRETATION OF HIS NAME

Chapter 121 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483.

Timothy is as much to say as holding dread. Or of *timor* , that is dread, and *theos* , a word of Greek, which is *deus* in Latin and God in English, as the dread of God.

S. Timothy was taken under Nero of the provost of Rome, and was grievously beaten, and had quicklime put in his throat and upon his wounds. And he rendered thankings to God with all his heart. And then two angels came to him, saying: Lift up thine head to heaven. And then he beheld and saw the heaven open, and Jesu Christ, which held a double crown, and said to him Thou shalt receive this of my hand. And a man named Apollinarius saw this thing and did him to be baptized. And therefore the provost commanded that they twain together, persevering in the confession of our Lord, should be beheaded about the year of our Lord fifty-six.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE PASSION OF ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS

Chapter 158 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton (1483)

The passion of eleven thousand virgins was hallowed in this manner. In Britain was a Christian king named Notus or Maurus, which engendered a daughter named Ursula. This daughter shone full of marvellous honesty, wisdom, and beauty, and her fame and renomee was borne all about. And the King of England which then was right mighty, and subdued many nations to his empire, heard the renomee of her, and said that he would be well happy if this virgin might be coupled to his son by marriage. And the young man had great desire and will to have her. And there was a solemn embassy to the father of Ursula, and promised great promises, and said many fair words for to have her; and also made many menaces if they returned vainly to their lord.

And then the King of Britain began to be much anxious, because that she that was ennobled in the faith of Jesu Christ should be wedded to him that adored idols, because that he wist well she would not consent in no manner, and also because he doubted much the cruelty of the king.

And she, that was divinely inspired, did so much to her father that she consented to the marriage by such a condition: that for to solace her he [the King of England] should send to her father ten virgins, and to herself and to those ten other virgins he should send to each a thousand virgins, and should give to her space of three years for to dedicate her virginity, and the young man should be baptized, and in these three years he should be informed in the faith sufficiently, so that by wise counsel, and by virtue of the condition made, he should withdraw from her his courage.

But this youngling received this condition gladly, and hasted his

father and was baptized and commanded all that Ursula had required should be done. And the father of the virgin ordained that his daughter, whom he most loved, and the others that had need of the comfort of men and service, ordained in their company good men for to serve them.

THE 11,000 VIRGINS GATHER

Then virgins came from all parts, and men came for to see this great company, and many bishops came for to go with them in their pilgrimage, among whom was Pantulus, bishop of Basle, which went with them to Rome and returned from thence with them and received martyrdom. St. Gerasine, queen of Sicily, which had made of her husband that was a cruel tyrant a meek lamb, and was sister of Maurice the bishop, and of Daria, mother of St. Ursula, to whom the father of St. Ursula had signified by secret letters. She, by the inspiration of God, put herself in the way with her four daughters, Babilla, Juliana, Victoria and Aurea, and her little son Adrian, which, for love of his sisters, went in the same pilgrimage, and left all in the hands of his own son, and came into Britain, and sailed over sea into England.

And by the counsel of this queen the virgins were gathered together from divers realms, and she was leader of them, and at the last she suffered martyrdom with them. And then, the condition made, all things were made ready. Then the queen showed her counsel to the knights of her company, and made them all to swear this new chivalry; and then began they to make divers plays and games of battle, as to run here and there, and feigned many manner of plays. And for all that they left not their purpose, and sometimes they returned from this play at midday and sometimes unnethe at evensong time. And the barons and great lords assembled them to see the fair games and disports, and all had joy and pleasure in beholding them, and also marvel.

THEY RECRUIT POPE CIRIACUS INTO THEIR COMPANY

And at the last, when Ursula had converted all these virgins unto the faith of Christ, they went all to the sea, and in the space of a day, they sailed over the sea, having so good wind that they arrived at a port of Gaul, named Tielle, and from thence came to Cologne, where an angel of our Lord appeared to Ursula and told her that they should return again, the whole number to that place, and there receive the crown of martyrdom.

And from thence, by the monition of the angel, they went towards Rome. And when they came to Basle they left there their ships and went to Rome afoot. At the coming of whom the pope Ciriacus was much glad, because he was born in Britain and had many cousins among them, and he with his clerks received them with all honour.

And that same night it was showed to the pope that he should receive with them the crown of martyrdom, which thing he hid in himself, and baptized many of them that were not then baptized. And when he saw time convenable, when he had governed the church one year and eleven weeks, and was the nineteenth pope after Peter, he purposed tofore all the people, and showed to them his purpose, and resigned his office and his dignity.

But all men gainsaid it, and especially the cardinals, which supposed that he trespassed, leaving the glory of the papacy and would go after these foolish virgins, but he would not agree to abide, but ordained an holy man to occupy in his place, which was named Ametus. And because he left the see apostolic against the will of the clergy, the clerks put out his name of the catalogue of popes. And all the grace that he had gotten in his time, this holy company of women made him for to leave it.

And then two felon princes of the chivalry of Rome, Maximus and Africanus, saw this great company of virgins, and that many men and women assembled to them, doubted that Christian religion should much be increased by them, wherefore they required diligently of their voyage. And then sent they messengers to Julian, their cousin, prince of the lineage of the Huns, that he should bring

his host against them, and should assemble at Cologne, and there behead them because they were Christian.

And the blessed Ciriacus issued out of the city of Rome with this blessed company of virgins, and Vincent, priest cardinal, and Jacobus that was come from Britain into Antioch, and had held there seven years the dignity of the bishop, which then had visited the pope, and was gone out of his city and held company with these virgins, when he heard of their coming, and suffered martyrdom with them. And Maurice, bishop of Levicana, the city, uncle of Babilla and Juliana, and Follarius, bishop of Lucca, with Sulpitius, bishop of Ravenna, which then were come to Rome, put them in the company of these virgins.

URSULA'S FIANCÉ GOES TO COLOGNE TO MEET HER

Ethereus, the husband of Ursula, abiding in Britain, was warned of our Lord by a vision of an angel that he should exhort his mother to be Christian. For his father died the first year that he was christened, and Ethereus, his son, succeeded after him in his reign. And then when these holy virgins returned from Rome with the bishops, Ethereus was warned of our Lord that he should anon arise and go to meet his wife at Cologne, and there receive with her the crown of martyrdom, the which anon obeyed to admonishments divine, and did do baptize his mother and came with her and his little sister Florence, then also baptized, and with the bishop Clement, meeting the holy virgins, and accompanied them unto martyrdom. And Marculus, bishop of Greece, and his niece Constance, daughter of Dorotheus, king of Constantinople, which was married to the son of a king, but he died tofore the wedding, and she avowed to our Lord her virginity; they were also warned by a vision, and came to Rome and joined them to these virgins unto the martyrdom.

THE MARTYRDOM OF URSULA AND THE ELEVEN THOUSAND

And then all these virgins came with the bishops to Cologne, and found that it was besieged with the Huns. And when the Huns saw

them they began to run upon them with a great cry, and araged like wolves on sheep, and slew all this great multitude. And when they were all beheaded, they came to the blessed Ursula, and the prince of them, seeing her beauty so marvellous, was abashed, and began to comfort her upon the death of the virgins, and promised to her to take her to his wife. And when she had refused him and despised him at all, he shot at her an arrow, and pierced her through the body, and so accomplished her martyrdom.

And one of the virgins, which was named Cordula, was sore afeared, and hid herself all that night in a ship, but on the morn she suffered death by her free will, and took the crown of martyrdom. And because her feast was not held with the other virgins, she appeared long after to a recluse, and commanded him that the next day following the feast of the virgins, her feast should be remembered.

They suffered death the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty-eight. But some hold opinion that the reason of the time showeth that they suffered not death in that time, for Sicily ne Constantinople were then no realms, but it is supposed that they suffered death long time after, when Constans was emperor, and that the Huns and Goths enforced them against Christian men in the time of the emperor Marcian, that reigned in the year of our Lord four hundred and fifty-two.

It is to be remembered that among these eleven thousand virgins were many men, for the pope Cyriacus and other bishops, and Ethereus king, with other lords and knights, had much people to serve them. And as I have been informed in Cologne that there were men besides women that thilke time suffered martyrdom, fifteen thousand. So the number of this holy multitude, as of the holy virgins and men, were twenty-six thousand, to whom let us pray to our Lord that he have mercy on us.

MIRACLES OF ST. URSULA

The Wooden Coffin

There was an abbot that impetred of the abbess of the place where these holy virgins rest in Cologne, a body of one of these virgins, and promised that he would set it in his church in a fair shrine of silver. But when he had it, he kept it a year upon the altar in a chest of tree. And in a night as the abbot sang matins, the said virgin descended from the altar bodily, and inclined honourably tofore the altar, and went through the choir, seeing all the monks which were thereof sore abashed.

And then the abbot ran and found it all void and nothing therein. Then the abbot went to Cologne and told to the abbess all the thing by order. Then went they to the place where they had taken the body, and found the same there again. And then the abbot required pardon, and prayed the abbess that he might have again the same body or another, promising right certainly to make hastily a precious shrine, but he could none have in no manner.

The Monk's Vision

There was a religious monk which had great devotion to these holy virgins, and it happed that he was on a day sick, and saw a right fair and noble virgin appear to him, and demanded him if he knew her. And he was amarvelled of this vision, and said he knew her not. And she said: I am one of the virgins to whom thou hast such great devotion, and thereof thou shalt have a reward. If thou say eleven thousand paternosters for the love and honour of us, we shall come unto thine aid and comfort at the hour of thy death.

And then she vanished away. And he accomplished her request as soon as he might, and anon after he did do call his abbot, and did him to be annealed or anointed. And as they anointed him he cried suddenly: Make ye place to the holy virgins, and go out of the way that they may come to me.

And when the abbot demanded him what it was, and what he

meant, he told to him by order the promise of the virgin. Then all they withdrew them a little after, and soon came again and found him departed out of this world unto our Lord.

Then let us devoutly give laud and praising unto the blessed Trinity and pray him that by the merits of this great multitude of martyrs he will forgive and pardon us of our sins, that after this life we may come unto this holy company in heaven. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. VINCENT

Chapter 25 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

Vincent was noble of lineage, but he was more noble by faith and religion, and was deacon to St. Valerian bishop. He was in his childhood set to study, where by divine providence he flowered in double science most profoundly, that is to say in divinity and humanity; to whom St. Valerian, because he was empeshed in his tongue, committed to him the faits and works of charge, and himself entended to prayer and contemplation.

VINCENT AND VALERIAN ARE ARRESTED

And by the commandment of Dacian the provost, Vincent and Valerian were drawn to Valence and there cast in prison. And when the provost had supposed they had been almost perished for hunger and pain, he commanded them to come tofore him. And when he saw them whole and joyful he, being wroth, began to cry much strongly and said: What sayest thou Valerian which under the name of thy religion dost against the decrees of princes?

And as the blessed Valerian answered lightly, St. Vincent said to him: Worshipful father answer him not so with a timorous heart, but put out thy voice and escry him freely, and father, if thou wilt command me, I shall go answer to the judge.

To whom Valerian said: Right dear son, it is long since I have committed to thee the charge of speaking, and now it behoveth thee to answer for the faith for which we be here.

Then St. Vincent turned to the judge, and said to Dacian: Thou hast

holden unto now words to reny our faith, but know thou that it is great felony to the wisdom of Christian men to blame and reny our Christian faith.

VINCENT IS TORTURED TO DEATH

Then Dacian, being wroth, commanded that the bishop should be put in exile, and Vincent as a man presumptuous and despitous should be put to be tormented in the place named eculeus. And it was made like a cross thwart of which the two ends were fixed in the earth, and that his members should thereon be broken, for to fear the other. And when he was all thus tobroken, Dacian said to him: Say Vincent now seest thou thy body unhappy?

And Vincent smiling said to him: This is all that I have desired.

Then the provost being wroth began to say and menace with many torments, and Vincent said to him: O unhappy man, how weenest thou to anger me? the more grievously that thou tormentest me, so much more pity shall God have on me. Arise up thou unhappy man and cursed, and by thy wicked spirit thou shalt be vanquished, for thou shalt find me more stronger by the virtue of God to suffer thy torments, than thou hast power to torment me.

Then the provost was angry and began to cry, and the butchers took scourges and rods, and began to smite and beat him with rods of iron. And St. Vincent said: What sayest thou, Dacian? thou thyself avengest me of my torments.

Then the provost was wood, and said to the butchers: Ye wretches what do ye, why fail and wax faint your hands? Ye have overcome murderers and adulterers, so that they could hide nothing among your torments, and this Vincent only shall more surmount your torments.

Then the butchers took combs of iron, and began to comb him on the sides within the flesh, that the blood ran down over all his body

and that the entrails and guts appeared by the jointures of his sides. And Dacian said to him: Vincent have pity on thyself in such wise that thou mayst recover thy fair youth, and win to spare the torments that be yet to come.

And Vincent said to him: O venomous tongue of the devil, I doubt nothing of thy torments, but I fear sore that thou wilt fain to have mercy on me, for so much more as I see thee angry, so much more am I rejoiced, I will that thou in no wise minish ne lessen thy torments, so that thou know that thou be vanquished in all things.

Then was he taken out of the torment, and was brought into a torment of fire, and he blamed and reproved the butchers of their long tarrying. Then with his goodwill he mounted upon the gridiron and there was roasted, broiled and burnt in all his members, and was slicked with small nails of iron, and pricked with burning poinlers of iron. And when the blood ran into the fire and made wounds upon wounds, then they cast salt into the fire, that it should sparkle and spring in the wounds of his body, on all parts of the wounds that it should more cruelly burn, and do him more pain on his body by the flames, in such wise that the pricks of iron might not hold on his members, but on his entrails which hung out of his body, so that he might not move him.

And for all this he was unmovable, but he prayed our Lord Jesu Christ with joined hands up to heaven. And when the ministers had said this to Dacian, he said: Alas! we be all vanquished; and he liveth yet, and because he may yet live longer, shut ye him in a much dark prison, and gather together all the sharp shells and prick them in his feet, and let him be stretched on them without any human comfort, and when he shall be dead come and tell me.

And these right cruel ministers obeyed him as to their lord right cruel, but the king for whom he suffered the pain so inhuman, changed to him all this into joy, for the darknesses were all chased away out of the prison by great light, and the sharpness of the shells were turned into softness and sweetness of all manner of flowers,

his feet were unbound, and he used the comfort of the honour of angels, and like as he had gone on the flowers singing with angels, the sweet sound of the song, and the sweetness and odour of the flowers, which was marvellous, was smelled out of the prison. And when the keepers had seen through the crevices of the prison this that they saw within, they were converted and turned to the faith.

And when Dacian heard this he was wood, and said: What shall we do to him more? we be overcome. Now then let him be borne into a right soft bed, with soft clothes, so that he be not made more glorious, and to the end that he die not yet, but that he be made strong again, and be kempt again in new torments.

And when he was brought in a soft bed, and had therein rested a while he rendered and gave up his spirit unto God in the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty eight under Diocletian and Maximian Emperors.

And when Dacian heard say that he was dead, he was much sorrowful, and said that in that wise he was also vanquished: But sith I might not overcome him living I shall punish him dead, and if I may not have victory I shall be fulfilled of the pain.

HIS BODY IS PRESERVED

Then the body of St. Vincent was cast in a field for to be devoured of the beasts and fowls, by the commandment of Dacian, but it was kept by angels from touching of any beasts, and after came a raven which drove away all other birds and fowls, greater than he was, and chased away also a wolf with his bill and beak, and then turned his head towards the body as he that marvelled of the keeping of the angels.

And when Dacian heard this thing: I trow, said he, that I may not surmount him when he is dead. Then commanded he that he should be cast into the sea with a mill stone bound to his neck, to the end that he that might not be destroyed upon the earth of beasts, should

be devoured in the sea of belues and great fishes.

Then the mariners that led the body in to the sea, cast it therein, but the body was sooner arrived aland than the mariners were, and was found of a lady and of some others by the revelation of Jesu Christ, and was honourably buried of them.

COMMENTS OF THE FATHERS ON ST. VINCENT

And St. Austin saith of this holy blessed martyr, St. Vincent, that he vanquished so in words, he vanquished in pains, he vanquished in confession, he vanquished in tribulation, he overcame the fire, he overcame the water, he vanquished death and vanquished life. This Vincent was tormented for to dwell with God, he was scourged for to be introduced, he was beaten for to be enstrengthened, he burnt to be purged, he was gladder of the dread of God than of the world, and had liefer die to the world than to God.

Also St. Austin saith in another place that a marvellous thing is set tofore our eyes, that is: a wicked judge, a cruel tormentor, and a martyr not overcome.

And Prudentius wrote of cruelty and pity, saying that Vincent said to Dacian, â□□The torments of the prison, the nails, the ongles, the straining combs of iron, with the flames of fire, and death which is last end of the pains, all these be plays and japes to Christian men.â□□ Then Dacian said as overcome, â□□Bind him and draw his arms out of their joints, and break ye all the bones in such wise that all the members be departed, to the end that the breath of him spring out by the holes of his members so torn.â□□ And the knight of God laughed at these things, and blamed the bloody hands because they put not the hooks and nails deeper in his members. And when he was in the prison the angel of God said to him, â□□Arise up noble martyr, surely arise up, for thou shalt be our fellow, and be accompanied with saints. O knight invincible, strongest of all strong, now these aspre torments and cruel, doubt thee now a vanquisher.â□□ And Prudentius saith, â□□Thou art

only noble of the world, thou bearest only the victory of double battle, thou hast deserved two crowns together.â□□

Pray we then to him that he impetre grace of our Lord Jesu Christ that we may deserve to come unto his bliss and joy in heaven where he reigneth. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. VALENTINE

Chapter 42 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides paragraph breaks and explanatory glosses.

St. Valentine, friend of our Lord and priest of great authority, was at Rome. It happed that Claudius the emperor made him to come tofore him and said to him in demanding: What thing is that which I have heard of thee, Valentine? Why wilt thou not abide in our amity, and worship the idols and renounce the vain opinion of thy creance?

St. Valentine answered him: If thou hadst very knowledge of the grace of Jesu Christ thou shouldest not say this that thou sayest, but shouldest reny the idols and worship very God.

Then said to St. Valentine a prince which was of the council of the emperor: What wilt thou say of our gods and of their holy life?

And St. Valentine answered: I say none other thing of them but that they were men mortal and mechant and full of all ordure and evil.

Then said Claudius the emperor: If Jesu Christ be God verily, wherefore sayst thou not the truth?

And St. Valentine said: Certainly Jesu Christ is only very God, and if thou believe in him, verily thy soul shall be saved, thy realm shall multiply, and he shall give to thee alway victory of thine enemies.

Then Claudius turned him unto all them that were there, and said to them: Lords, Romans, hear ye how wisely and reasonably this man speaketh?

Anon the provost of the city said: The emperor is deceived and

betrayed, how may we leave that which we have holden and been accustomed to hold sith our infancy? With these words the emperor turned and changed his courage, and St. Valentine was delivered in the keeping of the provost.

When St. Valentine was brought in an house in prison, then he prayed to God, saying: Lord Jesu Christ very God, which art very light, enlumine this house in such wise that they that dwell therein may know thee to be very God.

And the provost said: I marvel me that thou sayest that thy God is very light, and nevertheless, if he may make my daughter to hear and see, which long time hath been blind, I shall do all that thou commandest me, and shall believe in thy God.

St. Valentine anon put him in prayers, and by his prayers the daughter of the provost received again her sight, and anon all they of the house were converted. After, the emperor did do smite off the head of St. Valentine, the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty.

Then let us pray to St. Valentine that he get us pardon of our sins. Amen.

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SS. VITALIS AND VALERIA

Chapter 61 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

S. Vital was a knight and a consul, and of Valeria his wife he gat S. Gervase and S. Prothase. He went to Ravenna with Paulin that was judge of the country, and when he came thither he saw that this Paulin made a physician named Ursian to suffer many torments because he would not reny his faith, and at the last when they would have beheaded him he was so afraid that he would have renied God.

Then said S. Vital to him: Ha! Ursian, do not so, thou wert wont to heal other and now wilt deliver thyself to perdurable death. Thou wert come to the victory, now thou art in peril to lose thy crown which was ready for thee. When this physician had heard these words, he was all recomforted, and repented of his evil purpose, and suffered gladly martyrdom. And S. Vital did do bury him much honorably, ne never after would S. Vital not go in the company of the judge Paulin.

Then he [Paulin] had so great indignation, of that he [Vital] had defended Ursian to make sacrifice, and of this that he deigned not to come to him, and because he showed him a Christian man he did him to be hanged by the arms on a gibbet. Then said to him Vital, thou art overmuch a fool if thou ween to deceive me which have always delivered the other.

Then said Paulin: Bring him for to do sacrifice, and if he do it not, make a deep pit unto the water and put his head thereunder. And so they did, and there buried him quick, in the year of our Lord fifty-seven.

And the priest of the idols that had given this counsel was anon taken of the devil, and cried seven days continually and said: S. Vital thou burnest me, and the seventh day the devil threw him in the river and there died shamefully.

And the wife of S. Vital, when she came to Milan she found there of her people sacrificing the idols, which prayed her to eat with them of their sacrifices, to whom she answered: I am a Christian woman, and it is not lawful for me to eat of your sacrifices. Then they, hearing that, beat her so long and so sore that they left her for dead. And her men that were with her brought her to Milan half living, and there the third day she died holily.

And the body of S. Vital lieth now at Cologne in the church of our Lady.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ABRAHAM

This life of Abraham in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend is not in the original. Ellis's 1931 edition of Caxton suggests that he took it from the earlier English translation that he had used along with the original and a French translation. This "reader's version" of his text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

T he Sunday called Quinquagesima is read in the church the history of the holy patriarch Abraham which was the son of Terah.

Abraham's Ancestry

This Terah was the tenth from Noah in the generation of Shem. Japhet had seven sons and Ham four sons.

Out of the generation of Ham Nimrod came, which was a wicked man and cursed in his works, and began to make the tower of Babel which was great and high. And at the making of this tower, God changed the languages, in such wise that no man understood other. For tofore the building of that tower was but one manner speech in all the world, and there were made seventy-two speeches. The tower was great, it was ten miles about and five thousand and eighty-four steps of height. This Nimrod was the first man that found mawmetry and idolatry, which endured long and yet doth.

Then I turn again to Terah which had three sons, which was Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Of Nahor came Us, Bus, and Batuel. Of Us came Job, of Bus came Balaam, and of Batuel Rebekah and Laban. Of Haran came Lot and two daughters, Melcha and Sara.

Abram Goes to the Land of Canaan with Sara and Lot

Now I shall speak of Abram of whom our blessed lady came. He wedded Sara, daughter of his brother Haran. Abram was ever faithful and true, he was sixty-five years old when his father died, for

whom he mourned till our Lord comforted him, which said to Abram: Abram, make thee ready and go out of thy land and kindred, and also from the house of thy father, and come into the land that I shall show to thee. I shall make thee grow into much people; I shall bless thee and magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed, and I shall bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee, and in thee shall be blessed all the kindreds of the earth.

Abram was seventy years old when he departed from the land of Haran, and he took with him Sara his wife, and Lot the son of his brother, and their meiny, and his cattle and his substance, and came into the land of Canaan, and came into the vale of Sichem, in which were ill people which were the people of Canaan. And our Lord said to Abram: I shall give to thee this land and to thine heirs.

Then Abram did raise an altar on which he did sacrifice, and blessed and thanked our Lord. Abram beheld all the land toward the south, and saw the beauty thereof, and found it like as our Lord told him.

The Sojourn in Egypt

But he had not been long in the land but that there fell great hunger therein, wherefore he left that country and went into Egypt and took with him Sara his wife. And as they went by the way Abram said to his wife: I fear and dread sore that when we come to this people, which be lawless, that they shall take thee for thy beauty and slay me, because they would use thee. Wherefore say thou art my sister, and I thy brother, and she agreed thereto.

And when they were come in to that country the people saw that she was so fair, and anon they told the king, which anon commanded that she should be brought into his presence. And when she was come, God of his good grace so purveyed for her, that no man had power to use any lechery with her ne to do her villainy. Wherefore the king was feared that God would have taken vengeance on him for her, and sent for Abram and said to him that

he should take his wife, and that he had evil done to say, that she was his sister, and so delivered her again, and gave him gold and silver, and bade that men should worship him in all his land, and he should freely at his pleasure depart with all his goods.

Lot and Abram Part Ways

Then after this Abram took his wife Sara and went home again, and came unto Bethel, and set there an altar of stone, and there he adored and worshipped the name of God. His store and beasts began to multiply, and Lot with his meiny was also there. And their beasts began so sore to increase and multiply, that unnethe the country might suffice to their pasture, in so much that noisy talk and grudging began to sourde and arise between the herdmen of Abram and the herdmen of Lot.

Then Abram said to Lot: Lo! this country is great and wide, I pray thee to choose on which hand thou wilt go, and take it for thy meiny and thy beasts. And let no strife be between me and thee, ne between my herdmen ne thy herdmen. Lo! behold all the country is tofore thee, take which thou wilt; if thou go on the right side, I shall go on the left side, and if thou take the left, I will go on the right side.

Then Lot beheld the country and saw a fair plain toward flom Jordan, which was pleasant, and the flood ran toward Sodom and Gomorrah, which was like a paradise, and took that part for him. And Abram took towards the west, which was beside the people of Canaan at the foot of mount Mamre. And Lot dwelled in Sodom. The people of Sodom were worst of all people.

Abram is Established in the Valley of Mamre

Our Lord said to Abram: Lift up thine eyes and see directly from the place that thou art now in, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west. All this land that thou seest I shall give thee, and to thy seed for evermore. I shall make thy seed as powder or dust of the earth, who that may number the dust of the earth shall number thy seed. Arise therefore and walk the land in length and in breadth,

for I shall give it to thee.

Abram moved then his tabernacle and dwelled in the valley of Mamre, which is in Hebron and set there his tabernacle.

Abram Rescues Lot and His Allies

It happened soon after that there was a war in that land, that four kings warred again other five kings, which were of Sodom, Gomorrah and other. And the four kings overthrew the five and slew them, and spoiled and took all the substance of the country and took also with them Lot and all his goods. And a man gat away from them and came to Abram, and told him how that Lot was taken and led away. And then anon Abram did do gather his people together, the number of three hundred and eighteen. And followed after, and departed his people in two parties because they should not escape. And Abram smote in among them, and slew the kings, and rescued Lot and all his goods, and delivered the men of Sodom that were taken and the women.

And they of Sodom came against him, and Melchisedech came and met with him, and offered to him bread and wine. This Melchisedech was king and priest of Jerusalem and all the country, and blessed Abram. And there Abram gave to him the tythes of all he had. And the king of Sodom would that Abram should have had such prey as he took, but he would not have as much as the latchet of a shoe, and thus gat Abram much love of all the people.

The Lord's Promise to Abram

After this our Lord appeared to Abram in a vision and said: Abram, dread thee nothing, I am thy protector, and thy reward and meed shall be great.

Abram answered: Lord God, what wilt thou give me? Thou wottest well I have no children, and sith I have none I will well that Eleazar the son of my bailiff be my heir.

Nay, said our Lord, he shall not be thine heir, but he that shall issue and come of thy seed shall be thine heir.

Our Lord led him out and bade him behold the heaven, and number the stars if thou mayst, and said to him, so shall thy offspringing and seed be.

And Abram believed it and gave faith to our Lord's words, and it was reputed to him to justice. And our Lord said to him, I am the Lord that led thee out of the land of Ur of the Chaldees for to give to thee this land into thy possession.

And Abram said: Lord, how shall I know that I shall possess it? A voice said to Abram: Thy seed shall be exiled into Egypt by the space of four hundred years, and shall be there in servitude, and after, I shall bring them hither again in the fourth generation. Thou shalt abide here unto thy good age, and shalt be buried here, and go with thy fathers in peace.

The Birth of Ishmael

Sara was yet without child, and she had a handmaid named Hagar, an Egyptian, and she on a day said to Abram her husband: Thou seest I may bear no child, wherefore I would thou took Hagar my maid, and lie by her that thou might get a child which I might keep and hold for mine.

And ten year after that Abram had dwelled in that land, he took Hagar and get her with child, and anon as she felt herself with child she despised her mistress. Then Sara said to Abram: Thou dost evil. I gave thee licence to lie with my servant, and now sith she is conceived by thee, she hath me in despite, God judge this between thee and me.

To whom Abram answered: Thine handmaid is in thine hands, chastise her as it pleaseth thee.

After this Sara chastised Hagar and put her to so great affliction that she went away; and as she went an angel met with her in the wilderness by a well, and said: Hagar, whence comest and whither goest thou?

She answered: I flee away from the face of my lady Sara.

To whom the angel said, return again and submit thee by humbleness unto thy lady, and I shall multiply thy seed, and so much people shall come of it that it cannot be numbered for multitude. And he said furthermore: Thou hast conceived and shalt bear a child and shalt call him Ishmael. He shall be a fierce man, he shall be against all men, and all men against him.

Then Hagar returned home and served her lady, and soon after this she was delivered of Ishmael. Abram was eighty-six years old when Ishmael was born.

The Lord's Covenant with Abraham

When Abram was ninety-nine years, our Lord appeared to him and said: Abram, lo! I am the Lord Almighty, walk thou before me and be perfect, and I shall keep covenant between me and thee and shall multiply thy seed greatly.

And Abram fell down lowting low to the earth and thanked him. Then our Lord said I am, and my covenant I shall keep to thee, thou shalt be father of much people. Thou shalt no more be called Abram, but Abraham, for I have ordained thee father of much people. I shall make thee to increase most abundantly; kings and princes shall come of thee, and shall stablish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed in thy generations. I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee the land of thy pilgrimage, all the land of Canaan, into their possession and I shall be their God.

Yet said God to Abraham: And thou shalt keep thy covenant to me, and thine heirs after thee in their generations, and this shall be the

covenant that ye shall keep and thine heirs after thee. Every man-child and male shall be circumcised in his privy member, that it be a token between me and you. Every child masculine that shall be born shall be circumcised when he is eight days old, and I will that this sign shall be in your flesh. And see that the men in your generation be circumcised, begin at thyself and thy children. And all that dwell in thy kindred, who of you that shall not be circumcised in his flesh shall be cast and put out for ever from my people, because he obeyeth not my statute and ordinance. And thy wife Sara shall be called no more Sara but she shall be called Sarah, and I shall bless her, and shall give to thee a son of her, whom I shall bless also. I shall him increase into nations, and kings of peoples shall come of him.

Abraham fell down on his face toward the earth and laughed in his heart, saying: May it be that a woman of ninety years may conceive and bear a child? I beseech thee, Lord, that Ishmael may live before thee.

Our Lord said to Abraham, Sarah shall bring forth a son whom thou shalt name Isaac, and I shall keep my covenant to him for evermore, and to his heirs after him. And I have heard thy request for Ishmael also. I shall bless him and increase, and shall multiply his seed into much people, twelve dukes shall come of him. I shall keep my covenant to Isaac, whom Sarah shall bring forth the next year.

When these words were finished Abraham took Ishmael his son and all the men, small and great, strangers and other that were in his house, and circumcised them. Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised, and Abraham was ninety-nine years when he himself was circumcised. And thus that same day he and his son Ishmael and all the men in his house, as well as strangers, of what degree they were, received this new law of circumcision, whereby they were known from other people.

The Three Visitors

After this on a time, as Abraham sat beside his house in the vale of Mamre in the heat of the day, and as he lift up his eyes, he saw three young men coming to him, and anon as he saw these three standing by him he ran to them and worshipped one alone; he saw three and worshipped but one. That betokeneth the Trinity, and prayed them to be harboured with him, and took water and washed their feet: and prayed them to tarry under the tree, and he would bring bread to them for to comfort them. And they bade him do as he had said, he went and bade Sarah to make three ashy cakes and sent his child for a tender fat calf, which was sodden and boiled. And he served them with butter and milk, and the calf, and set it tofore them. He stood by them, and when they had eaten they demanded him: Where is Sarah thy wife?

And he said: Yonder in the tabernacle.

And he said, I shall go and come again, and Sarah thy wife shall have a child.

And she stood behind the door and heard it and laughed, and said softly to herself: How may it be that my lord is so old and I also that I should bear Abraham a child? She thought it impossible.

Then said our Lord to Abraham: Why laugheth Sarah thy wife, saying in scorn, Shall I bear a child? but as I said to thee before, I shall return and come again, and she shall have a child in that time.

And he asked Sarah why she smiled in scorn, and she said she smiled ne laughed not, and our Lord said, It is not so, for thou laughedst.

When they had rested Abraham conveyed them on the way. And our Lord said to Abraham: I have not hid from thee what I purpose to do. The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is multiplied and their sin is much grievous. I shall descend and see if the sin be so great, the stench thereof cometh to heaven, I shall take vengeance and destroy them.

Then Abraham said: I hope, Lord, thou wilt not destroy the just and righteous man with the wicked sinner. I beseech thee, Lord, to spare them.

Our Lord said: If there be fifty good and righteous men among them, I shall spare them.

And Abraham said: Good Lord, if there be found forty, I pray thee to spare them.

Our Lord said: If there be forty, I shall spare them.

And so from forty to thirty and from thirty to twenty and from twenty to ten, and our Lord said: If there be found ten good men among them, I shall not destroy them.

And then our Lord went from Abraham, and he returned home again.

The Destruction of Sodom

That same eventide came two angels into Sodom, and Lot sat at his gate, and when he saw them he went and worshipped them and prayed them to come and rest in his house, and abide there and wash their feet. And they said: Nay, we shall abide here in the street.

And Lot constrained them and brought them into his house and made a feast to them. But ere they should go to bed, the sinful and cursed people of the town, young and old, beset and environed Lot's house, and called Lot, and said: Where be the men that thou tookest into thy house this night? Bring them forth that we may know and use them.

And Lot anon shut the door, and stood behind and said to them: O ye my brethren, I beseech you that ye will not do ne commit this

wicked sin on them. I have two daughters, virgins, which yet never knew man. I shall bring them out to you, and use ye them, but these men I pray you to spare, they be entered under the shadow of my protection.

They said again to him: Go forth and fetch them; thou art entered among us as a stranger, shalt thou rule and judge us? We shall put thee to more affliction than them.

Lot withstood them mightily; they had almost broken up the doors, but the men set hand to, and did help Lot, and brought him in and did shut fast the door: and smote them that were without with blindness that they might not see, ne find the door. Then said the angels to Lot: If thou have here of thy kindred, sons or daughters, all them that long to thee, lead out of this city, we shall destroy this place, for the cry thereof is come to our Lord, which hath sent us for to destroy them.

Lot went unto his kinsmen and said: Arise and take your children, and go out of this city, for our Lord shall destroy it.

And they supposed that he had raved or japed. And as soon as it was day the angels said to Lot: Arise, and take thy wife and thy two daughters, and go out of this town lest ye perish with them.

Yet he dissimuling, they took him by the hand and his wife and two daughters, because that God should spare them, and led them out of the city. And there they said to him: Save thy soul and look not behind thee lest thou perish also, but save thee in the mountain.

Lot said to them: I beseech thee, my Lord, forasmuch as thy servant hath found grace before thee, and that thou hast showed thy mercy to me, and that peradventure I might take harm on the hill, that I may go into the little city hereby and may be saved there.

He said to Lot: I have heard thy prayers, and for thy sake I shall not subvert this town for which thou hast prayed, hie thee and save

thyself there, for I may do nothing till thou be therein.

Therefore that town is called Zoar. So Lot went in to Zoar; and the sun arose, and our Lord rained from heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah sulphur and fire, and subverted the cities and all the dwellers of the towns about that region, and all that was there growing and burgeoning. Lot's wife turned her and looked towards the cities, and anon she was turned into a statue or image of salt, which abideth so unto this day.

Abraham arose in the morning early, and looked towards the cities, and saw the smoke ascending from the places, like as it had been the light of a furnace. What time our Lord subverted these cities he remembered Abraham, and delivered Lot from the vengeance of the cities in which he dwelled.

Lot and His Daughters

Then Lot ascended from Zoar and dwelled in the mountain, and his two daughters with him. He dreaded to abide any longer in the town, but dwelled in a cave, he and his two daughters with him.

Then the elder daughter said to the younger: Our father is old, and there is no man left on the earth living that may do have ado with us after the manner of the world, come and let us make him drunk and let us sleep with him, that we may have some seed of him.

They gave their father wine to drink that night and made him drunk. And the elder daughter went to him, and conceived of him, he not knowing of it. And the second night in like wise conceived the younger daughter, and Lot was not knowing thereof. They conceived both of their father. The more had a son and called him Moab; he is father of the Moabites unto this day. The younger brought forth another son and called him Ammon; he is father of the Ammonites unto this day.

The Lord Warns Abimelech

Abraham departed from thence and went southward and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and went a pilgrimage to Gerar. He said that his wife was his sister. Abimelech the king of Gerar sent for her and took her. God came to Abimelech in his sleep and said: Thou shalt be dead for the woman that thou hast taken, she hath an husband.

Abimelech touched her not and said: Lord, wilt thou slay a man ignorant and rightful? She said that she was his sister, in the simpleness of my heart and cleanness of my hands I did this.

And God said to him: I know well that with a simple heart thou didst it, and therefore I have kept thee from having to do with her, now yield the woman to her husband, and he shall pray for thee, he is a prophet and thou shalt live. And if thou deliver her not, thou shalt die, and all they that be in thy house.

Abimelech arose up the same night and called all his servants, and told them all these words. All they dreaded sore. Also Abimelech called Abraham and said to him: What hast thou done to us, that we have trespassed to thee? Thou hast caused me and my realm to sin greatly. Thou hast done that thou shouldst not have done. What sawest thou for to do so?

Abraham said: I thought that the dread of God was not in this place, and that ye would slay me for my wife; and certainly otherwise she is also my sister, the daughter of my father but not of my mother, and I have wedded her. And after that I went from the house of my father, I said to her: Wheresomever we go say thou art my sister.

Then Abimelech took sheep and oxen and servants and maidens, and gave to Abraham, and delivered to him Sarah his wife, and said: Lo! the land is here tofore thee, wheresoever thou wilt, dwell and abide.

And he said to Sarah: Lo! I have given to thy brother a thousand pieces of silver, this shall be to thee a veil of thine eyes, and

wheresomever thou go, remember that thou wert taken.

Abraham prayed for Abimelech and his meiny and God healed him, his wife and all his servants, and they conceived. Our Lord had closed the place of engendering of all the house of Abimelech for Sarah the wife of Abraham.

The Birth of Isaac

Our Lord then visited Sarah, and she conceived and brought forth a son in her old age, that same time that God had promised. Abraham called his son that she had borne, Isaac, and when he was eight days old he circumcised him as God had commanded, and Abraham was then an hundred years old.

Then said Sarah: Who would have supposed that I should give suck to my child, being so old? I laughed when I heard our Lord say so, and all they that shall hear of it may well laugh.

The child grew and was weaned from the pap, and Abraham made a great feast at the day of his weaning.

Ishmael Is Sent Away

After this, on a day when Sarah saw the son of Hagar her handmaid play with her son Isaac, she said to Abraham: Cast out this handmaid with her son, the son of the handmaid shall not be heir with my son Isaac.

Abraham took this word hard and grievously for his son. Then said God to him: Let it not be hard to thee for thy son and handmaid, whatsomever Sarah say to thee hear her voice, for in Isaac shall thy seed be called. Yet shall I make the son of the handmaid grow into great people, for he is of thy seed.

Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and laid it on her shoulder, and gave to her the child and let her go, which, when she was departed, erred in the wilderness of

Beersheba. And when the water was consumed that was in the bottle, she left the child under a tree that was there and went thence as far as a bow shot and sat her down, and said: I shall not see my son die, and there she wept.

Our Lord heard the voice of the child, and an angel called Hagar saying, What doest thou, Hagar? Be not afeard, our Lord hath heard the voice of the child from the place which he is now in. Arise and take the child and hold him by the hand, for I shall make him to increase into much people.

God opened her eyes and she saw a pit of water, and anon she went and filled the bottle, and gave the child to drink, and abode with him, which grew and dwelled in the wilderness, and became there a young man and an archer, and dwelled also in the desert of Paran. And his mother took to him a wife of the land of Egypt.

The Friendship with Abimelech

That same time said Abimelech, and Phicol the prince of his host, unto Abraham: Our Lord is with thee in all things that thou doest. Swear thou by the Lord that thou grieve not me, ne them that shall come after me, ne my kindred, but after the mercy that I have showed to thee, so do to me and to my land in which thou hast dwelled as a stranger. And Abraham said, I shall swear. And he blamed Abimelech for the pit of water which his servants had taken away by strength. Abimelech answered: I know not who hath done this thing, and thou toldest me not thereof, and I never heard thereof till this day. And then after this they made covenant together, and promised each to other to be friends together.

Abraham and Isaac

After all these things God tempted Abraham, and said to him: Abraham, Abraham. He answered and said: I am here, and he said to him: Take thou thine only son that thou lovest, Isaac, and go into the land of Vision and offer him in sacrifice to me upon one of the hills that I shall show to thee.

Then Abraham arose in the night, and made ready his ass, and took with him two young men and Isaac his son. And when they had hewn and gathered the wood together to make sacrifice, they went to the place that God commanded him. The third day after, he lift up his eyes and saw from afar the place, and he said to his children: Abide ye here with the ass, I and my son shall go to yonder place, and when we have worshipped there we shall return to you.

Then he took the wood of the sacrifice and laid it on his son Isaac, and he bare in his hands fire and the sword. And as they went both together, Isaac said to his father: Father mine.

What wilt thou, my son? said Abraham.

And he said: Lo! here is fire and wood, where is the sacrifice that shall be offered?

Abraham answered: My son, God shall provide for him a sacrifice well enough.

They went forth and came to the place that God had ordained, and there made an altar, and laid the wood thereon, and took Isaac and set him on the wood on the altar, and took his sword and would have offered him up to God. And lo! the angel of God cried to him from heaven saying: Abraham, Abraham!

Which answered: I am here!

And he said to him. Extend not thy hand upon thy child, and do nothing to him, now I know that thou dreadest God, and hast not spared thine only son for me.

Abraham looked behind him, and saw among the briars a ram fast by the horns, which he took, and offered him in sacrifice for his son. He called that place: The Lord seeth.

The angel called Abraham the second time saying: I have sworn by myself, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thine only son for me, I shall bless thee and shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and like the gravel that is on the seaside, thy seed shall possess the gates of their enemies, and in thy seed shall be blessed all the people of the earth, for thou obeyedst to me.

Isaac and Rebecca

Abraham then returned to his servants, and went into Beersheba and dwelled there. Sarah lived an hundred and twenty-seven years and died in the city of Arba, which is Hebron in the land of Canaan; for whom Abraham made sorrow and wept, and bought of the children of Heth a field, and buried her worshipfully in a double spelunke.

Abraham was an old man, and God blessed him in all his things. He said to the eldest and upperest servant in all his house: I charge and conjure thee by the name of God of heaven and of earth that thou suffer not my son Isaac to take no wife of the daughters of Canaan amongst whom I dwell, but go into the country where my kindred is, and take of them a wife to my son.

And the servant answered: If no woman there will come with me into this country, shall I bring thy son into that country from whence thou camest?

Abraham said: Beware that thou lead not my son thither. The Lord of heaven and of earth, that took me from the house of my father and from the place of my nativity, hath said and sworn to me, saying: "To thy seed I shall give this land." He shall send his angel tofore thee, and thou shalt take there a wife for my son. If no woman will come with thee thou shalt not be bounden by thine oath, but in no wise lead my son thither.

His servant then swore and promised to him that he would so do.

He took ten camels of the flock of his lord, and of all his goods bare with him, and went in to Mesopotamia unto the town of Nahor. And he made the camels to tarry without the town by a pit side at such time as the women be wont to come out for to draw water. And there he prayed our Lord, saying: Lord God of my lord Abraham, I beseech thee to help me this day, and do mercy unto my lord Abraham. Lo! I stand here nigh by the well of water, and the daughters of the dwellers of this town come hither for to draw water, therefore the maid to whom I say: "Set down thy pot that I may drink," and then she set down her pot and say: "I will give to thee drink, and to the camels," that I may understand thereby that she be the maid that thou hast ordained to thy servant Isaac, and thou showest thy mercy to my lord Abraham.

He had not fully finished these words with himself, but that Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel, son of Milcah wife of Nahor, brother of Abraham, came out of the town, having a pot on her shoulder, which was a right fair maid, and much beauteous and unknown to the man. She went down to the well and filled her pot with water and returned. The servant of Abraham ran to her and said: I pray thee to give me a little of the water in thy pot for to drink.

Which said: Drink, my lord, and lightly took it that man, she said: Yea, I shall go with him.

Then they let her go, and her nurse with her, and so she departed, and they said to her: Thou art our sister, we pray God that thou mayst increase into a thousand thousand, and that thy seed may possess the gates of their enemies.

Then Rebekah and her maidens ascended upon the camels, and followed the servant of Abraham which hastily returned unto his lord.

That same time, when they were come, Isaac walked by the way without forth and looked up and saw the camels coming from far. Rebekah espied him and demanded of the servant who that he was

that came in the field against them. He answered and said: That is my lord Isaac.

And anon she took her pall or mantle and covered her. The servant anon told unto his lord Isaac all that he had done; which received her and led her into the tabernacle of Sarah his mother and wedded her, and took her in to his wife, and so much loved her, that the love attempered the sorrow that he had for his mother.

The End of Abraham's Days

Abraham after this wedded another wife, by whom he had divers children. Abraham gave to Isaac all his possessions, and to his other children he gave movable goods, and departed the sons of his concubines from his son Isaac whilst he yet lived.

And all the days of the life of Abraham were one hundred and seventy-five years, and then died in good mind and age, and Isaac and Ishmael buried him by his wife Sarah in a double spelunke.

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Of S. Vitus and S. Modestus

Chapter 82 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides paragraph breaks and explanatory notes.

S. Vitus was a child much noble that suffered martyrdom in the age of twelve years. His father beat him oft, because he despised the idols, but neither for beating ne smiting he would never worship them. When Valerian the provost of Lucca heard say hereof, he made him to come tofore him, and when S. Vitus would not do sacrifice for him ne for his words, he did do beat him with great staves.

But the hands of them that beat him became dry and the hands of the provost also, in such wise that they might not bewield them. Then said the provost: Alas! alas! I have lost mine hands. Then said to him the child Vitus: Call thy gods and pray them that they help thee if they may. Then said the provost: Mayst thou heal me? The child answered: I may well heal thee in the name of my Lord Jesu Christ, and anon he made his prayer and healed him.

Then said the provost to his father: Chastise thy son, to the end that he die not an evil death. Then his father brought him again to his own house, and made come to him harps, pipes and all manner instruments that he might have, and after did do come maidens for to play with him, and made him to have all manner of delights that he might get, to mollify and change his heart. And when he had been shut and enclosed in a chamber one day, there issued a marvellous odour and sweet savour, whereof his father and the meiny marvelled, and when the father looked in to the chamber, he saw two angels sitting by his son, and then said he: The gods be come into mine house, and anon after these words he was blind.

Then assembled all the city of Lucca at the cry of the father, and the provost Valerian came also, and demanded what it was that was

happed to him. And he said to him: I have seen in my house the gods all so shining and bright as fire, and because I might not suffer the clearness, I am become blind. Then led they him to the temple of Jove and promised unto him a bull, with horns of gold, for to have again his sight. But when he saw it availed him nothing, he required his son that he would pray for him, and anon he made his prayer unto God, and anon he was all whole. Yet for all that he would not believe in God, but thought how he might put his son to death.

Then appeared the angel to a servant that kept him, whose name was Modestus, and said to him: Take this child and lead him unto a strange land. And anon he found a ship ready and entered therein, and so went out of the country. An angel brought meat to them, and he did many miracles in the country where he was.

Now it happed that Diocletian, son of the emperor, had a wicked spirit in his body, and said openly that he would not go out till the child of Lucca named Vitus was come. Anon he sought all about the country, and after, when he was found, he was brought to the emperor.

Then he demanded if he might heal his son.

He answered: I shall not heal him, but our Lord shall. And anon he laid his hand on him and he was all whole, so that the devil left him.

Then said Diocletian: My child, take counsel in thy works and do sacrifice unto our gods to the end that thou die not an evil death.

And Vitus answered that he would never do sacrifice to their gods, and anon he was taken and put into prison with Modestus his servant, and they laid mill-stones upon their bodies. And anon the mill-stones fell off, and the prison began to shine of great light. And when it was told to the emperor they were taken out of prison, and after, S. Vitus was cast in to a fire burning, but by the might of God he issued out whole and safe without suffering of any harm. Then was there brought a terrible lion for to devour him, but anon by the

virtue of the faith he became meek and debonair.

After, the emperor made him to be hanged on a gibbet with Modestus and Crescentia his nurse, which always followed him. Then anon the air began to trouble and thunder, the earth to tremble, the temples of the idols to fall down and slew many. The emperor was afeard and smote himself on the breast with his fist saying: Alas! alas! a child hath overcome me.

Then came an angel that unbound them and they found themselves by a river, and there resting and praying rendered their souls unto our Lord God, whose bodies were kept of eagles, and afterward, by the revelation of S. Vitus, a noble lady named Florentia took the bodies and buried them worshipfully.

They suffered martyrdom under Diocletian about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty-seven.

It happed afterward that a gentleman of France bare away the heads and put them in a church which is a mile from Lusarches, named Fosses, and closed them in a wall unto the time that he might set them more honourably. But he died ere he might perform it, so that the heads were there whereas no man living knew where they were.

It happed so after, that there was certain work in that church, and when the wall was broken where the heads lay and were discovered, the bells of that church began to sound by themselves. Then assembled the people to the church and found a writing which devised how they had been brought thither, and then they were laid more honourably and set, than they were tofore; and there then were showed many miracles.

Then let us pray to these glorious saints that it may please them to pray to God for us in such wise that we may by their merits and prayers come to the glory of heaven, to which bring us the Father and Son and Holy Ghost. Amen.

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THE LIFE OF ADAM

This life of Moses in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend is not in the original. Ellis's 1931 edition of Caxton suggests that he took it from the earlier English translation that he had used along with the original and a French translation. This "reader's version" of his text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

T he Sunday of Septuagesima (i.e., the third Sunday before Lent) beginneth the story of the Bible, in which is read the legend and story of Adam which followeth.

The Creation

In the beginning God made and created heaven and earth. The earth was idle and void and covered with darkness. And the spirit of God was borne on the waters, and God said: Be made light, and anon light was made. And God saw that light was good, and divided the light from darkness, and called the light day and darkness night. And thus was made light with heaven and earth first, and even and morning was made one day.

The second day he made the firmament, and divided the waters that were under the firmament from them that were above, and called the firmament heaven.

The third day were made on the earth herbs and fruits in their kind.

The fourth day God made the sun and moon and stars, etc.

The fifth day he made the fishes in the water and birds in the air.

The sixth day God made the beasts on the earth, every one in his kind and gender. And God saw that all these works were good and said: *Faciamus hominem, etc.* Make we man unto our similitude and image.

Here spake the Father to the Son and Holy Ghost, or else as it were the common voice of three persons, when it was said "make we," and "to our," in plural number.

Man was made to the image of God in his soul. Here it is to be noted that he made not only the soul with the body, but he made both body and soul.

As to the body he made male and female. God gave to man the lordship and power upon living beasts. When God had made man it is not written: *Et vidit quod esset bonum, quia in proximo sciebat eum lapsurum.* For yet he was not perfect till the woman was made, and therefore it is read: "It is not good the man to be alone."

Thus in six days was heaven and earth made and all the ornation of them. And then he made the seventh day on which he rested, not for that he was weary, but ceased his operation, and showed the seventh day which he blessed. Thus be shortly showed the generations of heaven and earth, for here be determined the works of the six days and the seventh day he sanctified and made holy.

Adam Placed in The Garden of Paradise

God had planted in the beginning Paradise a place of desire and delices. And man was made in the field of Damascus; he was made of the slime of the earth. Paradise was made the third day of creation, and was beset with herbs, plants and trees, and is a place of most mirth and joy. In the midst whereof be set two trees, that [one] is the tree of life, and that other the tree of knowing good and evil. And there is a well, which casteth out water for to water the trees and herbs of Paradise.

This well is the mother of all waters, which well is divided into four parts. One part is called Phison. This goeth about Inde. The second is called Gijon, otherwise Nilus, and that runneth about Ethiopia, the other two be called Tigris and Euphrates. Tigris runneth towards

Assyria, and Euphrates is called fruitful, which runneth in Chaldea. These four floods come and spring out of the same well, and depart, and yet in some place some of them meet again.

Then God took man from the place of his creation and brought him into Paradise, for to work there, not to labour needily, but in delighting and recreating him, and that he should keep Paradise. For like as Paradise should refresh him, so should he labour to serve God.

And there God gave him a commandment. Every commandment standeth in two things, in doing or forbidding. In doing he commanded him to eat of all the trees of Paradise, in forbidding he commanded that he should not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. This commandment was given to the man, and by the man it went to the woman. For when the woman was made it was commanded to them both, and hereto he set a pain, saying: Whatsoever day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die by death.

The Creation of Eve

God said: It is not good a man to be alone, make we to him an helper like to himself for to bring forth children.

Adam supposed that some helper to him had been among the beasts which had been like to him. Therefore God brought to Adam all living beasts of the earth and air, in which be understood them of the water also, which with one commandment all came tofore him. They were brought for two causes, one was because man should give to each of them a name, by which they should know that he should dominate over them, and the second cause was because Adam should know that there was none of them like to him.

And he named them in the Hebrew tongue, which was only the language and none other at the beginning.

And so none being found like unto him, God sent in Adam a lust to

sleep, which was no dream, but as is supposed in an extasy or in a trance; in which was showed to him the celestial court. Wherefore when he awoke he prophesied of the conjunction of Christ to his church, and of the flood that was to come, and of the doom and destruction of the world by fire he knew, which afterward he told to his children.

Whiles that Adam slept, God took one of his ribs, both flesh and bone, and made that a woman, and set her tofore Adam. Which then said: This is now a bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh.

And Adam gave her a name like as her lord, and said she should be called *virago* , which is as much as to say as made of a man, and is a name taken of a man. And anon, the name giving, he prophesied, saying: Because she is taken of the side of a man, therefore a man shall forsake and leave father and mother and abide and be adherent unto his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh; and though they be two persons, yet in matrimony and wedlock they be but one flesh, and in other things twain. For why, neither of them had power of his own flesh.

They were both naked and were not ashamed, they felt nothing of the moving of their flesh, ne to refrain them as we now do, for they stood both in the state of innocence.

The Fall

Then the serpent which was hotter than any beast of the earth and naturally deceivable, for he was full of the devil Lucifer, which was deject and cast out of heaven, had great envy to man that was bodily in Paradise, and knew well, if he might make him to trespass and break God's commandments, that he should be cast out also. Yet he was afeard to be taken or espied of the man, he went to the woman, not so prudent and more prone to slide and bow. And in the form of the serpent, for then the serpent was erect as a man.

Bede saith that he chose a serpent having a maiden's cheer, for like

oft apply to like, and spake by the tongue of the serpent to Eve, and said: Why commanded you God that ye should not eat of all the trees of Paradise?

This he said to find occasion to say that he was come for. Then the woman answered and said: *Ne forte moriamur* , "lest haply we die," which she said doubting, for lightly she was flexible to every part.

Whereunto anon he answered: Nay in no wise ye shall die, but God would not that ye should be like him in science, and knowing that when ye eat of this tree ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil, he as envious forbade you.

And anon the woman, elate in pride and willing to be like to God, accorded thereto and believed him. The woman saw that the tree was fair to look on, and clean and sweet of savour, took and ate thereof, and gave unto Adam of the same; happily desiring him by fair words. But Adam anon agreed, for when he saw the woman not dead he supposed that God had said that they should die to fear them with, and then ate of the fruit forbidden.

And anon their sight was opened that they saw their nakedness, and then anon they understood that they had trespassed, for anon their flesh began to move and stir to concupiscence. For before that they had eaten of the forbidden fruit, the movings were repressed and closed as in young children.

And then, after they had sinned, they were opened like springs of water and began to move, and then they were expert and knew them. And like as they were inobedient to their superior, right so their members began to move against their superior, which is reason, and they felt their first moving in their privy members, and thereof they were ashamed. And thus they knew that they were naked, and they took fig leaves and sewed them together for to cover their members in manner of breeches.

And anon after, they heard the voice of our Lord God walking, and

anon they hied them. Our Lord called the man and said: "Adam, where art thou?" Calling him in blaming him and not as knowing where he was, but as who said: "Adam, see in what misery thou art."

Which answered: I have hid me, Lord, for I am naked.

Our Lord said: Who told thee that thou wert naked, but that thou hast eaten of the tree forbidden?

He then not meekly confessing his trespass, but laid the fault on his wife, and on him as giver of the woman to him, and said: The woman that thou gavest to me as a fellow, gave to me of the tree, and I ate thereof.

And then our Lord said to the woman: Why didst thou so?

Neither she accused herself, but laid the sin on the serpent, and privily she laid the fault on the maker of him.

The serpent was not demanded, for he did it not of himself, but the devil by him. And our Lord, cursing them, began at the serpent, keeping an order and congruous number of curses. The serpent was the first and sinned most, for he sinned in three things. The woman next and sinned lese than he, but more than the man, for she sinned in two things. The man sinned last and least, for he sinned but in one.

The serpent had envy, he lied, and deceived, for these three he had three curses. Because he had envy at the excellence of man, it was said to him: Thou shalt go and creep on thy breast; because he lied he is punished in his mouth, when it was said: Thou shalt eat earth all the days of thy life. Also he took away his voice and put venom in his mouth. And because he deceived, it was said: I shall put enmity between thee and woman, and thy seed and her seed. She shall break thy head, etc.

In two things the woman sinned, in pride and eating the fruit. Because she sinned in pride, he meeked her, saying: "Thou shalt be under the power of man, and he shall have lordship over thee, and he shall put thee to affliction." Now is she subject to a man by condition and dread, which before was but subject by love; and because she sinned in the fruit, she is punished in her fruit, when it was said to her: "Thou shalt bring forth children in sorrow." In the pain of sorrow standeth the curse, but in bringing forth of children is a blessing. And so, in punishing, God forgat not to have mercy, which is to be noted, etc.

And because Adam sinned but only in eating of the fruit, therefore he was punished in seeking his meat, as it is said to him: "Accursed be the earth in thy work," that is to say for thy work of thy sin, for which is made that the earth that brought forth good and wholesome fruits plenteously, from henceforth shall bring forth but seldom, and also none without man's labour, and also sometime weeds, briars, and thorns shall grow. And he added: "Thereto shalt thou eat herbs of the earth," as who saith thou shalt be like a beast or jument. He cursed the earth because the trespass was of the fruit of the earth and not of the water. He added thereto to him of labour: "In the sweat of thy cheer thou shalt eat thy bread unto the time thou return again into the earth" – that is to say till thou die, for thou art earth, and into earth thou shalt go again.

Then Adam, wailing and sorrowing the misery that was to come of his posterity, named his wife Eve, which is to say, mother of all living folk.

Then God made to Adam and Eve two leathern coats of the skins of dead beasts, to the end that they bare with them the sign of mortality, and said: "Lo, Adam is made as one of us, knowing good and evil, now lest he put his hand and take of the tree of life and live ever," as who saith: beware and cast him out, lest he take and eat of the tree of life.

And so he was cast out of Paradise, and set in the field of

Damascus where as he was made and taken from, for to work and labour there. And our Lord set Cherubim to keep Paradise of delight with a burning sword and pliant, to the end that none should enter there ne come to the tree of life.

The Children of Adam and Eve

After then that Adam was cast out of Paradise and set in the world, he knew his wife and engendered Cain, the fifteenth year after he was made, and his sister Calmana. They came out of Paradise virgins, as Methodius saith, and when Adam was made, he was made a perfect man as a man of thirty years of age when he was but one day old, and he might well have gotten many children tofore Cain, but after another fifteen years was Abel born, and his sister Delbora.

Cain Slays Abel

When Adam was an hundred and thirty years of age, Cain slew Abel his brother. Truth it is, after many days Cain and Abel offered sacrifice and gifts unto God. It is to be believed that Adam taught his sons to offer to God their tithes and first fruits. Cain offered fruits, for he was a ploughman and tiller of earth, and Abel offered milk and the first of the lambs, Moses saith [i.e., in the Book of Genesis], of the fattest of the flock. And God beheld the gifts of Abel, for he and his sacrifices were acceptable to our Lord; and as to Cain his sacrifices, God beheld them not, for they were not to him acceptable, he offered withies and thorns.

And as some doctors say, fire came from heaven and lighted the sacrifice of Abel, and the gifts of Cain pleased not our Lord, for the sacrifice would not belight nor burn clear in the light of God. Whereof Cain had great envy unto his brother Abel, which arose against him and slew him.

And our Lord said to him: Where is Abel thy brother?

He answered and said: I wot never, am I keeper of my brother?

Then our Lord said: What hast thou done? The voice of the blood of thy brother crieth to thee from the earth, wherefore thou art cursed, and accursed be the earth that received the blood of thy brother by his mouth of thy hands. When thou shalt work and labour the earth it shall bring forth no fruit, but thou shalt be fugitive, vagabond, and void on the earth.

This Cain deserved well to be cursed, knowing the pain of the first trespass of Adam, yet he added thereto murder and slaughter of his brother.

Then Cain, dreading that beasts should devour him, or if he went forth he should be slain of the men, or if he dwelt with them, they would slay him for his sin, damned himself, and in despair said: My wickedness is more than I can deserve to have forgiveness, whoso find me shall slay me.

This he said of dread, or else wishing, as who said, "would God he would slay me." Then our Lord said: Nay not so, thou shalt die, but not soon, for whosoever slayeth Cain shall be punished seven sithes more, for he should deliver him from dread, from labour and misery, and added that he should be punished personally sevenfold more. This punition shall endure to him in pain unto the seventh, Lameth, whosomever shall slay seventh Cain shall loose seven vengeances.

Some hold that his pain endured unto the seventh generation, for he committed seven sins. He departed not truly, he had envy to his brother, he wrought guilefully, he slew his brother falsely, he denied it, he despaired and damned, he did no penance.

And after he went into the east, fugitive and vagabond. Cain knew his wife which bare Enoch, and he made a city and named it Enoch after the name of his son Enoch. Here it showeth well that this time were many men, though their generation be not said, whom Cain called to his city, by whose help he made it, whom he induced to

theft and robbery. He was the first that walled or made cities; dreading them that he hurted, for surety he brought his people into the towns.

The Descendants of Cain

Then Enoch gat Irad, and Irad Mehujael, and he gat Methusael, and he gat Lameth, which was the seventh from Adam and worst, for he brought in first bigamy, and by him was committed first adultery, against the law of God and of nature, and against the decree of God. This Lameth took two wives, Adah and Zilla; of Adah he gat Jabal which found first the craft to make folds for shepherds and to change their pasture, and ordained flocks of sheep, and departed the sheep from the goats after the quality, the lambs by themselves, and the older by themselves, and understood the feeding of them after the season of the year.

The name of his brother was Jubal, father of singers in the harp and organs, not of the instruments, for they were found long after, but he was the finder of music, that is to say of consonants of accord, such as shepherds use in their delights and sports.

And forasmuch as he heard Adam prophesy of two judgments by the fire and water, that all things should be destroyed thereby, and that his craft new found should not perish, he did do write it in two pillars or columns, one of marble, another of clay of the earth, to the end that one should endure against the water, and that other against the fire. Josephus saith that the pillar of marble is yet in the land of Syria.

Of Zilla he begat Tubal-cain, which found first the craft of smithery and working of iron, and made things for war, and sculptures and gravings in metal to the pleasure of the eyes, which he so working, Tubal, tofore said, had delight in the sound of his hammers, of which he made the consonants and tunes of accord in his song.

Noema, sister of Tubal-cain, found first the craft of diverse texture.

Lameth Slays Cain

Lameth was a shooter, and used to shoot at wild beasts, for none use of the meat of them, but only for to have the skins for their clothing, and lived so long that he was blind and had a child to lead him. And on a time target by adventure he slew Cain. For Cain was alway afeard and hid him among bushes and briars, and the child that led Lameth had supposed it had been some wild beast and directed Lameth to shoot thereat, and so, weening to shoot at a beast, slew Cain.

And when he knew that he had slain Cain, he with his bow slew the child, and thus he slew them both to his damnation; therefore as the sin of Cain was punished seven sithes, so was the sin of Lameth seventy sithes and seven. That is to say seventyseven souls that came of Lameth were perished in the deluge and Noah's flood; also his wife did him much sorrow, and evil-entreated him. And he being wroth said that he suffered that for his double homicide and manslaughter, yet nevertheless he feared him by pain, saying: Why will ye slay of me? he shall be more and sorer punished that slayeth me, than he that slew Cain.

The Generations of Adam

After that Abel was slain, Strabus saith that Adam avowed no more to have to do with his wife, but by an angel he brake the vow, because a son should be born to God. Yet nevertheless Josephus said that when Abel was slain and Cain fled away, Adam thought of procreation of children, and so when he was one hundred and thirty years old he engendered Seth like to his similitude, and he to the image of God.

This Seth was a good man, and he gat Enos, and Enos Cainan, and Cainan begot Malaleel, and Malaleel Jared, and Jared Enoch, and Enoch Methuselah, and Methuselah Lamech, and Lamech Noah.

And like as in the generation of Cain the seventh was the worst, so

in the generation of Seth the seventh was the best, that was Enoch whom God took and brought him into Paradise, unto the time that he shall come with Elias for to convert the hearts of the fathers into the sons.

And Adam lived after he had begotten Seth eight hundred years, and engendered sons and daughters. Some hold opinion thirty sons and thirty daughters, and some fifty of that one and fifty of that other. We find no certainty of them in the Bible. But all the days of Adam living here in earth amount to the sum of nine hundred and thirty years.

The Death of Adam and the Tree of Mercy

And in the end of his life when he should die, it is said, but of none authority, that he sent Seth his son into Paradise for to fetch the oil of mercy, where he received certain grains of the fruit of the tree of mercy by an angel. And when he came again he found his father Adam yet alive and told him what he had done. And then Adam laughed first and then died. And then he laid the grains or kernels under his father's tongue and buried him in the vale of Hebron; and out of his mouth grew three trees of the three grains, of which trees the cross that our Lord suffered his passion on was made, by virtue of which he gat very mercy, and was brought out of darkness into very light of heaven. To the which he bring us that liveth and reigneth God, world without end.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. AGATHA

Chapter 39 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton (1483). This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

S t. Agatha the virgin was right fair, noble body and of heart, and was rich of goods. This glorious virgin served God in the city of Catania, leading a pure and holy life. Quintianus the provost of Sicily, being of a low lineage, was lecherous, avaricious, and a miscreant and paynim, and for to accomplish his evil desires fleshly, and to have riches, did do take St. Agatha to be presented and brought tofore him, and began to behold her with a lecherous sight; and for to have her himself, he would have induced her to make sacrifice unto the idols.

Quintianus Consigns Agatha to the Keeping of Aphrodisia

And when he saw her firm in her purpose, he put her in the keeping of a woman named Aphrodisia, which had nine daughters, over foul, like unto the mother. This did he for to induce St. Agatha to do his will within thirty days. Aphrodisia and her daughters entreated the holy virgin to consent to the will of the provost, and sometime they made to her great promises of temporal goods and of great eases, and sometimes they made to her menaces of grievous torments for to suffer, and great pains, to which St. Agatha answered freely: My courage and my thought be so firmly founded upon the firm stone of Jesu Christ, that for no pain it may not be changed; your words be but wind, your promises be but rain, and your menaces be as rivers that pass, and how well that all these things hurtle at the foundement of my courage, yet for that it shall not move.

In this manner answered she, and alway wept in making her prayers, and much great desire had she to come to Jesu Christ by martyrdom and by torments. When Aphrodisia saw well that in no wise she would be moved, she went to the provost Quintianus, and

said to him: Sooner should the stones wax soft, and iron turn to soft lead, than turn the courage of this maid, or to take from her the Christian faith. I and my daughters have done none other thing night ne day, one after another, but to labour how we might turn her heart to your consenting. I have promised her in your name your precious adornments, clothes of gold, houses, lands, towns, servants, and great meinys and all this she despiseth and reputeth them at no value.

Refusing Quintianus' Command to Worship Idols, Agatha Is Imprisoned

When Quintianus heard this, anon he made her to come tofore him in judgment, and demanded her of her lineage, and at the last he would constrain her to make sacrifice unto the idols. And St. Agatha answered that they were no gods, but were devils that were in the idols made of marble and of wood, and overgilt. Quintianus said: Choose one of two; or do sacrifice to our gods, or thou shalt suffer pain and torments.

St. Agatha said: Thou sayst that they be gods because thy wife was such an one as was Venus, thy goddess, and thou thyself as Jupiter, which was an homicide and evil.

Quintianus said: It appeareth well that thou wilt suffer torments, in that thou sayst to me villainy.

St. Agatha said: I marvel much that so wise a man is become such a fool, that thou sayest of them to be thy gods, whose life thou ne thy wife will follow. If they be good I would that thy life were like unto theirs; and if thou refusest their life, then art thou of one accord with me. Say then that they be evil and so foul, and forsake their living, and be not of such life as thy gods were.

Quintianus said: What goest thou thus vainly speaking? Make sacrifice unto the gods, or if thou do not I shall make thee to die by divers torments. St. Agatha abode firm and stable in the faith. Then

Quintianus did do put her in a dark prison, and she went also gladly, and with as good will as she had been prayed to go to a wedding.

After A Second Refusal, Quintianus Orders Her Breasts Removed

On the morning Quintianus made her to be brought tofore him in judgment, and said to her: Agatha, how art thou advised for thy health? She answered: Christ is mine health.

Quintianus said: Reny Christ thy God, by which thou mayest escape thy torments.

St. Agatha answered: Nay, but reny thou thine idols which be of stones and of wood, and adore thy maker, that made heaven and earth, and if thou do not thou shalt be tormented in the perpetual fire in hell.

Then in great ire Quintianus did her to be drawn and stretched on a tree and tormented, and said to her: Refuse thy vain opinion that thou hast, and thou shalt be eased of thy pain.

And she answered: I have as great dilection in these pains as he that saw come to him that thing which he most coveteth to see, or as he that had found great treasure. And like as the wheat may not be put in the garner unto the time that the chaff be beaten off, in like wise my soul may not enter into the realm of heaven, but if thou wilt torment my body by thy ministers.

Then Quintianus did her to be tormented in her breasts and paps and commanded that her breasts and mammels should be drawn and cut off. When the ministers had accomplished his commandment, then said St. Agatha: Over felon and cruel tyrant, hast thou no shame to cut off that in a woman which thou didst suck in thy mother, and whereof thou wert nourished? But I have my paps whole in my soul, of which I nourish all my wits, the which I have ordained to serve our Lord Jesu Christ, sith the beginning of my youth.

St. Peter Heals Agatha in Prison

After, Quintianus did do put her in prison, and commanded that none should enter for to heal her, ne none should give to her meat ne drink. And when she was fast closed in the prison, there came an ancient noble man, and tofore him a child bearing a light, and divers ointments in his hand. This noble man said that he was a surgeon, and in comforting her said: How well that the tyrant hath tormented thee bodily, nevertheless thou hast more tormented him in his heart by thy answers. I was there when he made thy paps to be cut off, and saw how I might well heal them.

Then said she: I knew never of medicine corporal, and it were shame to me to take it now. That which I have avowed and kept to my Lord, sith mine infancy, yet I shall keep it if it please him.

The ancient nobleman answered: I am also Christian, and a good master and leech, be not ashamed.

She answered: Whereof should I be ashamed? Thou art ancient and of great age, and how well that I be a young maid, nevertheless my body is defeated by the torments, that the wounds suffer nothing to enter into my thought whereof I should be ashamed, and not for but I thank thee, fair father, that thou art so diligent to heal me, but know that my body shall receive no medicine of no man.

And this nobleman said: Wherefore sufferest thou not me that I may heal and guerish thee?

She said: Because I have Jesu Christ, my Saviour, which with a word healeth all, and if he will he may heal me.

And the good man smiling said: And he hath sent me hither for to heal thee; I am his apostle, and know verily that thou art whole in the name of him. And anon the apostle vanished away.

Then she fell down in prayers and said: Lord Jesu Christ, I yield

thee thankings that thou hast remembered me, and hast sent thine apostle St. Peter to me, which hath comforted me, and healed my wounds. And after the orison made, she saw that her paps were again restored to her and all her wounds healed.

And all that night was the prison fulfilled with great clearness and light, so that the keepers fled for the great dread that they had, and left the prison all open. Then said to her the other prisoners that were in the prison, that she should go their way, and she said: That shall never happen that the keepers of the prison shall suffer any harm for me, ne that I shall lose my crown; I shall abide in the faith of Jesu Christ my Lord, which hath comforted and healed me.

The Martyrdom of St. Agatha

After four days Quintianus made her to be brought tofore him in judgment, and said to her that she should do sacrifice to the idols.

She answered: These words be vain, and thy commandments evil, they make the air to stink, he is much mechant that believeth in a stone without entendment, and leaveth our Lord the very God that hath healed me, and hath restored to me again my paps.

Quintianus demanded her: Who is he that hath healed thee?

She said: Jesu Christ.

Quintianus said: Namest thou yet Jesu Christ?

She answered: I shall have in my heart Jesu Christ as long as I shall live.

Quintianus said: Yet shalt thou see if he may help and heal thee. And then he made her, all naked, to be rolled upon burning brands, and anon the ground where the holy virgin was rolled on, began to tremble like an earthquave, and a part of the wall fell down upon Silvain, counsellor of Quintianus, and upon Fastion his friend, by

whose counsel she had been so tormented. And then all the city of Catania was abashed, and the people came running unto the house of Quintianus, saying, in a great bruit that the city was in a great peril for the torments that he did to St. Agatha.

Quintianus redoubled the bruit of the people, and went out behind and commanded that she should be remised in prison. When she came into the prison she joined her hands, holding them up to heavenward, and said in praying: Lord God Jesu Christ which hast created me of nought, and sith my youth hast kept me and hast suffered me to live well in my youth, which hast taken from mine heart the love of the world and hast made me to overcome the torments, and hast lent me patience among the pains, I pray thee that thou take my spirit, for it is time that thou make me to depart from this world and to come to thy mercy.

This orison and prayer made she on high tofore many persons. And anon after she gave up the ghost, and rendered her soul, the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-three in the time of Decius, the emperor of Rome.

Her Burial

After this the Christian people took the body for to bury it worshipfully, and whiles they arrayed it with ointments for to embalm the corpse, anon came a young man clad in silk, and well an hundred that followed him, richly clothed, which were never tofore seen in the city, ne never after also. This young man, whom followed the fair company, set him on that one side of the tomb in which the body should be put, and when the body was embalmed within the tomb, this young man set, at the head of the body, a short table of marble stone, in which was written this scripture: *Mentem sanctam, spontaneam, honorem deo dedit et patriae liberationem fecit* ; which is as much to say: The holy saint Agatha had always holy thought and pure, and gave honor to God with a free will in all her works, and purchased by her prayers peace and deliverance to all the country.

After that the table containing this scripture was set at her head, the young man and all his company departed from the tomb, being closed, without appearing any more afterward, wherefore it is supposed that this young man was her good angel. This was published over all, whereof the Jews and Saracens began to sing and worship the sepulchre of the tomb of St. Agatha. Quintianus, the provost, died of an evil death in the way as he went for to seek the goods and riches of St. Agatha, and also for to have taken her parents, and never after could be known where her body became.

A Miracle of St. Agatha

And for to prove that she had prayed for the salvation of the country, at the beginning of February, the year after her martyrdom, there arose a great fire, and came from the mountain toward the city of Catania and burnt the earth and stones, it was so fervent. Then ran the paynims to the sepulchre of St. Agatha and took the cloth that lay upon her tomb, and held it abroad against the fire, and anon on the ninth day after, which was the day of her feast, ceased the fire as soon as it came to the cloth that they brought from her tomb, showing that our Lord kept the city from the said fire by the merits of St. Agatha. To whom pray we that she by her prayers may get and impetre grace of our Lord to be kept from all perils of fire in this world, and when we shall depart hence to eschew the perpetual fire, and to come to the glory and joy in heaven. Amen.

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OF SAINT AGNES

Chapter 24 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton (1483). This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

T he blessed virgin St. Agnes was much wise, and well taught, as St. Ambrose witnesseth, and wrote her passion. She was fair of visage, but much fairer in the Christian faith, she was young of age, and aged in wit, for in the thirteenth year of her age she lost the death that the world giveth, and found life in Jesu Christ, which when she came from school the son of the prefect of Rome, for the emperor, loved her, and when his father and mother knew it, they offered to give much riches with him if he might have her in marriage, and offered to St. Agnes precious gems and jewels, which she refused to take, whereof it happed that the young man was ardently esprised in the love of St. Agnes, and came again and took with him more precious and richer adornments, made with all manner of precious stones, and as well by his parents as by himself offered to St. Agnes rich gifts and possessions, and all the delights and deduits of the world, and all to the end to have her in marriage.

St. Agnes Rejects the Suit of the Prefect’s Son

But St. Agnes answered to him in this matter: Go from me thou fardel of sin, nourishing of evils and morsel of death, and depart, and know thou that I am prevented and am loved of another lover, which hath given to me many better jewels, which hath fianced me by his faith, and is much more noble of lineage than thou art, and of estate. He hath clad me with

St. Agnes's attribute is a white lamb. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of her images.)

VORAGINE'S ETYMOLOGY FOR THE NAME *AGNES*

Agnes is said of agna a lamb, for she was humble and debonair as a lamb, or of agnos in Greek, which is to say debonair and piteous, for

precious stones and with jewels of gold, he hath set in my visage a sign that I receive none other espouse but him, and hath showed me over-great treasures which he must give me if I abide with him. I will have none other spouse but him, I will seek none other, in no manner may I leave him, with him am I firm and fastened in love, which is more noble, more puissant and fairer than any other, whose love is much sweet and gracious, of whom the chamber is now for to receive me where the virgins sing merrily. I am now embraced of him of whom the mother is a virgin, and his father knew never woman, to whom the angels serve. The sun and the moon marvel them of his beauty, whose works never fail, whose riches never minish, by whose odour dead men rise again to life, by whose touching the sick men be comforted, whose love is chastity. To him I have given my faith, to him I have commanded my heart; when I love him then am I chaste, and when I touch him then am I pure and clean, and when I take him then am I a virgin, this is the love of my God.

she was debonair and merciful. Or Agnes of agnoscendo, for she knew the way of truth, and after this St. Austin saith, truth is opposed against vanity, falseness, and doubleness, for these three things were taken from her for the truth that she had.

When the young man had heard all this he was despaired, as he that was taken in blind love, and was over sore tormented, in so much that he lay down sick in his bed for the great sorrow that he had. Then came the physicians and anon knew his malady, and said to his father that he languished of carnal love that he had to some woman. Then the father enquired and knew that it was this woman, and did do speak to St. Agnes for his son, and said to her how his son languished for her love.

St. Agnes answered that in no wise she would break the faith of her first husband. Upon that the provost demanded who was her first husband, of whom she so much avaunted, and in his power so much

trusted. Then one of her servants said she was Christian, and that she was so enchanted that she said Jesu Christ was her espouse.

St. Agnes Taken Before the Prefect

And when the provost heard that she was Christian the provost was much glad because to have power on her, for then the Christian people were in the will of the lord, and if they would not reny their God and their belief all their goods should be forfeited. Wherefore then the provost made St. Agnes to come in justice and he examined her sweetly, and after cruelly by menaces.

St. Agnes, well comforted, said to him: Do what thou wilt, for my purpose shalt thou never change. And when she saw him now flattering and now terribly angry she scorned him.

And the provost said to her, being all angry: One of two things thou shalt choose, either do sacrifice to our gods with the virgins of the goddess Vesta, or go to the bordel to be abandoned to all that thither come, to the great shame and blame of all thy lineage.

St. Agnes answered: If thou knewest who is my God thou wouldst not say to me such words, but for as much as I know the virtue of my God, I set nothing by thy menaces, for I have his angel which is keeper of my body.

Saint Agnes in the Brothel

Then the judge all araged made to take off her clothes, and all naked to be led to the bordel. And thus St. Agnes that refused to do sacrifice to the

idols, was delivered naked to go to the bordel, but anon as she was unclothed God gave to her such grace that the hairs of her head became so long that they covered all her body to her feet, so that her body was not seen. And when St. Agnes entered into the bordel anon she found the angel of God ready for to defend her, and environed St. Agnes with a bright clearness in such wise that no man might see her ne come to her.

Then made she of the bordel her oratory, and in making her prayers to God she saw tofore her a white vesture, and anon therewith she clad her and said: I thank thee Jesu Christ which accountest me with thy virgins and hast sent me this vesture. All they that entered made honour and reverence to the great clearness that they saw about St. Agnes, and came out more devout and more clean than they entered.

At last came the son of the provost with a great company for to accomplish his foul desires and lusts. And when he saw his fellows come out and issue all abashed, he mocked them and called them cowards. And then he, all araged, entered for to accomplish his evil will. And when he came to the clearness, he advanced him for to take the virgin, and anon the devil took him by the throat and strangled him that he fell down dead.

She Raises the Dead Suitor

And when the provost heard these tidings of his son he ran weeping to the bordel, and began crying, to say to St. Agnes: O thou cruel woman, why hast thou showed thy enchantment on my son? and demanded of her how his son was dead, and by what cause.

To whom St. Agnes answered: He took him into his power to whom he had abandoned his will.

Why be not all they dead, said he, that entered here tofore him?

[St. Agnes replied,] For his fellows saw the miracle of the great clearness and were afeard and went their way unhurt, for they did honour to my God which hath clad me with this vestment and hath kept my body, but your villainous son, as soon as he entered into this house began to bray and cry, and when he would have laid hand upon me, anon the devil slew him as thou seest.

If thou mayst raise him, said he, it may well appear that thou hast not put him to death.

And St. Agnes answered: How well that thy creance is not worthy to impetre ne get that of our Lord, nevertheless because it is time that the virtue of God be showed, go ye all out that I may make my prayer to God.

And when she was on her prayers the angel came and raised him to life, and anon he went out and began to cry, with a loud voice, that the God of Christian men was very God in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, and that the idols were vain that they worshipped, which might not help them ne none other.

Then the bishops of the idols made a great discord among the people, so that all they cried: Take away this sorceress and witch that turned men's minds and alieneth their wits.

Her Martyrdom

When the provost saw these marvels he would gladly have delivered St. Agnes because she had raised his son, but he doubted to be banished, and set in his place a lieutenant named Aspasius for to satisfy the people, and because he could not deliver her he departed sorrowfully. This Aspasius did do make a great fire among all the people and did do cast St. Agnes therein. Anon as this was done the flame departed in two parts, and burnt them that made the discords, and she abode all whole without feeling the fire. The people weened that she had done all by enchantment.

Then made St. Agnes her orison to God thanking him that she was escaped from the peril to lose her virginity, and also from the burning of the flame. And when she had made her orison the fire lost all his heat, and quenched it. Aspasius, for the doubtance of the people, commanded to put a sword in her body, and so she was martyred.

Anon came the Christian men and the parents of St. Agnes and buried the body, but the heathen defended it, and cast so stones at them, that unnethe they escaped. She suffered martyrdom in the time of Constantine the great, which began to reign the year of our Lord three hundred and nine.

Miracles of St. Agnes

St. Emerentiana

Among them that buried her body was one Emerentiana which had been fellow to St. Agnes, how be it she was not yet christened, but an holy virgin, she came also to the sepulchre of St. Agnes,

which constantly reproved the gentiles, and of them she was stoned to death and slain. Anon there came an earthquaver, lightning and thunder, that many of the paynims perished, so that forthon the Christian people might surely come to the sepulchre unhurt, and the body of Emerentiana was buried by the body of St. Agnes.

The Vision of Saint Agnes

It happed that when the friends of St. Agnes watched at her sepulchre on a night, they saw a great multitude of virgins clad in vestments of gold and silver, and a great light shone tofore them, and on the right side was a lamb more white than snow, and saw also St. Agnes among the virgins which said to her parents: Take heed and see that ye bewail me no more as dead, but be ye joyful with me, for with all these virgins Jesu Christ hath given me most brightest habitation and dwelling, and am with him joined in heaven whom in earth I loved with [all] my thought. And this was the eighth day after her passion. And because of this vision holy church maketh memory of her the eight days of the feast after, which is called Agnetis secundo.

The Ring for the Priest Paulus

Of her we read an example that in the church of St. Agnes was a priest which was named Paulus and always served in that church, and had right great temptation of his flesh, but because he doubted to anger our Lord he kept him from sin, and prayed to the pope that he would give him leave for to marry. The pope considered his simpleness, and for his bounty he gave him a ring in which was an emerald, and commanded that he should go to the image of St. Agnes which was in his church, and pray her that

she would be his wife. This simple man did so, and the image put forth her finger and he set the ring thereon, and then she drew her finger again and kept the ring fast. And then anon all his temptation carnal was quenched and taken away from him, and yet as it is said the ring is on the finger of the image.

The Cure of Constance the Leper

Constance the daughter of Constantine was smitten with a sore and foul leprosy. When she had heard of the vision of St. Agnes, at her tomb showed to her friends, she came to the sepulchre of St. Agnes, and when she was in her prayers she fell asleep, and she saw in her sleep, St. Agnes saying to her: Constance, work constantly, and if thou wilt believe in Christ, thou shalt anon be delivered of thy sickness, wherewith she awoke and found herself perfectly whole, and anon she received baptism, and founded a church upon the body of the virgin and there abode in her virginity, and assembled there many virgins, because of her good example.

A Ring from the Pope

In another place it is read that when the church of St. Agnes was void, the pope said to a priest that he would give to him a wife for to nourish and keep, and he meant to commit the church of St. Agnes to his cure. And he delivered to him a ring and bade him to wed the image, and the image put forth her finger and he set on it a ring and anon she closed the finger to her hand and kept the ring, and so he espoused her.

Comments of St. Ambrose

Of this virgin saith St. Ambrose in the book of virgins: This virgin, young men, old men and children praise, there is none more to be praised than that may be praised of all. St. Ambrose saith in his preface that this blessed St. Agnes despised the delights of noblesse, and deserved heavenly dignity, she left the desires of man's fellowship, and she found the fellowship of the everlasting King. And she, receiving a precious death for the confession of Jesu Christ, is made conformable to him everlastingly, to reign in joy in heaven, to the which he bring us for whose glorious name and faith this glorious virgin St. Agnes suffered martyrdom of death.

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OF ST. AMBROSE

Chapter 57 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

S t. Ambrose was son of Ambrose, provost of Rome, of whom it happed as he lay in his cradle in the hall of the prætorium, that there came a swarm of bees which fell on his visage and his mouth, and after, they departed and flew up in the air so high that they might not be seen. When this was done, the father, which was hereof dismayed, said: If this child live, there shall be some great thing of him.

After, when he was a little grown, he beheld his mother and his sister, which was a sacred virgin, kiss the priests' hand when they offered, and he playing with his sister put forth his hand for to kiss, and said that so behoved her to do to him. And she, not understanding him, refused it.

The People of Milan Choose Ambrose Bishop

After, he was set to school at Rome, and became to be so good a clerk that he determined the

St. Ambrose's most common attribute is a riding whip, as seen in this painting. As a bishop, he will be pictured wearing a mitre , and sometimes holding a crozier . (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of images of this saint.)

VORAGINE'S ETYMOLOGY FOR THE NAME *AMBROSE*

Ambrose is said of a stone named ambra, which is much sweet, odorant and precious, and also it is much precious in the church, and much sweet smelling in deeds and in words. Or Ambrose may be said of ambra and syos which is as much to say as God, for Ambrose is as much to say as amber of God, for Ambrose felt God in him, and God was smelled and odoured by him over all where as he was. Or he was said of ambor in Greek, which is to say as father of light, and of sior, that is a little child

causes of the palace, and therefore Valentinian the emperor delivered him to govern, two provinces named Liguria and Æmilia. Then when he came into Milan it happed that the bishop was dead, and the people were assembled to provide for another, but, between the Arians and the good Christian men, for the election, fell a great sedition and discord. And Ambrose for to appease this sedition went thither, and the voice of a child was heard saying: Ambrose ought to be bishop: and anon all the people accorded thereto wholly, and began for to cry: Ambrose! Ambrose!

But Ambrose defended as much as he might, and alway the people cried: Ambrose! Then for to make the people cease, he went out of the church, and went up on a scaffold, and made the people to be beaten, against the usage and custom, for to let them, that they should name him no more. But yet they left not for all that, but the people said: Thy sin be upon us.

Then he being sore troubled, went home, and suffered common women to enter openly into his house, to the end that when the people saw that, they should

that is a father of many sons by spiritual generation, clear and full of light in exposition of holy Scripture, and was little in his humble conversation. Or thus as is said in the glossary, Ambrose is odour and savour celestial, he was odour of heaven by great renomee smelling, savour by contemplation within him, an honeycomb by sweet exposition of scriptures, meat of angels by his glorious life. And Paulinus, bishop of Volusian, wrote his life unto St. Austin.

revoke their election; but for all that they cried as they did tofore and said: Thy sins be upon us.

When St. Ambrose saw that he might not empesh the election he fled away, but the people awaited upon him and took him at the issue of the gate, and kept him so long till they had grant of the emperor. And when the emperor knew hereof he had great joy, because that the judge that he had sent for the provinces was chosen to be their bishop, and also he was glad because his word was accomplished, for the emperor said to Ambrose when he sent him thither: Go, said he, and abide not there as a judge but as a bishop.

St. Ambrose in the meanwhile that they abode the answer of the emperor fled yet away, but he was taken again and was baptized, for he was not tofore baptized, how well that he was Christian in will. And the eighth day after he was consecrate and stalled bishop of Milan. And four years after that he went to Rome, and there his sister, the virgin, kissed his hand as of a priest, and he smiling said: Lo! as I told thee, now thou kissest my hand as of a priest.

Conflict with the Empress Justina and the Arians

It happed after that, when St. Ambrose went to another city to the election of a bishop, Justina the empress, and others of the sect of the Arians would not consent to the good Christian men, but would have one of their sect. Then one of the virgins of the empress, much fair, took St. Ambrose and drew him by his vestments and would have made him to be beaten because he would not hold the party of the women.

Then St. Ambrose said to her: If I be not worthy to be a bishop, yet thou oughtest not to lay hand upon me ne none other bishop, thou hast laid hand on me, thou oughtest much redoubt and dread the judgment of God. And therefore God confirmed his sentence on her, for the next day she was borne to her grave and was dead. Thus was she rewarded for the villainy that she had done, and all the other were thereby sore afraid.

After this, when he was returned to Milan he suffered many assaults and persecutions of the empress Justina, for she moved,

by gifts and by honours, much people against St. Ambrose, and many there were that enforced them to send him in exile, and among all others there was one mounted in so great madness and fury against him, that he hired him an house by the church because he would have therein a cart for to set St. Ambrose thereon and lead him in to exile. But that same fell to him, for he himself was sent in exile in the same cart the same day that he would have led away St. Ambrose. To whom yet St. Ambrose did good for evil, for he ministered to him his costs and necessaries. St. Ambrose also established in the church, song and offices at Milan first.

There were at that time in Milan many men vexed and beset with devils, which cried with high voice that St. Ambrose tormented them thus, but the empress Justina and the Arians said that St. Ambrose made them to say so for money that he gave to them. Then it happed that one of the Arians was out of his mind and said thus: Be they all tormented as I am that consent not to St. Ambrose, and therefore the other Arians drowned him in a deep piscine or pit.

There was another heretic and an Arian, a sharp man and so hard that he was inconvertible, because no man might convert him to the faith. On a time he heard St. Ambrose preach, and he saw at his ear an angel that told him all that he preached, and when he had perceived this he began to sustain the faith to which he had been contrary.

St. Ambrose and the Enchanter

After this it happed that an enchanter called devils to him and sent them to St. Ambrose for to annoy and grieve him, but the devils returned and said that they might not approach to his gate because there was a great fire all about his house. And this enchanter, after, when he was tormented of the provost for certain trespasses, he cried and said that he was tormented of St. Ambrose.

The Devilâ□□s Fear of Entering Milan

There was a man that had a devil within him and after went to Milan, and anon as he entered the city, the devil left him, and as soon as he went out of the city the devil re-entered in him again. Then he demanded him why he did so, and

he answered because he was afeard of Ambrose.

An Attempt on His Life

After, it happed that a man being conducted and hired of Justina the empress, went to the bedside of St. Ambrose and would have put and riven his sword through his body, but anon his arm was dried up.

A Devil Accuses St. Ambrose

Another that was vexed with a devil said that St. Ambrose tormented him, but St. Ambrose made him to be still, for[, he said,] Ambrose tormenteth none, but that doth the envy of thee, for thou seest men ascend from whence thou art fallen, and that is it which tormenteth thee, for Ambrose cannot be so blown and swollen as thou art; then was he still and spake not.

The Laughing Man

When St. Ambrose went into the town he saw a man laugh because he saw another fall, then said Ambrose to him: Thou that laughest, beware that thou fall not also, and after he fell, and thus was he taught that he should not mock his fellow.

The Judge Who Barred St. Ambrose from the Palace

On a time St. Ambrose went unto the palace for to pray for a poor man, but the judge made to close the gate that he might not enter in; then St. Ambrose said: Thou shalt come for to enter into the church, but thou shalt not enter, and yet shall the gates be open. And so it happed that after, the judge doubted his enemies and went to the church, but he might not enter in, and yet the gates were open.

His Qualities

St. Ambrose was of so great abstinence that he fasted every day save the Sunday or a solemn feast. He was of so great largess that he gave all to poor people and retained nothing for himself. He was of so great compassion that when any confessed to him his sin, he wept so bitterly that he would make the sinner to weep. He was of so great doubt that, when it was told to him of the death of any bishop, he would weep so sore that unnethe he might be comforted, and when it was demanded him why he wept for the death of good men, for he ought better to make joy because they went to heaven, then he

answered: I weep not because they go tofore me, but because that unnethe and with great pain may any be found for to do well such offices. He was of so great steadfastness and so established in his purpose that he would not leave, for dread ne for grief that might be done to him, to reprove the emperor ne the other great men when they did things that they ought not to do, ne he would flatter no man.

The Misshapen Man

There was brought once tofore him a man which was grievously mismade; then said St. Ambrose: The body must be delivered to the devil and that the flesh go to the death, by which the spirit may be saved. Unnethe was the word out of his mouth but the devil began to torment him.

The Rich Man

After, as it is said, on a time he went to Rome, and when he was on a time by the way harboured with a rich man, St. Ambrose began to demand him of his estate. That rich man answered: Sir, mine estate is happy enough and glorious, for I have riches enough, servants, varlets, children, nephews, cousins,

friends, and kinsmen which serve me, and all my works and besoins come to my will, ne I have never thing that may anger ne trouble me. Then said St. Ambrose to them that were with him: Flee we hence, for our Lord God is not here, haste you fair children, haste you and let us abide here no longer lest the vengeance of God take us, and that we be not wrapped in the sins of these people.

They departed and fled anon, but they were not gone far but that the earth opened and swallowed in all the house of this rich man, and there abode not as much as the step ne of himself ne of all that ever he had. Then said St. Ambrose: behold fair children how great pity and how great mercy God doth to them that have adversity in this world, and how wroth he is to them that have the wealth and riches of this world. Of which thing appeareth yet the pit or foss which endureth into this day in witness of this adventure.

St. Ambrose's Death and Burial

When St. Ambrose beheld that avarice, which is root of all evils, grew more and more in much people, and specially in great men

and in them that were in most great estate, which sold all for money, and with the ministers of the church he saw simony reign, he began to pray to God that he would take him away from the miseries of this world, and he impetred that which he desired.

Then he called his fellowship, and said to them, in joying, that, he should abide with them unto the resurrection of our Lord. And a little tofore that he lay sick, as he expounded to his notary the forty-fourth psalm, suddenly, in the presence and sight of his notary, a fire in the manner of a shield covered his head and entered into his mouth. Then became his face as white as any snow, and anon after it came again to his first form, and that day he left his writing and inditing.

Then began his malady to grieve him, and the Earl of Italy which was then at Milan called the gentlemen of the country, and said to them that if so great and good a man should go from them it should be great pity and great peril to all Italy, and said to them that they all should go with him to this holy man and pray him that he would get grant of our Lord of space and longer life. When St. Ambrose had

heard their request he answered: Fair sons, I have not so lived among you that I am ashamed to live if it please God, ne I have no fear ne dread of death, for we have a good Lord.

In this time assembled his four deacons and began to treat who should be a good bishop after him, and they named secretly among themselves, that unnethe they themselves heard it, Simplician. St. Ambrose was far from them, they weened that he might not have heard them, and he cried on high thrice: He is old and he is good. When they heard him they were much abashed and departed, and sith after his death they chose the same Simplician for the good witness that St. Ambrose had borne of him.

A bishop which was named Honorius, that abode the death of St. Ambrose, slept and heard a voice that thrice called him and said: Arise thou up for he shall go his way anon. Then he arose anon hastily and went to Milan and gave to him the holy sacrament, the precious body of our Lord. And anon St. Ambrose laid his arms in form of a cross and made his prayers, and so departed and gave up his ghost among the

words of his prayers, about the year of our Lord three hundred and eighty, the vigil of Easter.

And when his body in the night was borne in to the church many children that were baptized, saw him, as they said, sitting in a chair honorably, and others showed him with their fingers to their father and others, and some said that they saw a star upon his body. There was a priest, that sat at meat with others, which said not well of him, but mislaid, but anon God so chastised him that he was borne from the table and died anon after.

In the city of Carthage were three bishops together at dinner, and one of them spake evil by detraction of St. Ambrose, and there was a man that told what was befallen for such language to this aforesaid priest, but he mocked and japed so much that he felt a stroke mortal; that that same day he died and was buried.

St. Ambrose’s Dispute with the Emperor Valentinian

It is found written in a chronicle that the emperor Valentinian was wroth because that in the city of Thessalonica the people had stoned to death his judges that

were sent thither in his name, and for to avenge the same the emperor did do slay five thousand persons, great and little, good and evil, and as well them that had not trespassed as them that had deserved it.

And when after this occision he came to Milan and would enter into the church, St. Ambrose came against him and defended him the entry, and said to him that after so great woodness thou oughtest not to do so great presumption, but peradventure thy power suffereth not thee to acknowledge thy trespass. It appertaineth that reason surmount power. Thou art emperor, but that is for to punish the evil people. How art thou so hardy to enter so boldly into the house of God whom thou hast horribly angered? How darest thou with thy feet touch his pavement? How darest thou stretch thy hands which be all bloody, and of whom the blood of innocents run and drop off. By what presumption darest thou put forth thy mouth to receive the precious body and blood of our Lord, of which mouth thou hast done the commandment of the devil? Go hence! go hence! and put not sin upon sin. Take the bond that our Lord hath bounden thee with, for it is given to thee in

the way of medicine.

When the emperor heard these words, he was obedient and began to wail and weep, and returned into his palace and abode there long weeping.

Then Ruffin the master of his knights demanded wherefore he so sorrowed and wept, and he answered Ruffn, thou knowest not my sorrows, for I see that servants and poor beggars may enter into the church that I may not enter, for Ambrose hath excommunicated me. And he saying this, at every word he sighed.

Then said Ruffin to him, if thou wilt I shall make him anon to assoil thee.

He answered: Thou mayst not, for Ambrose doubteth not the force ne the power of the emperor, to the end that he hold firmly the law of God.

And when Ruffin said more and more that he should make him incline to assoil him, then he sent him to Ambrose, and the emperor followed soon after much humbly. When St. Ambrose saw Ruffin come, he said to him: Thou hast no more shame than an hound for

to do such occision, and now comest boldly to me.

When Ruffin had prayed him long for to assoil the emperor, which came following him, St. Ambrose said to him: Certainly I defend to him the entry into the church, and if he will be a tyrant I will much gladly receive the death.

Then returned Ruffin to the emperor, and recounted to him how he had done, and the emperor said: Certainly I shall go to him that I may receive of him villainy enough, for it is well right.

When he was come to him he demanded of him absolution much devoutly. St. Ambrose demanded of him what penance hast thou done for so great wickedness? The emperor alleged to him that David had sinned and after had mercy.

St. Ambrose said: Thou that hast followed him that sinned, follow also him repentant.

Then said the emperor: It appertaineth to thee to give and enjoin penance, and I shall do it.

Then he bade him do open penance and common tofore all

the people, and the emperor received it gladly and refused it not. When the emperor was reconciled to the church he stood in the chancel. Then said to him St. Ambrose: What seekest thou here? He answered: I am here for to receive the sacred mysteries; and Ambrose said: This place appertaineth to no man but to priests. Go out, for ye ought to be without the chancel and abide there with other.

Then obeyed the emperor humbly and went out. And after, when the emperor came to Constantinople, and he stood without with the lay people, the bishop came and said to him that he should come into the chancel with the clerks, he answered that he would not, for he had learned of St. Ambrose what difference there was between an emperor and a priest. I have found a man of truth, my master Ambrose, and such a man ought to be a bishop.

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THE LIFE OF ST. ANDREW

Chapter 2 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

A ndrew and some other disciples were called three times of our Lord. He called them first in the knowledging of him, as when St. Andrew was with John the Baptist, his master, and another disciple; he heard that John said: Lo! here the Lamb of God; and then he went anon with another disciple, and came to Jesu Christ and abode with him all that day. And then St. Andrew found Simon, his brother, and brought him to Jesu Christ, and the next day following they went to their craft of fishing. And after this he called them the second time by the stagne of Gennesereth, which is named the sea of Galilee. He entered into the ship of Simon and of Andrew, and there was taken great multitude of fish, and he called James and John, which were in another ship, and they followed him, and after went into their proper places.

After this he called them from their fishing, and said: Come, follow me, I shall make you fishers of men.

Then they left their ships and nets, and followed him, and after this they abode with him, and went no more to their own houses. And howbeit he called Andrew and some other to be apostles, of which calling, Matthew saith in the third chapter: He called to him them that he would. 1

St. Andrew’s Mission to Ethiopia

And after the ascension of our Lord, the apostles were departed, and Andrew preached in Scythia and Matthew in Murgondy. And the men of this country refused utterly the preaching of St. Matthew, and drew out his eyes, and cast him in prison fast bounden.

In the meanwhile an angel, sent from our Lord, and commanded him to go to St. Matthew into Murgondy, and he answered that he knew not the way. And then the angel commanded him that he should go unto the seaside, and that he should enter into the first ship that he should find, and so he did gladly, in accomplishing the commandment, and went into the city by the leading of the angel, and had wind propitious. And when he was come he found the prison open, where St. Matthew was in; and when he saw him he wept sore and worshipped him; and then our Lord rendered and gave again to St. Matthew his two eyes and his sight.

And then St. Matthew departed from thence and came into Antioch, and St. Andrew abode in Murgondy, and they of the country were wroth that St. Matthew was so escaped. Then took they St. Andrew and drew him through the places, his hands bounden in such wise that the blood ran out. He prayed for them to Jesu Christ, and converted them by his prayer; and from thence he came to Antioch.

This that is said of the blinding of St. Matthew, I suppose that it is not true, nor that the evangelist was not so infirm, but that he might get for his sight that St. Andrew gat for him so lightly.

The Quenching of the Fire

It was so that a young man came and followed St. Andrew, against the will of all his parents and on a time his parents set fire on the house where he was with the apostle, and when the flame surmounted right high, the child took a brush full of water and sprinkled withal the fire, and anon the fire quenched. And then his friends and parents said: Our son is made an enchanter.

And as they would have gone up by the ladders, they were suddenly made blind, that they saw not the ladders, and then one of them recried and said: Wherefore enforce ye you against them? God fighteth for them and ye see it not. Cease ye and leave off, lest the ire of our Lord fall on you.

Then many of them that saw this believed in our Lord, and the parents died within forty days after, and were put in one sepulchre.

THE PREGNANT WOMAN WHO PRAYED TO DIANA

There was a woman with child, joined in wedlock with a homicide, who was troubled greatly upon her deliverance; and at the time of childing she might not be delivered. She bade her sister to "go to Diana and pray to her that she help me." She went and prayed, and Diana said to her, which was the devil in an idol: Wherefore prayest thou to me? I may not help ne profit thee, but go unto Andrew the apostle which may help thee and thy sister.

And she went to him, and brought him to her sister, which travailed in great pain, and began to perish. And the apostle said to her: By good right thou sufferest this pain; thou conceivedst in treachery and sin, and thou counselledst with the devil. Repent thee, and believe in Jesu Christ, and thou shalt be anon delivered of thy child.

And when she believed and was repentant, she was delivered of her child, and the pain and sorrow passed and ceased.

Nicholas the Old Man Always in Lechery

An old man called Nicholas by name, went unto the apostle and said to him: Sir, I have lived fifty years, and always in lechery. And I took on a time a gospel, in praying God that he would give me from then forthon continence. But I am accustomed in this sin, and full of evil delectation, in such wise that I shall return to this sin accustomed.

On a time that I was inflamed by luxury, I went to the bordel, and forgat the gospel upon me, and anon the foul woman said: ‘Go hence thou old man, for thou art an angel of God, touch me not, nor come not near me, for I see marvel upon thee.’ And I was abashed of the word of the woman, and I remembered that I had the gospel upon me, wherefore I beseech thee to pray God for me and for my health.

And when St. Andrew heard this he began to weep, and prayed from tierce unto nones. And when he arose he would not eat, and said: I shall eat no meat till I know whether our Lord shall have pity of this old man.

And when he had fasted five days, a voice came to St. Andrew and said to him: Andrew, thy request is granted for the old man, for like as thou hast fasted and made thyself lean, so shall he fast and make himself lean by fastings for to be saved.

And so he did, for he fasted six months to bread and water; and after that he rested in peace and good works. Then came a voice that said: I have gotten Nicholas by thy prayers whom I had lost.

A Christian Youth Accused of Incestuous Desires

A young Christian man said to St. Andrew: My mother saw that I was fair, and required me for to have to do sin with her; and when I would not consent to her in no manner, she went to the judge, and would return and lay to me the sin of so great a felony. Pray for me that I die not so untruly; for when I shall be accused I shall hold my peace and speak not one word, and have liefer to die than to defame and slander my mother so foully.

Thus came he to judgment, and his mother accused him, saying that he would have defouled her. And it was asked of him oft if it was so as she said, and he answered nothing. Then said St. Andrew to her: Thou art most cruel of all women, which for the accomplishment of thy lechery wilt make thy son to die.

Then said this woman to the provost: Sir, sith that my son came, and accompanied with this man, he would have done his will with me, but I withstood him that he might not.

And anon the provost and judge commanded that the son should be put in a sack anointed with glue, and thrown into the river, and St.

Andrew to be put in prison till he had advised him how he might torment him. But St. Andrew made his prayer to God, and anon came an horrible thunder, which feared them all, and made the earth to tremble strongly and the woman was smitten with the thunder unto the death. And the other prayed the apostle that they might not perish, and he prayed for them, and the tempest ceased. Thus then the provost believed in God, and all his meiny.

The Seven Devils of Nice

After this, as the apostle was in the city of Nice, the citizens said to him that there were seven devils without the city, by the highway, which slew all them that passed forthby. And the apostle Andrew commanded them to come to him, which came in the likeness of dogs, and sith he commanded them that they should go whereas they should not grieve ne do harm to any man; and anon they vanished away. And when the people saw this they received the faith of Jesu Christ.

THE STRANGLED YOUTH

And when the apostle came to the gate of another city there was brought out a young man dead. The apostle demanded what was befallen him, and it was told him that seven dogs came and strangled him. Then the apostle wept and said: O Lord God, I know well that these were the devils that I put out of Nice; and after said to the father of him that was dead: What wilt thou give to me if I raise him?

And he said: I have nothing so dear as him, I shall give him to thee. And anon the apostle made his prayers unto almighty God, and raised him from death to life, and he went and followed him.

St. Andrew Resurrects 40 Drowned Men

On a time there were forty men by number, which were coming by the sea, sailing unto the apostle, for to receive of him the doctrine of the faith. And the devil raised and moved a great storm and so

horrible a torment that all they were drowned together. And when their bodies were brought tofore the apostle, he raised them from death to life anon, and there they said all that was befallen to them. And therefore it is read in an hymn that he rendered the life to young men drowned in the sea.

St. Andrew is Martyred in Achaia

And the blessed St. Andrew, whilst he was in Achaia, he replenished all the country with churches and converted the people to the faith of Jesu Christ and informed the wife of Ægeas, which was provost and judge of the town, in the faith, and baptized her. And when Ægeas heard this he came into the city of Patras and constrained the Christians to sacrifice. And St. Andrew came unto him, and said: It behoveth thee which hast deserved to be a judge, to know thy judge which is in heaven, and he so known, to worship him, and so worshipping, withdraw thy courage from the false gods.

And Ægeas said: Thou art Andrew that preachest a false law, which the princes of Rome have commanded to be destroyed.

To whom Andrew said: The princes of Rome knew never how the son of God came and taught and informed them that the idols be devils, and he that teacheth such things angereth God, and he, so angered, departeth from them that he heareth them not, and therefore be they caitiffs of the devil and be so illused and deceived that they issue out of the body all naked, and bear nothing with them but sins.

And Ægeas said to him: These be the vanities that your Jesus preached, which was nailed on the gallows of the cross.

To whom Andrew said: He received with his agreement the gibbet of the cross, not for his culp and trespass, but for our redemption.

And Ægeas said: When he was delivered of his disciple, taken and holden with the Jews, and crucified by the knyghts, how sayst thou

that it was by his agreement?

Then St. Andrew began to show by five reasons that Jesu Christ received death by his own agreement and will, forasmuch as he came tofore his passion, and said to his disciples that it should be, when he said: We shall go up to Jerusalem, and the son of the maid shall be betrayed. And also for that Peter would withdraw him, he reproved him, and said: Go after me, Sathanas. And also for that he showed that he had power to suffer death, and to rise again when he said: I have power to put away my soul and to take it again. And also for that he knew tofore him that betrayed him, when he gave him his supper, and showed him not. And also for that he chose the place where he should be taken, for he knew well that the traitor should come. And St. Andrew said that he had been at all these things, and yet he said more, that the mystery of the cross was great.

To whom Ægeas said: It may not be said mystery, but torment, and if thou wilt not grant to my sayings, truly I shall make thee prove this mystery.

And Andrew said to him: If I doubted the gibbet of the cross I would not preach the glory thereof. I will that thou hear the mystery, and if thou knew and believedst on it thou shouldst be saved.

Then he showed to him the mystery of the cross, and assigned five reasons. The first is this: Forasmuch as the first man that deserved death was because of the tree, in breaking the commandment of God, then is it thing convenable that the second man should put away that death, in suffering the same on the tree.

The second was that, he that was made of earth not corrupted, and was breaker of the commandment, then was it thing convenable that he that should repel this default, should be born of a virgin.

The third; for so much as Adam had stretched his hand disordinately to the fruit forbidden, it was thing convenable that the

new Adam should stretch his hands on the cross.

The fourth; for so much as Adam had tasted sweetly the fruit forbidden, it is therefore reason that it be put away by thing contrary; so that Jesu Christ was fed with bitter gall.

The fifth; for as much as Jesu Christ gave to us his immortality, it is thing reasonable, that he take our mortality. For if Jesu Christ had not been dead, man had never been made immortal.

And then said Ægeas: Tell to thy disciples such vanities, and obey thou to me, and make sacrifice unto the gods almighty.

And then said St. Andrew: I offer every day unto God Almighty, a lamb without spot, and after that he is received of all the people, so liveth he and is all whole.

Then demanded Ægeas how that might be.

And Andrew said: Take the form for to be a disciple, and thou shalt know it well.

I shall demand thee, said Ægeas, by torments. Then he being all angry, commanded that he should be enclosed in prison, and on the morn he came to judgment, and the blessed St. Andrew unto the sacrifice of the idols. And Ægeas commanded to be said to him: If thou obey not to me, I shall do hang thee on the cross, for so much as thou hast praised it.

And thus as he menaced him of many torments St. Andrew said to him: Think what torment that is most grievous that thou mayst do to me, and the more I suffer, the more I shall be agreeable to my king, because I shall be most firm in the torments and pain.

Then commanded Ægeas that he should be beaten of twenty-one men, and that he should be so beaten, bounden by the feet and hands unto the cross, to the end that his pain should endure the

longer. And when he was led unto the cross, there ran much people [shouting, "An innocent man is condemned to shed his blood without cause." The apostle, however, begged them not to try to save him from martyrdom.] 2

And when he saw the cross from far he saluted it, and said: All hail cross which art dedicate in the body of Jesu Christ, and wert adorned with the members of him, as of precious stones. Tofore that our Lord ascended on thee, thou wert the power earthly, now thou art the love of heaven; thou shalt receive me by my desire. I come to thee surely and gladly so that thou receive me gladly as disciple of him that hung on thee. For I have alway worshipped thee and have desired thee to embrace. O thou cross which hast received beauty and noblesse of the members of our Lord, whom I have so long desired and curiously loved, and whom my courage hath so much desired and coveted, take me from hence, and yield me to my master, to the end that he may receive me by thee.

And in thus saying, he despoiled and unclad him, and gave his clothes unto the butchers. And then they hung him on the cross, like as to them was commanded. And there he lived two days, and preached to twenty thousand men that were there.

Then all the company swore the death of Ægeas, and said: The holy man and debonair ought not to suffer this.

Then came thither Ægeas for to take him down off the cross. And when Andrew saw him he said: Wherefore art thou come to me, Ægeas? If it be for penance thou shalt have it, and if it be for to take me down, know thou for certain thou shalt not take me hereof alive; for I see now my lord and king that abideth for me.

Therewith they would have unbound him, and they might in nowise touch him for their arms were bynomen and of no power. And when the holy St. Andrew saw that the world would have taken him down off the cross he made this orison hanging on the cross, as St. Austin saith in the book of penance: Sire, suffer me not to descend from

this cross alive, for it is time that thou command my body to the earth, for I have born long the charge, and have so much watched upon that which was commanded to me, and have so long travailed, that I would now be delivered of this obedience, and be taken away from this agreeable charge. I remember that it is much grievous, in proud bearing, in doubting, unsteadfast in nourishing, and have gladly laboured in the refraining of them. Sire, thou knowest how oft the world hath entended to withdraw me from the purity of contemplation, how oft he hath entended to awake me from the sleep of my sweet rest, how much and how oft times he hath made me to sorrow, and as much as I have had might I have resisted it right debonairly in fighting against it, and have by thy work and aid surmounted it: and I require of thee just and debonair guerdon and reward, and that thou command that I go not again thereto, but I yield to thee that which thou hast delivered me. Command it to another and empesh me no more, but keep me in the resurrection, so that I may receive the merit of my labour. Command my body unto the earth, so that it behoveth no more to wake, but let it be stretched freely to thee, which art fountain of joy never failing.

And when he had said this, there came from heaven a right great shining light, which environed him by the space of half an hour, in such wise that no man might see him. And when this light departed he yielded and rendered therewith his spirit. And Maximilla, the wife of Ægeas, took away the body of the apostle, and buried it honourably. And ere that Ægeas was come again to his house, he was ravished with a devil by the way, and died tofore them all.

And it is said that out of the sepulchre of St. Andrew cometh manna like unto meal, and oil which hath a right sweet savour and odour. And by that is shewed to the people of the country when there shall be plenty of goods. For when ther cometh but little of manna, the earth shall bring forth but little fruit, and when it cometh abundantly, the earth bringeth forth fruit plenteously. And this might well happen of old time, for the body of him was transported into Constantinople.

Miracles of St. Andrew

The Bishop and the Devil in Disguise of a Woman

There was a bishop that led an holy and religious life, and loved St. Andrew by great devotion, and worshipped him above all other saints, so that in all his works he remembered him every day, and said certain prayers in the honour of God and St. Andrew, in such wise that the enemy had envy on him, and set him for to deceive him with all his malice, and transformed him into the form of a right fair woman, and came to the palace of the bishop, and said that she would be confessed to him.

And the bishop bade her to go confess her to his penitencer, which had plain power of him.

And she sent him word again that she would not reveal nor show the secrets of her confession to none but to him, and so the bishop commanded her to come; and she said to him: Sir, I pray thee that thou have mercy on me; I am so as ye see in the years of my youth, and a maid, and was deliciously nourished from my infancy, and born of royal lineage, but I am come alone, in a strange habit; for my father which is a right mighty king would give me to a prince by marriage; whereto I answer that I have horror of all beds of marriage, and I have given my virginity to Jesu Christ for ever, and therefore I may not consent to carnal copulation. And in the end he constrained me so much that I must consent to his will or suffer divers torments; so that I am fled secretly away, and had liefer be in exile, than to break and corrupt my faith to my spouse. And because I hear the praising of your right holy life, I am fled unto you and to your guard, in hope that I may find with you place of rest, whereas I may be secret in contemplation, and eschew the evil perils of this present life, and flee the diverse tribulations of the world.

Of which thing the bishop marvelled him greatly, as well for the great noblesse of her lineage, as for the beauty of her body, for the burning of the great love of God, and for the honest fair speaking of this woman. So that the bishop answered to her, with a meek and pleasant voice: Daughter, be sure and doubt nothing; for he for

whose love thou hast despised thyself and these things, shall give to thee the great thing. In this time present is little glory or joy, but it shall be in time to come. And I which am sergeant of the same, offer me to thee, and my goods; and choose thee an house where it shall please thee, and I will that thou dine with me this day.

And she answered and said: Father, require of me no such thing, for by adventure some evil suspicion might come thereof. And also the resplendour of your good renomee might be thereby impaired.

To whom the bishop answered: We shall be many together, and I shall not be with you alone, and therefore there may be no suspicion of evil. Then they came to the table, and were set, that one against that other, and the other folk here and there, and the bishop entendeth much to her, and beheld her alway in the visage, and he marvelled of her great beauty. And thus as he fixed his eyes on her his courage was hurt, and the ancient enemy, when he saw the heart of him, hurt [him] with a grievous dart. And this devil apperceived it and began to increase her beauty more and more; insomuch that the bishop was then ready for to require her to sin when he might.

Then a pilgrim came and began to smite strongly at the gate or door, and they would not open it. Then he cried and knocked more strongly; and the bishop asked of the woman if she would that the pilgrim should enter.

And she said; Men should ask first of him a question, grievous enough, and if he could answer thereto, he should be received, and if he could not, he should abide without, and not come in, as he that were not worthy but unwitting.

And all agreed to her sentence, and enquired which of them were sufficient to put the question. And when none was found sufficient, the bishop said: None of us is so sufficient as ye, dame, for ye pass us all in fair speaking, and shine in wisdom more than we all; propose ye the question.

Then she said: Demand ye of him, which is the greatest marvel that ever God made in little space.

And then one went and demanded the pilgrim. The pilgrim answered to the messenger that it was the diversity and excellence of the faces of men: for among all so many men as have been sith the beginning of the world unto the end, two men might not be found of whom their faces were like and semblable in all things.

And when the answer was heard, all they marvelled and said that this was a very and right good answer of the question. Then the woman said: Let the second question be proposed to him, which shall be more grievous to answer to, for to prove the better the wisdom of him, which was this: Whether the earth is higher than all the heaven?

And when it was demanded of him the pilgrim answered: In the heaven imperial where the body of Jesu Christ is, which is form of our flesh, he is more high than all the heaven.

Of this answer they marvelled all when the messenger reported it, and praised marvellously his wisdom. Consequently she said the third question, which was more dark and grievous to assoil. For to prove the third time his wisdom, and that then he be worthy to be received at the bishop's table, demand and ask of him; How much space is from the abysm unto the same heaven.

Then the messenger demanded of the pilgrim, and he answered him: Go to him that sent thee to me and ask of him this thing, for he knoweth better than I, and can better answer to it, for he hath measured this space when he fell from heaven into the abysm, and I never measured it. This is nothing a woman but it is a devil which hath taken the form of a woman.

And when the messenger heard this, he was sore afraid and told tofore them all this that he had heard. And when the bishop heard

this and all other, they were sore afraid. And anon forthwith, the devil vanished away tofore their eyes.

And after, the bishop came again to himself, and reproved himself bitterly, weeping, repenting and requiring pardon of his sin, and sent a messenger for to fetch and bring in the pilgrim, but he found him never after. Then the bishop assembled the people, and told to them the manner of this thing, and prayed them that they would all be in orisons and prayers, in such wise that our lord would show to some person who this pilgrim was which had delivered him from so great peril.

And then it was showed that night to the bishop that it was St. Andrew which had put him in the habit of a pilgrim for the deliverance of him. Then began the bishop more and more to have devotion and remembrance to St. Andrew than he had tofore.

The Provost Who Took from the Church of St. Andrew

The provost of a city had taken away a field from the church of St. Andrew, and by the prayer of the bishop he was fallen into a strong fever. And then he prayed the bishop that he would pray for him, and he would again yield the field. And when the bishop had prayed for him, and he had his health, he [the provost] took the field again.

Then the bishop put himself to prayer and orisons, and brake all the lamps of the church, and said: There shall none of them be lighted till that our Lord hath venged him on his enemy, and that the church have recovered that which she hath lost.

And then the provost was strongly tormented with fevers, and sent to the bishop by messengers that he should pray for him, and he would yield again his field and another semblable.

Then the bishop answered: I have heretofore prayed for him, and God heard and granted my prayer, and when he was whole, he took from me again the field. And then the provost made him to be borne

to the bishop, and constrained him for to enter into the church for to pray. And the bishop entered into the church, and anon the provost died, and the field was re-established unto the church.

Et sic est finis. ["And this is the end."]

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HERE FOLLLOWETH THE FEAST OF THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE ANGEL GABRIEL TO OUR LADY

Excerpts translated by William Caxton in 1483 from chapter 51 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275). This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

T he feast of this day is called the Annunciation of our Lady, for on this day the angel Gabriel showed to the glorious Virgin Mary the coming of the Blessed Son of God. That is to wit, how he ought to come into the glorious Virgin, and take on her nature and flesh human for to save the world. It was well thing reasonable that the angel should come to the glorious Virgin Mary, for like as Eve by the exhorting of the devil gave her consent to do the sin of inobedience to our perdition, right so by the greeting of the angel Gabriel and by exhorting, the glorious Virgin Mary gave her consenting to his message by obedience, to our salvation. Wherefor like as the first woman was cause of our damnation, so was the blessed Virgin Mary beginning of our redemption.

In the High Middle Ages images of the Annunciation often have Mary in an interior space, following the opinion of Bernard of Clairvaux as quoted here in the Golden Legend. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of the Annunciation.)

Other medieval Annunciations follow a tradition in which Mary sits on a throne. This tradition dates from at least the 5th century. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining

The Annunciation Narrative

When that the angel Gabriel was sent for to show the incarnation of our Saviour Jesu Christ, he found her alone, enclosed in her chamber, like as St. Bernard saith, in which the maidens and virgins ought to abide in their houses, without running abroad out openly, and they ought also to flee the words of men, of which their honour and good renomee might

be lessed or hurt. And the angel said to the glorious Virgin Mary: "I salute thee, full of grace, the Lord is with thee."

There is not found in Scripture in no part such a saluing. And it was brought from heaven unto the glorious Virgin Mary, which was the first woman that ever in the world offered to God first her virginity. And the angel said to her after: Thou shalt be blessed above all other women, for thou shalt escape the malediction that all other women have in childing in sin and in sorrow; and thou shalt be mother of God, and shalt abide a pure virgin and clean.

And our blessed Lady was much abashed of this salutation, and thought in herself the manner thereof. This was a good manner of a virgin that so wisely held her still and spake not, and showing example to virgins, which ought not lightly to speak, ne without advice ne manner to answer.

And when the angel knew that for this salutation she was timorous and abashed, anon he repeaced her, saying: "Mary, be nothing afeared, for thou hast found soothly grace at God, for thou art chosen above all women for to receive his blessed Son and be mother to God, and moyen and advocate for to set peace between God and man, for to destroy the death and bring the life."

"O thou that art a virgin," saith St. Ambrose, "learn of Mary to be mannered and fearful to all men, learn to be still and to eschew all

the iconography of the Annunciation.)

NOTES

1 This sentence renders the Golden Legend's "Christ, the power of God, will conceal in the shadow of his most secret counsel the mode by which you will conceive of the Holy Spirit, so that it will be known only to him and to you" (Ryan, I, 199).

2 Caxton's reference appears to be to chapter 219 of Thomas Aquinas's *Compendio di Teologia* (*Compendio*, 487), which however does not directly address the question of the timing of the Incarnation and is not mentioned in Voragine's original. The Glossa Ordinaria for Luke 1:38 has for "be it done unto me

dissolutions."

Mary was afeared of the salutation of the angel, the which said: "Thou shalt conceive and bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, and he shall be called the Son of God." And Mary said to the angel: "In what manner may this be that thou sayest? For I have purposed in mine heart that I shall never know man, and yet I never knew none, how then shall I have a child against the course of nature, and may abide a virgin?"

Then the angel informed her, and began to say how her virginity should be saved in the conceiving of the Son of God, and answered to her in this manner. The Holy Ghost shall come in to thee, which shall make thee to conceive: the manner how thou shalt conceive thou shalt know better than I shall con say, for that shall be the work of the Holy Ghost, which of thy blood and of thy flesh shall form purely in the body of the child that thou shalt bear, and other work to this conception shalt thou not do. And the virtue of God sovereign shall shadow thee in such wise that thou shalt never feel in thee any burning ne covetise carnal, and shall purge thine heart from all desires temporal, and yet shall the Holy Ghost shadow thee with the mantle corporal, that the blessed Son of God shall be hid in thee and of thee for to cover the right excellent clarte of his divinity; so that by this ombre or shadow may be known and seen his dignity; like as Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard say. 1

After, the angel said: And for as much as thou

according to thy word" the comment, "then it immediately came about that she conceived the Son by the power of God" (Glossa , V, 687).

shalt conceive of the Holy Ghost and not of man, the child that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

Yet of this conception which is above nature, the angel said to her this example: Lo! Elizabeth thy cousin, which is barren, hath conceived a child in her age, for there is nothing impossible to God, which is almighty.

Then said the glorious Virgin Mary to the angel the answer for which he was come: Lo! the handmaid of God, he do to me that he hath ordained after thy words.

She hath given to us example to be humble when prosperity of high riches cometh to us, for the first word that she spake or said when she was made mother of God and queen of Heaven, that was that she called herself "ancille" or handmaid, and not "lady." Much people is humble in low estate and but few in high estate, that is to wit in great estates, and therefore is humility more praised in them that be great in estate.

As soon as she said:, "Lo! here the handmaid of God, let it be done to me after thy words," [according to] Thomas *in compendio:* "In that same time that she had thus given her assent to the angel, she conceived in her Jesu Christ, which in that same hour was in her, perfect man and perfect God in one person; and as wise as he was in heaven, or when he was thirty years old." 2

The Date

This blessed Annunciation happened the twentyfifth day of the month of March, on which day happened also, as well tofore as after, these things that hereafter be named. On that same day Adam, the first man, was created and fell into original sin by inobedience, and was put out of paradise terrestrial. After, the angel showed the conception of our Lord to the glorious Virgin Mary. Also that same day of the month Cain slew Abel his brother. Also Melchisedech made offering to God of bread and wine in the presence of Abraham. Also on the same day Abraham offered Isaac his son. That same day St. John Baptist was beheaded, and St. Peter was that day delivered out of prison, and St. James the more, that day beheaded of Herod. And our Lord Jesu Christ was on that day crucified, wherefore that is a day of great reverence.

Miracles of the Annunciation

The Knight and the Fleur-de-lis

Of the salutation that the angel brought to the glorious Virgin, we read an example of a noble knight which for to amend his life gave and rendered himself into an abbey of Citeaux, and, forasmuch as he was no clerk , there was assigned to him a master for to teach him, and to be with the brethren clerks, but he could nothing learn in long time that he was there save these two words: *Ave Maria* , which words he had so sore imprinted in his heart that alway he had them in his mouth wheresomever he was. At last he died and

was buried in the churchyard of the brethren. It happed after, that upon the burials grew a right fair fleur-de-lis, and in every flower was written in letters of gold: *Ave Maria* , of which miracle all the brethren were amarvelled, and they did open the sepulchre, and found that the root of this fleur-de-lis came out of the mouth of the said knight, and anon they understood that our Lord would have him honoured for the great devotion that he had to say these words, *Ave Maria* .

The Knight Who Robbed People

Another knight there was that had a fair place beside the highway where much people passed, whom he robbed as much as he might, and so he used his life. But he had a good custom, for every day he saluted the glorious Virgin Mary, in saying: *Ave Maria* ; and for no labour he left not to greet our Lady, as said is.

It happed that an holy man passed by his house, whom he robbed and despoiled, but that holy man prayed them that robbed him that they would bring him to their master for he had to speak with him in his house of a secret thing for his profit. And when the robbers heard that they led him tofore the knight their lord; and anon the holy man prayed him that he would do come all his meiny tofore him. And when his meiny by the commandment of the knight were assembled the holy man said: Yet be they not all here; there is one yet to come.

Then one of them aperceived that the chamberlain of the lord was not come; and anon the knight made him to come. And when the holy man saw him come anon he said: I conjure thee by the virtue of Jesu Christ our Lord that thou say to us who thou art, and for what cause thou art come hither.

Anon the chamberlain answered: Alas, now must I say and knowledge myself, I am no man but am a devil which am in the form of a man and have taken it fourteen years, by which space I have dwelled with this knight, for my master hath sent me hither to the end that I should take heed night and day that if this knight ceased to say the salutation, *Ave Maria* , for then I should strangle him with mine own hand and bring him to hell because of the evil life that he hath led and leadeth. But because he saith every day this salutation, *Ave Maria* , I might not have him, and therefore I abode here so long, for there passeth him no day but that he salueth our Lady.

When the knight heard this he was much afeard, and fell down to the feet of this holy man and demanded pardon of his sins. After this the holy man said to the devil: I command thee in the name of our Lord that thou depart hence, and go into another place where thou mayst grieve ne annoy no man.

Then let us pray to the glorious Virgin Mary that she keep us from the devil, and that we may by her come to the glory of heaven, to the

which bring us the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. APPOLLINARIS

Chapter 97 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

A ppollinaris was disciple of St. Peter the apostle, and of him he was sent to Ravenna from Rome, and there he healed the wife of the tribune and judge of the town, and baptized her with her husband and household; which thing was told and showed to the provost, and anon he did do arrest Appollinaris and led him to the temple of Jupiter for to do sacrifice to him. And he said to the priests of the idols that the gold and silver that was set about the idols had been better to have been given to poor men than to be given to devils. And then he was anon taken and beaten sore with staves that he was left half dead, but he was taken up of his disciples and brought into the house of a widow, and there was kept and refreshed seven months.

Apollinaris Heals the Dumb Man

From thence he came to the city of Clacense, and there he healed a nobleman which was dumb. And as he entered into a house, there was a maid which had an unclean spirit within her, which crying said: Go from hence, thou servant of God, or I shall make thee to be bounden, hands and feet, and to be drawn out of the city. Whom anon Appollinaris rebuked, and constrained the spirit to go out and depart

St. Apollinaris as pictured at Sant'Apollinaris in Clase. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of images of this saint.)

VORAGINE'S ETYMOLOGY FOR THE NAME *APOLLINARIS*

Appollinaris is said of pollens, that is, shining, and ares, that is virtue. That is to say, shining in virtues. Or it is said of pollo, which is as much to say as marvellous, and naris, that is, by discretion, as who saith, he was a man of marvellous discretion. Or he is said of A, that is,

from the maid. Then, when he had thus called the name of our Lord upon the dumb man, and had so cured him, and delivered the maid of the wicked spirit, more than five hundred men believed in our Lord Jesu Christ.

The paynims then beat him with staves and forbade him that he should not name the name of Jesu Christ. He then lying on the earth cried, and saying that Jesus was very God. Then they made him to stand barefoot upon burning coals, and yet always he preached constantly the law of Christ. And then they seeing that he would not cease, drove him out of the city.

He Raises the Daughter of the Duke of Ravenna

That time Rufus Patricius, duke of the city of Ravenna, had a daughter sick, and did call Appollinaris to heal her. And as soon as Appollinaris entered into the house his daughter died. To whom Rufus said: Would God thou hadst not entered into my house, for the great gods be wroth therefore, and would not heal my daughter, what mayst thou do to her?

To whom Appollinaris said: Be thou not afraid, but promise to me that if the maid arise thou shalt not forbid her to follow her Maker.

Which when he had promised he made his prayer, and anon the maid arose, and acknowledged the name of Christ, and was

without, and polluo and ares, that is to say, virtuous without pollution of vices.

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baptized, with her mother and a great multitude of people. And she abode a virgin.

The Torture and Martyrdom of St. Apollinaris

And when Cæsar heard hereof he wrote to the provost of the prætorium that he should make Appollinaris to do sacrifice, or to put him in exile. The provost then seeing that he would do no sacrifice, commanded that he should be beaten with staves and to be tormented on the gallows, whereas he always most constantly preached the name of our Lord. Then he commanded to cast hot scalding water in his fresh wounds, and he, sore bounden with great weight of iron, should have been sent into exile.

That seeing the Christians, and so great felony done to him, were moved in their courage, and ran upon the paynims, and of them slew more than two hundred. And when the provost saw that, he hid himself, and commanded Appollinaris into a straight and hard prison, and after, bound him sore with chains, and set him in a ship with three clerks following him, and so sent him forth in exile, where only he, with two clerks and two knights escaped the peril of the tempest, and those knights he baptized.

After this he returned again to Ravenna, and was taken of the paynims, and led to the temple of Jupiter, whose simulachre when he saw it, he cursed it. And suddenly it fell down, and when the bishops saw that, they presented him to Thaurus the judge, whose

son, which was blind, St. Appollinaris made to see. And when the judge saw that, he believed on him and made him to dwell four years with him in his house.

After this, when the bishops had accused him to Vespasian, Vespasian commanded whosoever did any wrong to the gods, he should do satisfaction or to be driven from the city. It is not rightful, said he, that we should avenge the gods, but they themselves may avenge them of their enemies if they be wroth. Then Demosthenes Patricius, seeing that he would do no sacrifice, delivered him unto a centurion, then being Christian, by whose prayer he went into the street of lepers, and that he should do there hide him from the woodness of the paynims.

But the people followed him and beat him unto the death, where he abode and lived by the space after of eight days, and preached to his disciples, and then gave up his spirit unto our Lord and died, and there was honourably buried, about the year of our Lord seventy, under Vespasian.

St. Ambrose's Comments on St. Apollinaris

Of this martyr saith St. Ambrose in his preface: Appollinaris, most worthy bishop, was sent from Peter, prince of the apostles, to Ravenna, for to show the name of Jesu unto the paynims, who did marvellous signs of virtues to them that believe in Christ, and was all to-rent and torn with wood beatings of the wicked paynims. And because the Christian

men should not doubt, he did and performed marvels like to the apostles. After his torments he raised a maid from death to life. To blind men he gave sight, and to a dumb man he restored his speech; one that was vexed with a devil he delivered; he cleansed a leper, he healed the members broken with a pestilent sickness of another. The simulachre of the god Jupiter, with the temple, he overthrew. O most worthy bishop of marvellous praising, thou deservedst the power and dignity of the apostle. O most strong champion of our Lord, which in thine old age constantly preachedst our Lord Jesu Christ redeemer of the world.

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OF THE LIFE OF ST. ANTHONY

Chapter 21 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

S t. Anthony was born in Egypt of good and religious father and mother, and when he was but twenty years old, he heard on a time in the church read in the gospel, that said: If thou wilt be perfect go sell all that thou hast and give it to poor men; and then according thereto he sold all that he had, and gave it to the poor people and became an hermit.

St. Anthony's attributes are a pig, a bell, and a tau-topped staff, as in this frontispiece from Raynaud's *In Symbolicam S. Antonii magni Imaginem commentatio* .

The Temptations of St. Anthony

He had overmany temptations of the devil. Then on a time when he had overcome the spirit of fornication which tempted him therein by the virtue of his faith, the devil came to him in the form of a little child all black, and fell down at his feet and confessed that he was the devil of fornication, which St. Anthony had desired and prayed to see him, for to know him that so tempted young people. Then said St. Anthony: Sith I have perceived that thou art so foul a thing I shall never doubt thee.

The Devils in the Cave

After, he went into a hole or cave to hide him, and anon he found there a great multitude of devils, that so much beat him

VORAGINE'S ETYMOLOGY FOR THE NAME *ANTHONY*

Anthony is said of Ana, which is as much to say as high, and tenens that is holding, which is as much as to say as holding high things and despising the world. He despised the world and said: It is deceiving, transitory and bitter, and Athanasius wrote his life.

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that his servant bare him upon his shoulders in to his house as he had been dead. When the other hermits were assembled and wept his death, and would have done his service, suddenly St. Anthony revived and made his servant to bear him into the pit again where the devils had so evil beaten him, and began to summon the devils again, which had beaten him, to battles.

And anon they came in form of divers beasts wild and savage, of whom that one howled, another siffled, and another cried, and another brayed and assailed St. Anthony, that one with the horns, the others with their teeth, and the others with their paws and ongles, and disturned, and all to-rent his body that he supposed well to die.

Then came a clear brightness, and all the beasts fled away, and St. Anthony understood that in this great light our Lord came, and he said twice: Who art thou?

The good Jesu answered: I am here, Anthony.

Then said St. Anthony: O good Jesu! where hast thou been so long? why wert thou not here with me at the beginning to help me and to heal my wounds?

Then our Lord said: I was here but I would see and abide to see thy battle, and because thou hast manly fought and well

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maintained thy battle, I shall make thy name to be spread through all the world.

St. Anthony's Desire for Martyrdom

St. Anthony was of so great fervour and burning love to God, that when Maximus, the emperor, slew and martyred Christian men, he followed the martyrs that he might be a martyr with them and deserve it, and was sorry that martyrdom was not given to him.

The Platter of Silver

After this, as St. Anthony went in desert he found a platter of silver in his way; then he thought whence this platter should come, seeing it was in no way for any man to pass, and also if it had fallen from any man he should have heard it sound in the falling. Then said he well that the devil had laid it there for to tempt him, and said: Ha! devil, thou weenest to tempt me and deceive me, but it shall not be in thy power. Then the platter vanished away as a little smoke.

The Mass of Gold

And in likewise it happed him of a mass of gold that he found in this way, which the devil had cast for to deceive him, which he took and cast it into the fire and anon it vanished away.

The World Full of Snares

After, it happed that St. Anthony on a time was in prayer, and saw in a vision all the world full of snares and gins. Then cried St. Anthony and said: O good Lord, who may escape from these snares? And a voice said to him: Very humility shall escape them without more.

The Devils Accuse Him

When St. Anthony on a time was left in the air, the devils came against him and laid to him all the evils that he had done from his childhood, tofore the angels. Then said the angels: Thou oughtest not to tell the evils that have been defeated, but say if thou know any evil sith he was made a monk, then the devils contrived many evils, and when they might not prove them, the angels bare him higher than tofore, and after set him again in his place.

The Man Who Vaunted Himself

St. Anthony recordeth of himself that he had seen a man so great and so high that he vaunted himself to be the virtue and the providence of God, and said to me: Demand of me what thou wilt and I shall give it to thee. And I spit in the midst of his visage, and anon I armed me with the sign of the cross, and ran upon him, and anon he vanished away.

The Devil Destroyed and Come to Naught

And after this the devil appeared to him in so great a stature that he touched the heaven, and when St. Anthony had demanded him what he was, he answered: I am the devil and demand thee why these monks and these cursed Christian men do me thus much shame?

St. Anthony said: They do it by good right, for thou dost to them the worst thou canst.

And the devil answered: I do to them none harm; but they trouble each other, I am destroyed and come to naught because that Jesu Christ reigneth over all.

Sayings of St. Anthony

The Young Man with the Bow

A young man passed by St. Anthony and his bow in his hand, and beheld how St. Anthony played with his fellows, and was evil apaid. Then St. Anthony said to him that he should bend his bow, and so he did, and shot two or three shots tofore him, and anon he unbent his bow. Then demanded him St. Anthony why he held not his bow bent. And he answered that it should then be over weak and feeble; then said to him St. Anthony: In likewise play the monks, for to be after more strong to serve God.

How to Please God

A man demanded of St. Anthony what he might do to please God, and he

answered: Over all where thou shalt be or shalt go, have God tofore thine eyes, and the holy scripture, and hold thee in one place all still, and walk not ne royle not about in the country, do these three things and thou shalt be safe.

Like a Fish Out of Water

An abbot came to St. Anthony for to be counselled of him what he might do for to be saved. St. Anthony answered to him: Have none affiance in the good that thou hast done, ne that thou hast kept thy belly and thy tongue well soberly, and repent thee not of penance that thou hast done I say, for like as fishes that have been long in the water when they come in to dry land they must die, in like wise the monks that go out of their cloister or cells, if they converse long with seculars they must needs lose their holiness and leave their good life. It behoveth the monks that they be solitary, and that they have three battles, that is of hearing, of speaking, and of seeing, and if they have but one of these battles, that is of the heart, yet they have overmuch.

Mouths Overmuch Open to Speak

Some hermits came to St. Anthony for to visit him, and their abbot was with them; then said St. Anthony to the hermits: Ye have a good wise man with you, and after he said to the abbot: Thou hast founden good brethren.

Then answered the abbot: Truly I have good brethren, but there is no door on their house, each body may enter that will, and go into the stable and unbind the ass of within. And this said he because that the brethren had overmuch their mouths open to speak, for anon as they have thought on a thing is it come to the mouth.

Then St. Anthony said: Ye ought to know that there be three bodily movings, that one is of nature, another of overmuch plenty of meats, and the third of the devil.

The Hermit Who Kept Things for Himself

There was an hermit that had renounced the world, but not perfectly, for he had somewhat proper to himself, whom St. Anthony sent to the market to buy flesh, and as he was coming and brought the flesh, the dogs assailed him, and all totare him, and took the flesh from him; and when he came to St. Anthony he told him what was happed to him; and then said St. Anthony to him: Thus as the hounds have done to thee, so do the devils to monks that keep money and have some proper to themselves.

Labour and Pray

On a time as St. Anthony was in the wilderness in his prayer and was weary, he said to our Lord, Lord, I have great desire to be saved, but my thoughts let me. Then appeared an angel to him and

said: Do as I do, and thou shalt be safe, and he went out and saw him one while labour and another while pray, do thus and thou shalt be saved.

The State of Souls Departed from the Body

On a time when the brethren hermits were assembled tofore St. Anthony, they demanded of him of the state of souls when they be departed from the body, and the next night after a voice called St. Anthony and said: Arise, and go out and see up on high.

When St. Anthony beheld upward on high he saw one long and terrible, whose head touched the clouds, which kept people having wings that would have fled to heaven, and this great man retained and caught some, and others he might not retain ne let for they flew forth up. Then he heard a noise full of joy, and another full of sorrow, and he understood that this was the devil that retained some souls that went not to heaven, and the other he might not hold ne retain, wherefore he made sorrow, and for the other he made joy, and so he heard the sorrow and the joy meddled together.

A Vision Foretells the Arian Heresy

It happed on a time that St. Anthony laboured with his brethren the hermits, and he saw a vision much sorrowful, and therefore he kneeled down on his knees

and prayed our Lord that he would empesh the great sorrow that was to come. Then the other hermits demanded what thing it was, and he said that it was a great sorrow, for "I have seen of great plenty of beasts which environed me, which feared all the country, and I wot well that this is to say that there shall come a great trouble of men like unto beasts, that shall defoul the sacraments of holy church."

Then came a voice from heaven to St. Anthony that said "that great abomination shall come to mine altar."

And anon after, the heresy of Arius began, and much troubled holy church, and did many evils. They beat monks and other all naked tofore the people, and slew Christian men like sheep upon the altars, and in especial one Balachyn did great persecution. To whom St. Anthony wrote a letter which said: I see the ire and mal talent of our Lord coming upon thee if thou suffer not the Christians to live in peace. Then I command thee that thou do to them no more villainy or thou shalt have a mischance hastily.

The unhappy man received this letter and began to mock St. Anthony, and spit on it, and beat well him that brought the letter, and sent again to St. Anthony these words: If thou hast so great charge of thy monks come to me and I shall give to thee my discipline.

But it happed that the fifteenth day after he mounted upon a horse over debonair, and nevertheless when the horse felt him upon him he bit him on the legs and thighs that he died on the third day.

The Hermits Incapable of Patience

It happed another time that the hermits were come to St. Anthony and demanded of him a collation. Then said St. Anthony: Do ye this that is written in the gospel, if one give to the other a stroke on that one cheek show him that other?

And they made answer: We may not do so.

Then said he: Suffer ye it once debonairly.

They answered: We may not.

Then said St. Anthony to his servant: Give them to drink good wine, for these monks be over delicious. Fair brethren, put yourselves to prayer, for ye have much great need.

At the last St. Anthony assembled the hermits and gave to them the peace, and died and departed out of this world holily when he was of the age of an hundred and five years. Pray we to him that he pray for us.

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SAINT APOLLONIA

Chapter 66 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Apollonia's attribute is a tooth extractor. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of images of this saint.)

This chapter in Graesse's edition of the Golden Legend is unlike the others in some ways. It lacks a study of the saint's name at the beginning but adds a doxology at the end. The style is generally more florid, and there is a strong emphasis on virtues appropriate to the monastery. It is not in Caxton's translation and so may have been absent from his source.

W hen a great persecution against the servants of God began in Alexandria in the time of the Emperor Decius, a certain wretched consort of the devils named Divinus whipped up the superstitious people against the Christians, making them thirsty for the blood of the pious. First they rounded up male and female religious and beat some of them to pieces with cudgels, gouged out their eyes with sharp sticks, and ejected them from the city. Others they dragged to the idols and demanded that they worship. These members of Christ's household however refused, and they cursed the idols. So they were put in irons and dragged to the public squares, where they suffered vile and horrendous tortures.

Now at this time there was an admirable virgin of advanced age named Apollonia. She was distinguished for her chastity, sobriety, and spiritual cleanness, like a sturdy column made strong by the Spirit of the Lord, and God saw that for her merits

Translation by Richard Stracke. The drop initial (first letter of the text) is from the Isabella Capitals font by John Stracke. Permission is granted for electronic copying,

and virtues she was worthy to be the admiration of angels and a model for men. When the raging multitude broke into the homes of God's servants and dragged them all away in cruel hostility to their impious tribunal, Apollonia in her simple innocence and stalwart virtue had nothing to offer but the constancy of her intrepid mind and the purity of her inviolate conscience. She offered her devout soul to God and gave her chaste body to those who would persecute her with torments. Once they had her, the raging persecutors knocked out all her teeth first, then gathered wood to make an enormous pyre. They threatened to burn her alive if she did not partake in their impieties. But when she saw them light the pyre she took thought for only a moment and then broke free from their impious grasp and of her own free will leapt into the very flames they had threatened her with. These authors of cruelty were themselves terrified when they saw that this woman would rather die than suffer at their hands.

Though she had been afflicted by all sorts of torments, neither the pain of those tortures nor the fire prepared by those savage persecutors could prevail upon this strongest of Christ's martyrs. For her mind had long burned with the ardent flame of truth. Fire made by mortal hands could not drive out the unquenchable warmth of heart that God had infused in her.

O the great and miraculous witness of this virgin, who by the grace of the merciful God burned and yet was not burned, as if she had never been given over to torments and fire. She could have opted for freedom, and there would have been no glory in fighting back. Disdaining the delights of this world and despising worldly prosperity, desiring instead to

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please Christ her spouse, Apollonia the powerful virgin martyr of Christ stood firm in her virginity amid the worst of torments.

The merits of this virgin outshine the martyrs, so glorious and propitious is her triumph. A greater deed than theirs was done by her manly virtue, for her frailty did not fail before the terrors of her trial. She drove earthly fear from her heart through heavenly love and won the prize of Christ's Cross. Armed with faith more powerful than the sword, she fought against earthly desire and every sort of torture, and she had the victory. May he deign to grant such strength to us who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns for ever and ever.

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THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY

Chapter 119 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton (1483). This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

W e find in a book sent to St. John the Evangelist, or else the book, which is said to be apocryphal, is ascribed to him, in what manner the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary was made. The apostles were departed and gone in to divers countries of the world for cause of preaching, and the blessed Lady and Virgin was in a house by the Mount of Sion, and as long as she lived she visited all the places of her son with great devotion, that is to say the place of his baptism, of his fasting, of his passion, of his sepulture, of his resurrection, and of his ascension.

And after that Epiphanius saith, she lived four-and-twenty years after the ascension of her son, and he saith also: When our Lady had conceived Jesu Christ she was of the age of fourteen years, and she was delivered in her fifteenth year, and lived and abode with him three and thirty years. And after his death she lived four-and-twenty years, and by this account when she departed out of this world she was seventy-two years old; but it is more probable that which is read in another place, that she lived after the ascension of her son twelve years, and so then she was sixty years old.

The Angel Tells Mary She Will Go to Her Son in Heaven

Bergognone, *The Assumption of the Virgin* , 16th century. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of images of this saint.)

This text was taken from the Internet Medieval Source Book . E-text © by Paul Halsall. Annotations, formatting, and added rubrics by Richard Stracke. The drop initial (first letter of the text) is from the

And on a day, when all the apostles were spread through the world in preaching, the glorious Virgin was greatly esprised and embraced with desire to be with her son Jesu Christ, and her courage was eschaufed and moved, and great abundance of tears ran withoutforth, because she had not equally the comforts of her son, which were withdrawn from her for the time.

And an angel came tofore her, with great light, and saluted her honourably as the mother of his Lord, saying: All hail! blessed Mary, receiving the blessing of him that sent his blessing to Jacob, lo! here a bough of palm of paradise, Lady, which I have brought to thee, which thou shalt command to be borne tofore thy bier. For thy soul shall be taken from thy body the third day next following, and thy son abideth thee, his honourable mother.

To whom she answered: If I have found grace tofore thine eyes, I pray thee that thou vouchsafe to show to me thy name, and yet I pray thee more heartily that my sons and my brethren the apostles may be assembled with me, so that tofore I die I may see them with my bodily eyes, and after, to be buried of them, and they being here, I may yield up my ghost to God. And also yet I pray and require that my spirit, issuing out of the body, see not the horrible ne wicked spirit ne fiend, and that no might of the devil come against me.

And then the angel said: Lady, wherefore desirest thou to know my name? which is great and marvellous. All the apostles shall assemble this day to thee and shall make to thee noble exequies at thy passing, and in the presence of them thou shalt give up thy spirit. For he that brought the prophet

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by his hair from Judea to Babylon, may without doubt suddenly in an hour bring the apostles to thee. And wherefore doubtest thou to see the wicked spirit, sith thou hast broken utterly his head, and hast despoiled him from the empire of his power? Nevertheless thy will be done, that thou see not the fiend.

And this said, the angel mounted into heaven with great light, and the palm shone by right great clearness, and was like to a green rod whose leaves shone like to the morrow star.

St. John Comes to Her from Ephesus

And it happed as St. John the Evangelist preached in Ephesus, the heaven suddenly thundered, and a white cloud took him up and brought him tofore the gate of the blessed Virgin Mary. And he knocked at the door and entered and saluted the Virgin honourably. Whom the blessed Virgin beheld, and was greatly abashed for joy, and might not abstain her from weeping, and said to him: John, my son, remember thee of the word of thy master, by which he made me mother unto thee, and thee a son unto me. Lo! I am called of thy master and my God. I pay now the debt of condition human, and recommend my body unto thy busy cure. I have heard say that the Jews have made a council, and said: "Let us abide brethren unto the time that she that bare Jesus be dead, and then incontinent we shall take her body and shall cast it into the fire and burn it." Thou therefore take this palm, and bear it tofore the bier when ye shall bear my body to the sepulchre.

All the Apostles Are Brought to Mary

Then said John: O would God that all my brethren the apostles were here, that we might make thine exequies convenably as it behoveth and is digne and worthy. And as he said that, all the apostles were ravished with clouds from the places where they preached, and were brought tofore the door of the blessed Virgin Mary.

And when they saw them assembled, they marvelled, and said: For what cause hath our Lord assembled us here?

Then St. John went out and said to them that our Lady should pass and depart out of this world, and added more thereto, saying: Brethren, beware and keep you from weeping when she shall depart, because that the people that shall see it be not troubled, and say: "Lo! there, how they dread the death which preach to others the resurrection."

And Denis, disciple of Paul, affirmeth this same in the book of divine names, that is to wit that all the apostles were assembled at the assumption and death of our Lady Mary and were together there, and that each of them made a sermon unto the praising and laud of Jesu Christ and the blessed Virgin his mother. He said thus, speaking to Timothy: Thus we and thou, as thou well knowest, and many of our holy brethren, did assemble at the vision of the mother that received God. And James, brother of God, was there. And Peter the apostle, most noble and sovereign of the theologians. And after that me seemed that all the Hierarchies lifted her up, after and according to her virtue without end. This saith St. Denis.

Jesus Comes for His Mother

And when the blessed Virgin Mary saw all the apostles assembled, she blessed our Lord, and sat in the midst of them where the lamps, tapers, and lights burned. And about the third hour of the night Jesu Christ came with sweet melody and song, with the orders of the angels, the companies of patriarchs, the assembly of martyrs, the convents of confessors, the carols of virgins. And tofore the bed of our blessed Lady the companies of all these saints were set in order and made sweet song and melody. And what exequies were done of our blessed Lady, and there hallowed it is all said and enseigned in the foresaid book which is attributed to St. John.

For first, Jesu Christ began to say: Come my chosen and I shall set thee in my seat, for I have coveted the beauty of thee.

And our Lady answered: Sir, my heart is ready.

And all they that were come with Jesu Christ entuned sweetly saying: This is she that never touched the bed of marriage in delight, and she shall have fruit in refection of holy souls.

Then she sang of herself, saying: All the generations shall say that I am blessed, for he that is mighty hath done great things to me, and the name of him is holy.

And the chanter of chanters entuned more excellently above all others, saying: Come from Lebanon, my spouse, come from Lebanon, come, thou shalt be crowned.

And she said: I come, for in the beginning of the

book it is written of me that I should do thy will, for my spirit hath joyed in thee, God my health.

Jesus Carries Her Soul to Heaven

And thus in the morning the soul issued out of the body and fled up in the arms of her son. And she was as far estranged from the pain of the flesh as she was from corruption of her body. Then said our Lord to the apostles: Bear ye the body of this virgin, my mother, into the vale of Jehosaphat and lay ye her in a new sepulchre that ye shall find there, and abide me there three days till that I return to you.

And anon she was environed with flowers of roses, that was the company of martyrs, and with lilies of the valley, that was the company of angels, of confessors and virgins. And the apostles cried after her saying: Right wise virgin, whither goest thou? Lady, remember thee of us.

And then the company of saints that were abiden there were awaked with the sound of the song of them that mounted, and came against her, and saw their king bear in his proper arms the soul of a woman, and saw that this soul was joined to him, and were abashed and began to cry, saying: Who is this that ascendeth from the desert, full of delices, joined to her friend ?

And they that accompanied her said: This is the right fair among the daughters of Jerusalem, and like as ye have seen her full of charity and dilection, so is she joyously received, and set in the seat of glory on the right side of her son. And the apostles saw the soul of her being so white that no mortal tongue might express it.

The Apostles Carry Her Bier

And then three maidens that were there took off the clothes from the body for to wash it. The body anon shone by so great clearness that they might well feel it in touching and washing but they might not see it. And that light shone as long as they were about the washing of it. And then the apostles took the body honourably and laid it on the bier, and John said to Peter: Bear this palm tofore the bier, for our Lord hath ordained thee above us, and hath made thee pastor and prince of his sheep.

To whom Peter said: It appertaineth better to thee to bear it, for thou art chosen virgin of our Lord, and thou oughtest to bear this palm of light at the exequies of chastity and holiness, thou that drankest at the fountain of perdurable clearness. And I shall bear the holy body with the bier, and these other apostles our brethren shall go round about the body yielding thankings to God.

And then St. Paul said to him: I, that am least of the apostles and of you all, shall bear with thee. And then Peter and Paul lifted up the bier, and Peter began to sing and say: "Israel is issued out of Egypt," and the other apostles followed him in the same song. And our Lord covered the bier and the apostles with a cloud, so that they were not seen, but the voice of them was heard only. And the angels were with the apostles singing, and replenished all the land with marvellous sweetness.

The High Priest and a Mob Attack the Bier

And then all the people was moved with that sweet melody, and issued hastily out of the city and

enquired what it was, and then there were some that said to them that Mary such a woman is dead, and the disciples of her son Jesu bear her and make such melody as ye hear about her.

And then ran they to arms, and they warned each other saying: Come and let us slay all the disciples, and let us burn the body of her that bare this traitor. And when the prince of priests saw that, he was all abashed and full of anger, and said: Lo! here the tabernacle of him that troubled us and our lineage. Behold what glory he now receiveth.

And in saying so, he laid his hands on the bier willing to turn it, and overthrew it to the ground. Then suddenly both his hands waxed dry and cleaved to the bier, so that he hung by the hands on the bier, and was sore tormented and wept and brayed. And the angels that were there in the clouds blinded all the other people that they saw nothing.

The High Priest Comes to Believe in Christ and His Mother

And the prince of priests said: St. Peter, despise me not in this tribulation, and I pray thee to pray for me to our Lord. Thou oughtest to remember when the chamberer, that was usher, accused thee, and I excused thee.

And St. Peter said to him: We be now empeshed in the service of our Lady, and may not now entend to heal thee, but and if thou believest in our Lord Jesu Christ, and in this that bare him, I ween and hope that thou soon shalt have health and be all whole.

And he answered: I believe our Lord Jesu Christ to be the Son of God, and that this is his right holy mother.

And anon his hands were loosed from the bier, but yet the dryness and the pain ceased not in him. And then St. Peter said to him: kiss the bier and say: I believe in God Jesu Christ that this woman bare in her belly, and remained virgin after the childing.

And when he had so said, he was anon all whole perfectly. And then said Peter to him: Take that palm of the hand of our brother John, and lay it on the people that be blind, and who that will believe shall receive his sight again. And they that will not believe shall never see.

Mary's Bodily Assumption

And then the apostles bare Mary unto the monument and sat by it, like as our Lord had commanded, and at the third day Jesu Christ came with a great multitude of angels and saluted them, and said: Peace be with you. And they answered: God, glory be to thee which only makest the great miracles and marvels. And our Lord said to the apostles: What is now your advice that I ought now to do to my mother of honour and of grace?

Sire, it seemeth to us thy servants that like as thou hast vanquished the death and reignest world without end, that thou raise also the body of thy mother and set it on thy right side in perdurability.

And he granted it. And then Michael the angel came and presented the soul of Mary to our Lord.

And the Saviour spake and said: Arise up, haste thee, my culver or dove, tabernacle of glory, vessel of life, temple celestial, and like as thou never feltest conceiving by none atouchment, thou shalt not suffer in the sepulchre no corruption of body. And anon the soul came again to the body of Mary, and issued gloriously out of the tomb, and thus was received in the heavenly chamber, and a great company of angels with her.

The Doubts of St.Thomas

And St.Thomas was not there, and when he came he would not believe this. And anon the girdle with which her body was girt came to him from the air, which he received, and thereby he understood that she was assumpt into heaven.

The Opinion of St. Jerome

And all this heretofore is said and called apocryphum. Whereof St. Jerome saith in a sermon to Paula and Eustochia her daughter:

> That book is said to be apocryphum, save that some words which be worthy of faith and be approved of saints as touching nine things, that is to wit, that the comfort of the apostles was promised and given to the virgin, and that all the saints assembled there, and that she died without pain, and was buried in the vale of Jehosaphat. And there were made ready the obsequies and the devotion to Jesu Christ, and the coming of the celestial company, and the persecution of the Jews, and the shining of the miracles, and that she was assumpt into heaven, body and soul. But many other things be put there more at fantasy and simulation

than at truth. As that, that Thomas was not there, and when he came he doubted, and other things semblable, which be better not to believe them than not to believe her clothes and vestments were left in her tomb, to the comfort of good Christian men.

Miracles of Our Lady

A Misuse of Our Lady's Coat

And of one part of her vestments it is said there happed such a great miracle as followeth. When the Duke of Normandy had assieged the city of Chartres, the bishop of the city took the coat of our Lady and set it on the head of a spear like a banner and went out against the enemy surely, and the people followed him. And anon all the host of the enemies were turned into frenzy, and were blind and trembled, and all were abashed. And when they of the city saw this thing, above the divine demonstrance they went on eagerly and slew their enemies, the which thing displeased much the virgin St. Mary, as it was proved by that that her coat vanished away, and the duke, their enemy, found it in his lap.

A Revelation of St. Elizabeth

It is read in the revelations of St. Elizabeth that, on a time as she was ravished in spirit, she saw in a place much far from folk a tomb or a sepulchre environed with much light, and was like the form of a woman withinforth, and there was about it a great multitude of angels, and a little while after she was taken out of the sepulchre and borne up on high with that multitude. And then came against her a man bearing in his right arm the sign of the cross,

and had with him many angels without number, which received her much joyously and led her with great melody into heaven.

And a little while after, Elizabeth demanded of an angel to whom she spake oft, of that vision that she saw. It is showed to thee, said the angel, in that vision, that the Virgin our Lady is assumpt into heaven as well in her body as in her soul.

It is said in the same revelations that it was showed to her that the fortieth day after the soul departed from her body she was so assumpt into heaven, and also that when our blessed Lady spake to her, she said: After the Ascension of our Lord a whole year, and as many days more as be from the Ascension unto her assumption, she overlived.

And also she said: All the apostles were at my departing, and buried my body honourably, and forty days after was raised.

And then St. Elizabeth demanded of her whether she should hide this thing, or that she should manifest it and show it.

And she said: It is not to be showed to fleshly ne unbelieving people, ne it is not to be hid to devout and Christian people.

The Manner of Her Assumption

It is to be noted that the glorious Virgin Mary was assumpt and lifted up into heaven entirely, joyously, and gloriously.

Entirely: Body and Soul Taken Together

She was received entirely, that is, wholly, as the church believeth debonairly, and that affirm many saints, and enforce them to prove it by many reasons.

And the reason of St. Bernard is such. He saith that God hath made the body of St. Peter and St. James so gloriously to be honoured that he hath enhanced them by marvellous honour, that to them is deputed place convenable for to be worshipped, and all the world goeth to seek and offer to them. Then if the body of his blessed mother were on the earth, and not haunted by devout visitation of Christian men, it should be marvel to hear that God would not have done as much worship to his mother, and honoured as much her body as the bodies of other saints upon the earth.

Jerome saith thus, that the Virgin Mary mounted into heaven the eighteenth calends of September [i.e., August 15]. That which he saith of the assumption of the body of Mary, the church will rather debonairly believe it, than rashly to explain it, and he proved it afterward that it is to be believed that they that arose with our Lord have accomplished their perdurable resurrection. Wherefore should not we say then that it is done in the Blessed Virgin Mary. And also many believe that St. John the Evangelist is glorified in his flesh with Jesu Christ; and then much more our Lady ought to be glorified in heaven, both body and soul, which saith: Worship thy father and mother, and he came not to break the law but to fulfil it, and therefore he honoureth his mother above all other.

St. Austin affirmeth not this only, but he proveth it by three reasons. And the first reason is the unity

and assembly of the flesh of our Lord and of our Lady, and saith thus: Putrefaction and worms is the reproach of condition human, which Jesus never touched, and the flesh of Jesu is out of this reproof, the nature of Mary is out thereof, for it is proved that Jesu Christ hath taken his flesh of her.

The second reason is the dignity of the body of her of whom himself saith: This is the siege of God, the chamber of our Lord of heaven, and the tabernacle of Christ. She is worthy to be where he is, so precious a treasure is more worthy to be kept in heaven than in earth.

The third reason is perfect entireness of her virginal flesh, and saith thus: Enjoy thou Mary of honourable gladness in body and in soul. In thy proper son, and by thy proper son, thou oughtest to have no harm of corruption; where thou haddest no corruption of virginity in childing so great a son, so thou whom he endued with so great glory shouldst be alway without corruption, and live entirely, which barest entire him that is perfect of all, and that she be with him whom she bare in her womb, and that she be at him whom she childed, gave suck and nourished. Mary, mother of Jesu Christ, administress and servant. And because I may none other thing feel, I dare none otherwise say ne presume. And hereof saith a noble versifier: *Transit ad æthera, virgo puerpera, virgula Jesse, Non sine corpore, sed sine tempore, tendit adesse.* "The virgin that childed mounted into heaven, the little rod of Jesse, not without body, but without time, she entendeth to be there, virgin pure and net."

Joyously: The Joy of Heaven upon Her Assumption

Secondly, she was assumpt and taken up gladly. And hereof saith Gerard, bishop and martyr, in his homily: The heavens received this day the Blessed Virgin, the angels were glad, the archangels enjoyed, the thrones sang, the dominations made melody, the principalities harmonised, the potestates harped, cherubim and seraphim sang laudings and praisings, and bringing her with thankings and lauds unto the siege of the divine and sovereign majesty.

Gloriously: The Queen of Heaven

Thirdly, she was lifted up in heaven so honourably that, Jesu Christ himself, with all the strength of the heavenly company, came against her. Of whom St. Jerome saith: Who is he that is sufficient to think how the glorious queen of the world went up this day, and how the multitude of the celestial legions came against her with great talent of devotion, and with what songs she was brought unto her seat, and how she was received of her son and embraced with peaceable cheer and clear face, and how she was enhanced above all other creatures?

And yet he saith: It is on this day that the chivalry of heaven came hastily for to meet with the mother of God, and environed her with great light, and brought her to her seat with praisings and songs spiritual. And then enjoyed them the celestial company of Jerusalem with so great gladness that no man may recount ne tell, and made joy and song, all enjoying in charity because that this feast is every year hallowed of us, and made continuous with all others. And it is to believe that the Saviour himself came and met with her hastily, and brought

her with him, and set her in her seat with great joy. And how had he accomplished otherwise that which he commanded in the law, saying: Honour thy father and mother.

Excellently: Sitting Next unto Christ

Fourthly, she was received excellently. St. Jerome saith: This is the day in which the Virgin Mary, not corrupt, went unto the highness of the throne, and she was there enhanced in the heavenly kingdom and honoured gloriously, sitting next unto Christ. And how she is enhanced in the heavenly glory, Gerard the bishop rehearseth in his homilies, saying: Our Lord Jesu Christ alone may praise this blessed Virgin his mother as he did, and magnify, so that she be continually praised of that majesty, and honoured and environed of the company of angels, enclosed with the turmes of archangels, possessed of the thrones and girt about of the dominations, environed with the service of the potestates, beclipped with the embracements of the principates, enjoyed with the honours of the virtues, obeyed with lauds and praisings of the cherubins, and possessed on all parts with not recountable songs of the seraphins. And the over great and ineffable Trinity enjoyeth in her perdurable gladness, and his grace redoundeth all in her and maketh all other to entend and await on her. The overshining order of the apostles honour her with ineffable laud. The honourable multitude of martyrs beseech her in all manner as one so great a lady. The fellowship of confessors innumerable continue their song to her, the right noble and white company of virgins make noble carolling of the glory of her. Hell, full of malice, howleth, and the cursed devils cry unto her and dread her.

Further Miracles of the Virgin

The Devout Cleric

There was a clerk, devout unto the virgin Mary, which studied every day how he might comfort her against the pain of the five wounds of Jesu Christ, saying thus: Rejoice thee virgin and mother undefouled, which receives the joy of the angels, enjoy that thou conceivedst, enjoy thee that childedst the light of clearness, enjoy thee mother which never wert touched, all features and all creatures praise thee mother of light, be thou for us always praying to our Lord.

And as this clerk had lain long with an over great sickness, and came toward his end, he began to dread, and was troubled, and our blessed Lady appeared to him and said: Son, wherefore tremblest thou by so great fear, which hast so oft showed to me joy? Be thou joyful now thyself, and that thou mayest enjoy perdurably, come with me.

The Immoral Monk

There was a monk much jolly and light of his living but devout to our Lady, which on a night went to do his folly accustomed, but when he passed before the altar of our Lady, he saluted the virgin, and so went forth out of the church. And as he should pass a river he fell into the water and drowned, and the devils took the soul.

Then came angels for to deliver it, and the devils said to them: Wherefore come ye hither? Ye have nothing in this soul.

And anon the Blessed Virgin came, and blamed

them because they had taken the soul which was hers. And they said that they had found him finishing his life in evil works. And she said: It is false that ye say, I know well that when he went into any place he saluted me first, and when he returned and came again also; and if ye say that I do you wrong, let us put it again in judgment of the sovereign king.

And when they strove tofore our Lord of this matter, it pleased him that the soul should return again to the body and repent him of his sins and trespasses.

And then the brethren saw that the matins were over long deferred, and sought the sexton, and went to the river and found him there drowned. And when they had drawn the body out of the water what they should do they wist not, and marvelled what he had done; and suddenly he came again to life, and told what he had done, and after finished his life in good works.

The Knight Who Sold His Wife to the Devil

There was a knight which was mighty and rich, that dispended follily his goods, and came to so great a poverty that he which had been accustomed to give largely great things, had need to demand and ask the small. And he had a right chaste wife, and much devout to the blessed Virgin Mary. And a great solemnity approached, at which the knight was accustomed to give many gifts. And he had nothing to give, whereof he was greatly ashamed. And he went into place desert, full of heaviness, and of weeping, so long that the feast was passed, for to wail there his evil fortune and for to eschew shame.

And anon a knight, much horrible, came, sitting on an horse, which arreasoned the knight and enquired of him the cause of his great heaviness. And he told him all by order that as was happed to him. And this foul knight said to him: If thou wilt a little obey to me, thou shalt abound in glory and in riches more than thou wert tofore.

And he promised to the devil that he would do so gladly if he accomplished that he promised. And then he said to him: Go home into thine house, and thou shalt find in such a place there, so much gold and so much silver. And thou shalt find there also precious stones, and do so much that such a day thou bring me hither thy wife. And the knight returned home into his house, and found all things like as the devil had promised. And anon he bought a palace and gave great gifts, and bought again his heritage, and took his men again to him.

And the day approached which he had promised to lead his wife to the fiend, and called her, saying: Let us go to horseback, for ye must come with me unto a place far hence. And she trembled and was afeard, and durst not gainsay the commandment of her husband. And she commended herself devoutly to the Blessed Virgin, and began to ride after her husband.

And when they had ridden a good while they saw in the way a church, and she descended from the horse and entered into the church. Her husband abode without. And as she commended herself devoutly to the Blessed Virgin Mary in great devotion and contemplation, she suddenly slept, and the glorious virgin did on semblable habit of

this lady and departed from the altar and issued out and mounted upon the horse. And the lady abode sleeping in the church, and the knight weened that she had been his wife that was with him, and went always forth.

And when he was come to the place assigned, the devil came with a great rese to the place, and when he approached and came near, he quaked and trembled anon and durst go no nearer. Then said he to the knight: Thou most traitor of all men, wherefore hast thou deceived me, and hast rendered to me harm for such great good as I have given to thee? I said to thee that thou shouldst bring thy wife to me, and thou hast brought the mother of God. I would have thy wife, and thou hast brought to me Mary. For thy wife hath done to me many injuries, wherefore I would take on her vengeance. And thou hast brought to me this for to torment me, and for to send me to hell.

And when the knight heard this he was sore abashed, and might not hold him from weeping, ne durst not speak for dread and marvel. And then the Blessed Mary said: Thou felon spirit, by what folly dost thou will to grieve and annoy my devout servant? This shall not be left in thee unpunished. I bind thee in this sentence, that thou descend into hell, and that thou henceforth have no presumption to grieve none that call upon me.

And then he went away with great howling. And the man sprang down from his horse and kneeled down on his knees to her feet. And the Virgin our Lady blamed him, and commanded him to return again to his wife, which yet slept in the church, and bade him that he should cast away all the riches of

the devil. And when he came again he found his wife yet sleeping, and awoke her, and told to her all that was befallen. And when they were come home they threw away all the riches of the devil, and dwelled alway in the louings of our Lady, and received afterward many riches that our Lady gave to them.

The Man Whose Deeds Were Weighed Before the Lord

There was a man which was ravished in judgment tofore God, for he had much sinned, and the devil was there and said: Ye have nothing on this soul, but it ought to be mine, for I have thereof an instrument public.

To whom our Lord said: Where is thine instrument?

I have, he said, an instrument that thou saidest with thy proper mouth and hast ordained it for to endure perpetually. For thou saidest in what hour that ye eat of it ye shall die, and this is of the lineage of them that took of the meat forbidden. And by right of this instrument public he ought to be judged to me.

And then our Lord said: Let the man speak, but the man spake not.

{The demon spoke again: "He is mine also by right of prescription, because I owned him for thirty years and he obeyed me as a slave should." But the man still remained silent.}

And the devil said yet again: The soul is mine, for if he hath done any good deeds, the wicked deeds

pass the good without comparison.

And then our Lord would not anon give sentence against him, so that he gave him term of eight days, so that at the end of eight days he should appear again tofore him, and give account of all these things.

And as he went from the visage of our Lord, sorrowing and trembling, he met with a man which asked the cause of his heaviness. And he told to him all by order, and he said to him: " Doubt thee nothing, ne be not afeard, for I shall help thee manly from the first [i.e. the devil's first claim on him, the â□□warrant']." And he demanded of him his name, and he said: Verity. And after he found another which pronounced to help him for the second [i.e. the devil's claim "by right of prescription"]. And when he had asked his name, he said his name was Righteousness.

At the eighth day he came to the doom tofore the judge, and the devil opposed to him the first case [the warrant], and Truth answered and said: We know well that there is double death, corporal and infernal, and this instrument that the devil allegeth against thee speaketh no word of the death of hell, but of the death of the body, and of that it is clear that all men be enclosed in that sentence, that is to wit that he dieth in his body, and that is not the death of hell. And as touching the death of the body, the sentence endureth always, but as to the death of the soul, it is repealed by the death of Jesu Christ.

Then the devil saw that he was discharged of the first. Then he opposed and alleged the second [his

claim by right of prescription], but Righteousness came and answered thus: Howbeit that he hath been thy servant many years, nevertheless reason gainsayeth it. For reason murmured always because he served so cruel a lord.

But at the third objection [the man's good and bad deeds], he had none help, and our Lord said: Bring forth the balance, and let all the good and evil be weighed; and then Truth and Righteousness said to the sinner, Run with all thy thought unto the Lady of mercy which sitteth by the judge, and study to call her to thine help.

And when he had so done, the Blessed Virgin Mary came in to his help and laid her hand upon the balance whereas were but few good deeds. And the devil enforced him to draw on that other side, but the mother of mercy won and obtained and delivered the sinner. And then he came again to himself and amended his life.

The Virgin Saves a Jewish Child

It happed in the city of Bourges, about the year of our Lord five hundred and twenty-seven, that when the Christian men were communed and houseled on an Easter day, a child of a Jew went to the altar with the other children, and received our Lord's body with the others. And when he came home, his father demanded him whence he came, and he answered that he came from school, and that he had been houseled with them at mass. And then the father full of woodness took the child and threw him into a burning furnace that was there.

And anon the mother of God came in the form of an

image, which the child had seen standing on the altar, and kept him from the fire without taking any harm. And the mother of the child, with her great crying, made to assemble many Christian men and Jews, the which saw the child in the furnace without any harm or hurt, and drew him out, and demanded him how he escaped, and he answered and said: That reverend lady which stood upon the altar came and helped me, and put away all the fire from me.

Then the Christian men, understanding this to be the image of our Lady, took the father of the child and threw him into the furnace, which incontinent was burnt and consumed.

Monks Saved from Demons by the Virgin

There were certain monks tofore day standing by a river, and talked and jangled there of fables and idle words. And they heard a great rowing and oars beating the water coming hastily. And the monks asked, Who be ye? And they said: We be devils that bear to hell the soul of Ebronien, provost of the house of the king of France, which was apostate in the monastery of St. Gall.

And when the monks heard that they doubted strongly, and cried high: St. Mary, pray for us!

And the devils said: Well have ye called Mary, for we would have disjoined you and have drowned you because of your dissolute and out of time jangling.

And then the monks returned to their convent, and the devils went in to hell.

The Woman Stalked by a Devil

There was a woman that suffered many griefs and injuries of a devil which appeared visibly to her in the form of a man, and she sought many remedies, now holy water, now one thing, now another, but he ceased not. And then a holy man counselled her that, when he came to her that she should lift up her hands to heaven and cry: "St. Mary, help me!" And when she had so done, the devil fled all afraid as he had been smitten with a stone, and after stood and said: The cursed devil enter into his mouth that taught thee that, and anon vanished away and never came again.

Here Followeth Yet of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady

The manner of the assumption of the right holy Virgin Mary, is showed in a sermon made and ordained of divers sayings of saints, the which is read solemnly in many churches, and therein is contained all that I can find in the world, in narrations of holy fathers, of the departing out of this life of the glorious virgin Mary, mother of God, that I have set here to the louing and praising of her.

Jesus' Message to His Mother

St. Cosmo, which had to surname Vestitor, saith he hath learned of his foregoers which did that ought not to be forgotten, and saith that Jesu Christ ordained and disposed the life of his mother to be finished. He sent an angel accustomed, which showed to her tofore the demonstrance of her departing, that the death should not come suddenly and give to her tribulation. And she had prayed

him, her son, face to face, when he was here in earth, that she should not see any wicked spirit. He sent then to her the angel tofore with these words:

> It is time to take my mother with me, and thus as thou hast replenished the earth with joy, so make heaven to enjoy. Thou shalt render the mansions of my father joyous. And thou shalt comfort the spirits of my saints. Be not thou wroth to leave the world corruptible with his covetises, but take the celestial palace. Mother, be not afeard to be taken from thy flesh, thou that art called to the life perdurable, to joy without failing, to the rest of peace, to sure conversation, to refection not recordable, to light not quenchable, to day not evening, to glory not recountable, to myself, thy son, maker of all things, for I am life perdurable, love not corruptible, habitation not recordable, light without darkness, bounty not estimable. Give to the earth without trembling that which is his.
>
> None shall ravish thee out of mine hands, for in my hands be all the ends of the world; deliver to me thy body, for I have put in thee my deity or godhead. The death shall never have joy on thee, for thou hast borne the very light; breaking ne destruction shall not environ thee, for thou hast deserved to be my vessel.
>
> Come thou anon to him which is born of thee for to receive the guerdons of the womb of the mother, and the reward of thy milk for my meat. Come now fast, and haste thee to join thee to me, thine only son.

> I know well thou shalt not be constrained for the love of another son rather than of me that showeth thee virgin and mother. I show thee a wall of steadfast faith, thou art an arch of salvation, a bridge to them that fleet, a staff to the feeble, a ladder to them that go up and mount to heaven, the most debonair advocate for sinners. I shall bring the apostles to thee, of whom thou shalt be buried right of their hands, for it appertaineth to my spiritual children of light, to whom I have given the Holy Ghost to bury thy body, and that they accomplish in thy person the service of thy marvellous departing out of the earth.

And after that the angel had recounted these things, he gave to our Lady a bough of palm, sent from the plant of paradise, in token of the victory against the corruption of death and clothes of immortality, and when he had said, he styed up into heaven from whence he came from.

The Neighbor Women Weep over Her Departure

Then the Blessed Virgin Mary assembled her neighbours and said to them: I let you wit certainly that I am at the end of my temporal life, and shall hastily depart; wherefore it behoveth that ye wake, for to every each that shall pass out of this world, come gladly good angels and wicked spirits.

And when they heard this they began to weep and say: Thou doubtest the sight of the spirits, which hast deserved to be mother of the maker of all things, and barest him that robbed hell, which hast deserved to have the seat above Cherubin and Seraphin, how shall we do then? And whither shall

we flee?

And there were a great multitude of women weeping, and said that she should not leave them orphans. And the Blessed Virgin, our Lady, said in comforting them: Ye that be mothers of sons corruptible, may not well suffer to be a little while thence from your children, how then ought not I to desire to go to my son, which am mother and virgin, and he is only son of God the Father. And if ye or any of ye had but one son, ye would desire to see him and be comforted in the lineage of him, and I then, that am not corrupt, wherefore should not I be desirous to see him which is life of all creatures?

St. John Arrives

And whilst they spake these things, the blessed St. John, the Evangelist, came and inquired how the matter went, and then when our Lady had told to him of her hasty departing, he fell down stretched to the earth, and said, with weeping tears: O Lord, what be we? Wherefore sendest thou to us so many tribulations? Why hast thou not erst taken away the soul from my body, and that I had been better visited of thy blessed mother, than I should come to her departing?

And then the Blessed Virgin led him weeping into her chamber, and showed to him the palm and the vestments which the angel had brought, and after, laid her down in her bed for to be there till her passing.

The Other Apostles Arrive

And anon after came a great noise of thunder, and a whirlwind brought a cloud whiter than snow, in

which the apostles were brought tofore the gate of our Blessed Lady, like as it had rained, so fell they down one after another. And as they marvelled of this thing, John came to them and told to them what the angel had showed to our Lady. And then they all wept and St. John comforted them, and then they dried their eyes and entered in to the Blessed Virgin, and saluted her honourably and adored, and she said to them: My dear children, God, my son, keep you all.

And when they had told to her of their coming, she said to them all their estate, and the apostles said: Right honourable Lady and Virgin, we, in beholding thee, be greatly comforted, like as we should be in our Lord and master, and we have only comfort in ourselves because we hope that thou shalt be mediatrix for us unto God.

And then she saluted Paul by name: God save thee, expositor of my comfort, howbeit that thou hast not seen Jesu Christ in his flesh.

Nevertheless I am comforted, said St. Paul, that I may see thee in the flesh. And unto this day I have preached to the people that thou hast borne Jesu Christ. And now I shall preach that thou art borne up to heaven to him.

And after, the Virgin showed to him that which the angel had brought, and warned them that the lights should not be put out till that she were departed, and there were two hundred and twenty tapers.

The Apostles Sing a Farewell Hymn

And then she clad her with the cloth of mortality and saluted them all, and ordained her body to abide in her bed unto her issue and departing. And Peter stood at the head, and John at the feet, and the other apostles were about the bed, and gave laud to the virgin mother of God. And then Peter began the song and said: Enjoy thou spouse of God in the chambers celestial, thou candlestick of light without darkness, by thee is showed the everlasting light and clearness.

The blessed archbishop of Constantinople {St. Germain} witnesseth that all the apostles were assembled at the passing of the blessed Virgin Mary, the right sweet mother of God, saying thus: Blessed Lady, mother of God, thou that hast received of the nature human the death which may not be eschewed, yet shalt thou not sleep, ne the eye shall not slumber that keepeth thee. Thy departing hence ne thy dormition shall not be without witness. The heavens recount the glory of them that sang over thee in earth, and of them shall the truth be showed. The clouds cry to thee honour, and to him that ministereth to thee. The angels shall preach the service of life done in thee by the apostles which were assembled with thee in Jerusalem.

And St. Denis, Areopagite, witnesseth the same, saying: We, as I know well, and they and many of our brethren, were assembled for to see the body of her that bare God. And James, the brother of God, and Peter, the right noble and sovereign of theologians, were present. And after, it pleased them that, after this vision, all the sovereign priests sang louings after that each of them had conceived in his thought of the bounty of her.

Christ Takes His Mother's Soul to Heaven

And St. Cosmo, in following the narration, saith: And after this a great thunder knocked at the house with so great an odour of sweetness, that with the sweet spirit the house was replenished, in such wise that all they that were there save the apostles, and three virgins which held the lights, slept. Then our Lord came with a great multitude of angels and took the soul of his mother, and the soul of her shone by so great light that none of the apostles might behold it. And our Lord said to St. Peter: Bury the corpse of my mother with great reverence, and keep it there three days diligently, and I shall then come again, and transport her unto heaven without corruption, and shall clothe her of the semblable clearness of myself; that which I have taken of her, and that which she hath taken of me, shall be assembled together and accord.

That same St. Cosmo rehearseth a dreadful and marvellous mystery of dissension natural and of curious inquisition. For all things that be said of the glorious virgin, mother of God, be marvellous above nature and be more to doubt than to enquire. For when the soul was issued out of the body, the body said these words: Sire, I thank thee that I am worthy of thy grace; remember thee of me, for I ne am but a thing faint, and have kept that which thou deliveredst me.

And then the other awoke and saw the body of the virgin without soul, and then began strongly to weep and were heavy and sorrowful. And then the apostles took up the body of the Blessed Virgin and bare it to the monument, and St. Peter began the psalm *In exitu Israel de Egypto* .

The Anger of the Jerusalem Priesthood

And then the companies of angels gave louings and praisings to the virgin in such wise that all Jerusalem was moved for that great joy, so that the sovereign priests sent great multitude of people with glaives and staves, and one of them, in a great fury, came to the bier and would have thrown it down with the body of the blessed mother of God. And because that he enforced him so maliciously to touch and draw down the corpse, he lost his hands by his deserving, for both his hands were cut off by the wrists and hung on the bier, and he was tormented by horrible sorrow, and he required pardon and promised amends.

And St. Peter said to him: "Thou mayst in no wise have pardon if thou kiss not the bier of the Blessed Virgin, and that thou confess also Jesu Christ the Son of God to be formed in her." And then, when he had so done his hands were joined again to his wrists, and was all whole. Then St. Peter took a leaf of the palm and gave it to him and said: Go in to the city and lay it on them that be sick, and they that will believe shall receive health.

The Lord Takes Her to Heaven Bodily on the Third Day

And then when the apostles came to the Vale of Jehosaphat, they found a sepulchre like unto the sepulchre of our Lord, and laid therein the body with great reverence, but they durst not touch it, which was the right holy vessel of God, but the sudary in which she was wrapped, and laid it in the sepulchre. And as the apostles were about the sepulchre after the commandment of our Lord, at

the third day, a cloud much bright environed the sepulchre, and the voice of angels was heard sound sweetly and a marvellous odour was felt sweet smelling. And when our Lord was come and seen descended there all were marvellously abashed, and he bare the body with him of the Blessed Virgin with much great glory. And then the apostles kissed the sepulchre and returned into the house of St. John Evangelist in praising him as keeper and guard of so noble a virgin.

The Apostle Who Doubted

And notwithstanding, one of the apostles failed at this great solemnity, and when he heard so great miracles, he marvelled and required with great desire that her sepulchre might be opened for to know the truth of all these things. And the apostles denied it to him. All said that it ought enough to suffice the witness of so great persons, to the end that lest peradventure the misbelieved men should say that the body were stolen away or drawn by theft. And he then, which was angry, said: Why defend ye to me that which am semblable to you in your common treasures? And at the last they opened the sepulchre and found not the body, but they found only but the vestments, and the sudary.

How St. Helena Learned the Truth of the Assumption

St. Germain, Archbishop of Constantinople, saith that he found written in the History Euthimiata in the third book of the fortieth chapter, and the same witnesseth the great Damascene, that as the noble empress Helen in mind of holy church had made many churches in Constantinople, among all other she edified in the time of Marcian the emperor at

Balthernas a marvellous church in the honour of the Virgin Mary, and called Juvenal archbishop of Jerusalem and all the other bishops of Palestine which dwelled then in the city royal for the cene which had been holden in Chalcedon, and she said to them: We have heard say that the body of the right holy virgin our Lady is in such a place, in such a tomb in the Vale of Jehosaphat; we will then that for the guard of this city, that the body of that Blessed Virgin be transported hither with due honour and reverence.

And Juvenal answered to her, like as he had found in ancient histories, that the body was borne into glory, and was not in the monument, for there was nothing left but the vestments and the sudary only. And those vestments Juvenal sent then into Constantinople, and were there laid honourably. And let no man ween that I have made this of my proper head and engine, but I have set it here which I have by doctrine and study learned of the lesson of them, which by tradition and learning of their foregoers have received it. And hitherto endure the words of the said sermon.

Yet of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady.

Verily John Damascene, which for the time was a Greek, saith many marvellous things of the assumption of the right holy and glorious Virgin Mary. For he saith in his sermons that:

> This day the right holy and sumptuous ark which bare within her her maker was brought and set in the temple which was not made of hands. On this day the right holy culver or dove, innocent and simple, fled from the ark,

that is to say from the body in which God received and found rest. On this day the virgin that conceived, not knowing the passions earthly, but induced by the entendements celestial shall not fail, but shall be called very heaven, soul dwelling in the celestial tabernacles.

And howbeit that the right holy soul be separate from her blessed body, and that her body was laid in sepulchre, nevertheless it is not dead, ne shall not be corrupt by rotting, that is to wit, the body of whom, childing, the virginity remained without any hurting or dissolution, and is transported to better and more holy life without corruption of death for to remain in the tabernacles perdurable. And like as the sun shining clear other while, is hid and appeareth failing a short time, yet she hath nothing lost of her light, but in herself is the fountain of light perdurable. And thou art the fountain of light without wasting, the treasure of life, howbeit that by short interval or space of time thou shalt be brought to corporal death, nevertheless thou givest to us, abundantly, clearness of light without default, and thy holy dormition or sleeping is not called death, but a passing or departing, or more properly a coming, for thou departing from the body camest to heaven, and Jesu Christ, angels and archangels, and all the heavenly company came to meet thee.

The foul and damned spirits doubt much thy noble and excellent coming, and thou, blessed and glorious virgin thou wentest not to heaven as did Elijah, and thou mountedst not as Paul

did unto the third heaven only, but thou camest and touchedst the siege royal of thy son.

The death of other saints may well be said death, for that death maketh them blessed, but he hath no place in thee. For thy death ne thy transmigration or thy perfection, or thy departing, maketh thee not ne giveth thee surety to be blessed, for thou art beginning, middle and end of all weals and goods, which exceed thought human. Thy surety, thy very perfection, and thy conception without seed, and thy divine habitation have made thee blessed; whereof thou saidest thyself that, thou art not made blessed by thy death, but of thy conception in all generations. And death hath not made thee blessed, but thou hast ennoblished the death in taking away the heaviness and sorrow thereof, converting it into joy. For God said: Lest peradventure the first form of man, that is to wit Adam, put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life, and live perdurably, how then shall not she live in heaven perdurably that bare this life which is perdurable and without end?

Sometime God putteth out of Paradise the first parents which slept in the death of sin, buried from the beginning of inobedience and gluttony, and now she that hath borne life to all human lineage, and was obedient to God the Father, and put away from her all ordure of sin, how shall not she be in heaven? Wherefore should not she enjoy the gates of heaven?

Eve stretched her ear to the serpent, of whom she took the venom mortal, and because she

did it for delight, she was subdued to bearing and bringing forth children in sorrow and pain, and was condemned with Adam. But this Blessed Virgin that inclined her ear to the word of God, whom the Holy Ghost replenished, which bare in her womb the mercy of the Father; which conceived without knowledge of man, and childed without pain and sorrow, how durst death swallow her? How might anything have corruption that bare life?

And yet saith the said Damascene in his sermons:

Verily the apostles were departed through the world in all countries and entended to preaching to men, and to draw them out of the deep darkness by one holy word, and brought them to the table celestial and to the solemn espousals of God. And then the divine commandment, which is a net or cloud, brought them from all the parts of the world into Jerusalem, in assembling them between his wings. And then Adam and Eve our first parents cried: Come to us, right holy and wholesome celyer, which fulfillest our desire.

And the company of saints which was there, said again: Remain with us our comfort and leave us not orphelins, thou art the comfort of our travails, refreshing of our sweatings, that if thou live it is to us a glorious thing to live with thee, and if thou die, it is glorious to us to die with thee. How should we be in this life, and shall be destitute of the presence of thy life?

And, as I suppose, such things and semblable said the apostles with great plenty of them of

the church, with great wailings and sighs in complaining them from the departing. And she, returning towards her son, said: Sire, I pray thee to be very comforter to my sons whom it pleased thee to call brethren, which be heavy and sorrowful of my departing. And with that I shall bless them with my hand, give to them thy blessing upon my blessing.

And then she stretched out her hand, and blessed all the college of good Christian men, and then said after: Lord, I commend my spirit into thy hands, receive my soul, thy love, which thou hast kept without blame of sin to thyself. And I commend my body to the earth for to keep it whole, or where it shall please thee to enhabit it, transport me to thee, so where thou art the infantment or fruit of my womb that I be dwelling with thee.

All these words heard the apostles. Then said our Lord: Arise up, my beloved, and come to me. O thou most fair among women, my love, thou art fair, and no spot of filth is in thee.

And when the right Blessed Virgin heard that, she commended her spirit into the hands of her son. Then the apostles were bedewed with tears, and kissed the tabernacle. And by the blessing and holiness of the holy body, whosoever touched the bier devoutly were healed of whatsoever sickness they had. Devils were chased from demoniacs, the air and the heaven were purified by the assumption of the soul, and the earth by the deposition of the body. And the water was sanctified by the washing of the body. For the

body was washed with right holy water and clean. And the holy body was not made clean by the water, but the water was hallowed of her.

And after, the holy body was wounden and wrapped in a clean sudary, and was laid upon the bed, and lamps burnt full bright about her. Ointments gave a great and fragrant odour, the louings and praisings of angels resounded. And the apostles and other that were there sang divine songs. And the ark of our Lord was borne in to Mount of Sion, unto the Vale of Jehosaphat, upon the heads of the apostles. And the angels went tofore some, and some followed the body, and other conveyed her. And she was accompanied of all the plenty of the church.

And some of the Jews who heard it, in their evil malice descended down from the Mount of Sion, and one of them, which was a member of the devil, ran follily unto the holy body, and assailed it for to have cast it to the earth, drawing it with both his hands, and both his hands cleaved to the bier, and were departed from the body, like as two staves had been sawed off, and so he was like a trunk till that faith changed his thought. And he wailing so ruefully repented him, and they that bare the bier tarried, and made that Jew worship and touch the holy body, and then came his hands again into their first estate.

And then was the body borne unto the Vale of Jehosaphat, and there it was embraced and kissed, and songs sung of holy louings and

> praisings, and there were wept many tears, and then the holy body was laid in the tomb honourably, but her soul was not left in hell, nor her flesh felt never corruption. And {it was proper} that she {that} was the well which never was digged, the field not eared, the vine not cut, the olive-bearing fruit, …shall not be holden in the bosom of the earth. For it appertaineth that the mother be enhanced with the son, and that she mount to him, like as he descended in to her, and that she that hath kept her virginity in her childing ought to see no corruption. And she that bare the creator of all the world in her belly ought to dwell in divine tabernacles. And that she whom the Father had taken to espouse, were kept in the chambers celestial. And those things that long to the son, ought to be possessed of the mother.

And all this saith John Damascene.

Yet of the Assumption of our Lady, after St. Austin.

St. Austin showeth authentically in a sermon of the right holy Assumption of our Blessed Lady, saying:

> We that have begun to speak of the body of the virgin perdurable, and of the Assumption of her blessed soul, we say thus: first, that we find nothing of her written sith that our Lord hanging on the cross commended her to his disciple, save that Luke recordeth in his writings, saying that all they were by one courage persevering with the Virgin Mary, mother of our Lord Jesu Christ. What is then to say of her death, and of her Assumption? Whereof the scripture remembereth nothing, it

is then as meseemeth to be enquired, what thing which is according to truth, without which authority is nothing.

We remember the condition human: we doubt not to say that surely she went to temporal death. And if we say that she is resolved into common putrefaction in worms and into ashes or dust; it behoveth us to weigh and think such thing as appertaineth to so great holiness, and to the seignory of such a chamber of God. We know well that it was said to the first father: "Thou art powder, and into powder thou shalt return." But the flesh of Jesu Christ escaped from this condition, for his flesh suffered never corruption. Then is except from this general sentence the nature taken of the virgin.

And God said to the woman Eve: "I shall multiply thy diseases and thou shalt bring forth children with pain and sorrow." But Mary suffered never such diseases, of whom the sword of sorrow pierced the soul. But Mary childed without sorrow. And then if she were quit, and had no part of sorrow in childing, then ought she not to have part of diseases, ne of corruption. But she is except of some other generalities, because that the dignity gave to her such seignory.

And though we say that she suffered death, yet is she not retained with the bonds of death. If our Lord would keep his mother entire and whole, and the chastity of her virginity, wherefore may he not keep without corruption, of stench, of rottenness? It appertaineth then to the debonairty of our Lord, to keep the

honour of his mother which was not come to break the law, but to accomplish it, and in his life had worshipped her tofore all others by the grace of her conceiving. And therefore we ought well to believe that he honoureth her at her death with singular salvation, and of special grace.

And rottenness and worms be but reproach of human condition. And when Jesu Christ is out of that reproach, the nature of Mary is excepted, the which is the nature that he took of her. For the flesh of Jesu Christ is the flesh of Mary, the which he bare above the stars in worshipping man above nature, and in worshipping more his mother. Yet if he be son of the very mother, then it is a convenable thing that she be mother of the same son. Not as to the unity of the person, but to the unity of bodily nature. If grace without property of especial and temporal nature may make unity, how much more then may the grace of corporal and especial nativity make unity of grace?

Like as the disciples in Jesu Christ of whom he saith himself that, they be one, as we be. And after he saith: Father, I will that where I am they be with me. And then if he will have with him them that be joined so with him in the faith, and that they be judges with him, what shall then be judged of his mother? Where is she worthy to be but in the presence of her son? Therefore I understand and believe that the soul of Mary be honoured of her son by a right excellent prerogative, possessing her body glorified in Jesu Christ, whom she conceived.

And why should not she possess her body glorified by which she conceived? For so great a hallowing is more worthy to be in heaven than in earth. The seat of God, the chamber of our Lord, and the worthy tabernacle of Jesu Christ, ought and appertaineth better to be there as he is, than elsewhere, and so right precious treasure is more worthy to be in heaven than in earth. And by right, no resolution of rottenness may not follow so great entireness of thing not corruptible. And because I feel not that the right holy body be not delivered into meat of worms, I doubt to say it.

And because that the gift of grace incomparable surmounteth greatly this estimation that I feel that, the consideration of many scriptures admonish me to say truth. God saith sometime to his ministers: Whereas I am there shall be my minister. If this sentence be general to all them that have ministered Jesu Christ by faith and by work, how is there any more special than Mary? For without doubt she was administress in all work. For she bare him in her belly, she childed him, she nourished him and laid him in the crib, she went with him into Egypt, and kept him all her life unto the death of the cross, and departed not from him, but followed him. His divinity might not be to her incredible, for she knew well that she had not conceived of the seed of man but by divine inspiration. Then she having faith in the puissance of her son, as of the virtue of God not changeable, said, when the wine failed: "Son, they have no wine." She wist

that he might do all things. And he accomplished anon that miracle. And then seest thou that Mary was administress of Jesu Christ by faith and work.

Then if she be not whereas Jesu Christ will that his ministers be, where shall she be then? And if she be there, is it not by grace pareil and like? And if it be not equal, where is the equal measure of God that rendereth to every each after his desert? If by the desert of Mary is given to living men much grace, shall then the grace be lessed to her being dead? Nay, nay, for if the death of all saints be precious, certes, I judge the death of Mary to be right precious, which is received to the joys perdurable by the debonairty of her son Jesu Christ, more honourably than the others, whom he had honoured by grace tofore his other saints. And I say that she ought not to be put, ne is not set to the common humanity after the death, that is to wit of worms, of rottenness, and of powder, she that bare in her belly the Saviour of all men.

If the divine volunty vouchsafed to keep the vestments of the children from hurting among the flames of fire, why should not he then keep in his mother that which he kept in a strange vesture? It pleased him to keep Jonas in the belly of the whale without corruption. Should not he then keep his mother not corrupt? He kept Daniel alive in the pit of lions from their distempered hunger. Ought he not to keep Mary for so many gifts of merits and dignities? And we know well that all these dignities that we have said have not kept nature, for we

doubt not but grace hath kept more the entireness of Mary than nature. And then our Lord maketh Mary to enjoy in her proper son, both in soul and in body, as she that never had tatche ne spot of corruption in bringing forth so great a son. For she is always without corruption that was full of so much grace. She is living entirely, she that childed the life of all. And then, if I have said as I ought to say, Jesu Christ approve it, thou and thine; and if I have not said as I ought to say, I pray thee to pardon me, thou and thine.

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HERE BEGINNETH NEXT THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD

Chapter 72 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

T he Ascension of our Lord Jesu Christ was the fortieth day after his resurrection; for which to declare, seven things be to be considered. First then, he ascended. Secondly, why he ascended not anon after his resurrection. Thirdly, how he ascended. Fourthly, what company ascended with him. Fifthly, by what merit he ascended. Sixthly, where he ascended, and seventhly, wherefore he ascended.

Juan Rodríguez Juárez, *The Ascension of Christ* , 1720. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of the Ascension.)

He Ascended from the Mount of Olives

As to the first he ascended from the mount of Olives by Bethany; the which mountain, by another relation, is said the mountain of three lights. For by night on the side of the west it is lighted of the fire that burneth in the Temple, which never is put out ne quenched. On the morning it is light of the orient, for she hath first the rays of the sun before it shineth in the city, and also it hath great abundance of oil that nourisheth the light, and therefore it is said the hill of three lights.

Unto this hill Jesu Christ commanded his disciples that they should go. For on the day of his Ascension he appeared two times, one time to eleven disciples that ate in the hall where they had supped with him. All the apostles and the disciples and also the women, abode in that part

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of Jerusalem which is called Mello, in the mountain of Sion, where David had made his palace. And there was the great hall arrayed and ordained for to sup, whereas Jesu Christ commanded that they should make ready for to eat the Paschal Lamb, and in this place the eleven apostles abode, and the other disciples, and the women abode in divers mansions there about.

And when they had eaten in this hall, our Lord appeared to them and reproved them of their incredulity. And when he had eaten with them, and had commanded them that they should go to the Mount of Olivet on the side by Bethany, he appeared again to them, and answered to them of the demands that they made to him indiscreetly, and with his hands lifted he blessed them; and anon before them he ascended unto heaven.

Of the place of this ascension saith Sulpicius, Bishop of Jerusalem, and it is in the Gloss. For there was edified a church in the place where were made the signs of his ascension. Never sith might be set there any pavement, it could not be laid ne set but anon it issued out, and the stones of the marble sprang into the visages of them that set it. And that is a sign that they be stones on which Christ passed upon, which lie in the powder and dust, and abide for a token and sign certain.

Wherefore He Ascended Not Anon after His Resurrection

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As to the second point, wherefore he ascended not anon after his resurrection, but abode forty days, that was for three reasons.

To Prove His Resurrection

First, for the certification of his resurrection. And more strong it was to prove his resurrection than his passion, for from the first unto the third the passion might be well proved, but to prove the very resurrection it required more days, and therefore a greater time was required between the resurrection and the ascension than between the passion and resurrection. And hereof saith Leo the Pope, in a sermon of the ascension:

> This day the number of forty days is complete and dispensed by right holy ordinance and to the profit of our enseignment and teaching, to the end that in the space of his presence corporal the faith of teaching was necessary. And we ought to give thankings to the divine dispensation for the tardy creance of holy fathers to us necessary; for they doubted of that which we doubt not.

For the Consolation of the Apostles

Secondly, he abode for the consolation of the apostles. For the consolations divine surmount the tribulations temporal. And the time of the passion was the time of tribulation to the apostles, and therefore there ought to be more days unto the ascension than for the resurrection.

For the Mystery of Comparation

Thirdly, for the mystery of the comparation, for to give to understand that the consolations divine be compared to tribulations as the day unto an hour, and the year unto a day. And that this be true it appeareth by the writing of the prophet Isaiah [61:2]: "I shall preach a year pleasant to our Lord, and a day of vengeance to God. Lo! for one day of tribulation, he rendereth a year of consolation." And that is by comparison as the day to an hour. It appeareth by that, that our Lord was dead and lay in the sepulchre forty hours, which was the time of tribulation. And by forty days after his resurrection he appeared to his disciples, which was the time of consolation. And this saith the Gloss: "Because that he was forty hours dead, after, he was forty days living ere he ascended in to heaven."

How He Ascended

Mightily

As to the third point, how he ascended, it appeareth how that he ascended mightily. For by his puissance and virtue saith Isaiah, he ascended into heaven, *Isaiah xliii.* [Isaiah 63:1]: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save."

And also St. John [3:13] saith: "No man ascendeth into heaven by his own puissance and might, but the Son of Man that is in heaven."

And how be it that he ascended in a cloud, he

had none need, but because that he would show that every creature is ready to serve his creator, he ascended in his proper virtue. And in this is the difference, after that Scholastica Historia saith, of Jesu Christ, of Enoch and Elijah. For Enoch was translated, Elijah was borne (2 Kings 2:11), but Jesu Christ by his own might is ascended into heaven. After St. Gregory, the first, that is to wit Enoch, was engendered of a man, and he was engendering. The second, that is to say Elijah, was engendered and not engendering. The third, that is to wit Jesu Christ, he was born, not engendered of a man ne engendering.

Openly

Secondly, he ascended openly, for seeing his disciples he ascended. Whereof it is said *Johannis xvi., Vado ad eum qui me misit, etc.* [John 16:5]: "I go to my father, and none of you demandeth 'whither goest thou?'" the Gloss saith: "I go so openly that no man demanded of that they saw at the eye." And therefore he would ascend in their presence, because they might bear witness, and that they should enjoy of that they saw nature human ascend to heaven, and that they should desire to follow him.

Joyously

Thirdly, he ascended joyously, for the angels singing and enjoying, "he ascended into heaven in gladness" [Ps. 46:6 (Vulgate 47:5)]. Whereof saith St. Austin: *Adscendente Christo paves, etc.:* "Jesu Christ ascending, the heaven abashed, the stars marvelled, the company of

heaven enjoyed, the trump sounded, and all the sieges of the pleasant place made melody."

Lightly

Fourthly, he ascended lightly. Whereof David saith [Ps. 18:6 (Vulgate 19:5)]: "He styed up as a giant with a great pace."

And much hastily and lightly he ascended when he passed so great a space in a moment. Rabbi Moses, which was a great philosopher, rehearseth that every circle, or every heaven of each planet, hath the thickness and the way of five hundred years. That is to say as one may go in a plain way in five hundred years. And that is the distance between heaven and heaven, and between circle and circle, after that which is said so great. And as there be seven heavens, after his saying, from the centre of the earth unto the concavity of the heaven of Saturn, which is the seventh way of seven thousand years; and unto the concavity of the eighth heaven seven thousand and seven hundred years, that is as much space as one could go in plain way in seven thousand and seven hundred years if a man might live so long, and that every year be of three hundred and sixtyfive days, and the way of every day be of forty miles, and every mile be of two thousand paces or cubits. And this said Rabbi Moses, which was a great philosopher. If it be truth or no God knoweth, for he that all hath made and created in certain number, in certain poise and weight, and in certain measure, he knoweth all.

Then this leap or springing was great that Jesu

Christ made from the earth to heaven. Of this leap, and divers others leaps of Jesu Christ, St. Ambrose saith: "Jesu Christ came into this world to make a leap. He was with God the Father, he came into the Virgin Mary, and from the Virgin Mary into the crib or rack. He descended into flom Jordan, he ascended upon the cross, he descended into his tomb. From the tomb he arose, and after ascended up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.

With Whom He Ascended

As to the fourth point, it is with whom he ascended. He ascended with a great prey of men and great multitude of angels. And that he ascended up with the prey of men, it appeareth by this that David saith [Ps. 67:19 (Vulgate 68:18)]: *Ascendisti in altum, cepisti captivitatem, etc.:* "Lord, thou hast ascended on high and hast taken them that were captives emprisoned, and the servitude thou hast affranchised."

And also that he ascended with a great multitude of angels, it appeareth by the interrogations that the angels made of the deputations to them beneath. When Jesu Christ ascended into heaven as Isaiah recordeth, *Isaiah lxiii.* [Isaiah 63:1]: *Quis est iste qui venit de Edom, etc.:* "Who is he that cometh from Edom with his clothes dyed," whereas saith the Gloss that some of the angels that knew not plainly the mystery of the incarnation, of his passion and of his resurrection, that saw our Lord ascend with all a great multitude of angels and of saints by his own virtue, marvelled, and said to the angels that accompanied him: "Who is this that cometh from

Edom?" And yet they said: "Who is this king of glory, etc."

St. Denis in the book of The Hierarchy Of Holy Angels in the seventh chapter saith, [or] thus seemeth it that he said, that three questions were made to the angels when that Jesus ascended. The first were to themselves, the second were the principals to Jesu Christ that ascended, the third were the less to the greatest. Of which they demanded among them: "who is this that cometh from Edom, his clothes dyed of Bosra?" This word Edom is as much to say as "full of blood," and this word Bosra is to say "anguish and tribulation." Thus as they would have said: "Who is this that cometh from the world full of blood by the sin of the world and of malice against God?"

And our Lord answered: "I am He that speaketh in justice."

And St. Denis saith thus, that he said: "I am he that disputeth justice and righteousness of health in the redemption of human lineage." He [Christ] was justice, inasmuch as he that was creator brought again his creatures from the strange jurisdiction, and he was righteousness, inasmuch as the enemy which had assailed us he put and cast out of the domination that he had in the human lineage.

And after this maketh St. Denis a question: "Sith the principal angels be nigh to God and be without moyen illumined of God, wherefore, demanded they one of the other like as that they would have learned each of other?" But he saith,

that giveth this solution, that in that they demand each of other, as it showeth that they desire to know, and in that first among them they had collation, it showed that they durst not advance them tofore the divine progression. And for this first, they ought to ask each one other, because that peradventure their interrogation were not over-hasty upon the illumination that they had received of God without moyen.

The second question is that which the first and sovereign angel made to Jesu Christ saying: "Why is thy clothing red, and thy vestments as trodden or fulled in a press?" Our Lord hath his clothing and his body red, all covered with blood, because that yet when he ascended he had his wounds in his body, after this that Bede saith:

> He must keep his wounds in his body for five reasons, and he said, thus our Lord keepeth his wounds. And to the day of judgment he shall keep them, to the end that it confirm his resurrection. And for to pray the Father for us, he presenteth them. To the end that the good see the great mercy by which he hath redeemed them, and that the wicked people may know that righteously they be damned, and that eternally he bears with him the signs of his glorious victory perpetual.

And to this question answered our Lord: *Torcular calcavi, etc.* [Isaiah 63:1], "The press I have turned and fouled all alone, and of all men there was not one that would help me." The press is the cross, in the which he was pressed in such wise that the blood sprang out. Thus [An

alternative way to look at it] Jesu Christ called the enemy the presser which that thus had wrapped the human lineage with cords of sin, and quenched him so clean that he had nothing spiritual, but that it was without expressed, and only he showed it in the Virgin Mary. But our champion fought so strongly, and defouled the presser so foul, that he brake the bonds of sin and ascended into heaven. And after this he opened the tavern of heaven and poured out the wine of the Holy Ghost.

The third question is that which the lesser angels made to the greater and more, in saying: "Who is this king of glory?" They answered and said: "The lord of virtues, he is the king of glory." And of this question of the angels, and of the answer of the other saith St. Austin:

> All the air is hallowed in the company divine, and all the tourbe of devils flying in the air fled backward when Jesu Christ ascended, to whom the angels that were in the company of God ran and demanded: "Who is this king of glory?" And they answered, "this is he that was white and coloured as a rose, the which was seen without colour and without beauty; sick in the tree, strong in his despoil; foul reputed in his body, well-armed in the battle; stinging in his death, fair in his resurrection; white, born of the Virgin, red in the cross; pale in reproof and clear in heaven.

By What Merit He Ascended

As to the fifth, it is for what merit he ascended; and we ought to understand that he ascended in treble merit. Whereof saith St. Jerome:

> Jesu Christ ascended in merit of truth, for that which he had promised by prophets he fulfilled in merit of humility and debonairly, for like as he was sacrificed like a lamb for the life of the people; in merit of justice, not only by puissance but "by justice and by right thou hast delivered man, and I have withholden of thy puissance, and thy virtue shall bring thee to heaven" [*Cf.* Ps. 44:5 (Vulgate 45:4)].

This said God the Father to the Son.

Whither He Ascended

As to the sixth, that is whither he ascended, it ought to be known that he ascended above all the heavens, as the apostle saith *ad Ephesios quarto* [Ephesians 4:8-10]: "He that descended from heaven, that is he that ascended above all the heavens because he fulfilled all things." He said above all the heavens because there be many heavens above which he ascended. There is a heaven material, a heaven rational, a heaven intellectual and a heaven substantial.

Heaven Material

There be many heavens material. The heaven of the air, which is called æreum; one other called ethereum; another olimpium; another igneum; another siderum; another crystallinum; and another empyreum.

Heaven Reasonable

The heaven reasonable is the man just, which is said just because of the divine habitation. For like as heaven is the seat of God as the prophet Isaiah saith [66:1]: *Cœlum mihi sedes est.* Our Lord saith that the heaven is his seat, right so is the soul of a righteous man. Like as Solomon saith: "The soul of a righteous man is the seat of sapience" [*Cf.* Wisdom 10:10], by reason of the holy conversation. For the saints by holy conversation and desire dwell in heaven. As saith St. Paul: "Our conversation is in heaven" because of continual operation in virtue. For like as the heavens move continually without resting, in such manner the saints move always by good works.

Heaven Intellectual

The heaven intellectual be the angels, and the angels be called heaven by reason of dignity and of their understanding. Whereof saith St. Denis in The Book Of Divine Names, in the fourth chapter:

> The divine spirits and the angels be above the creatures which be, and live above all things that live and understand, and know above all other wits and reasons, and more than all other things that be in being, they desire well and good of which they been participant, that is God.

Secondly, they be right fair because of their nature and of their glory. Of which beauty saith St. Denis in the book before alleged:

> The angel is the manifestation of deeds and will of God by whom they be showed, and he is the clearness of dark light, he is a mirror pure and right clear without receiving of any filth or spot in him, if it be lawful to say, he is the beauty and the conformity of the bounty of God.

Thirdly, they be right strong because of their virtue and might, of which strength saith John Damascene in his second book, the eighth chapter, where he saith: *Fortes sunt et parati, etc.:* "The angels of God be strong and always ready to fulfil the will of God, and they be found alway anon where God will have them."

The heaven hath three conditions. It is right high, right fair, and right strong. Of the two first saith Solomon, *Ecclesiastici xliii.* [Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 43:1]: "The firmament is the beauty of the height, and the beauty of heaven is in the sight of glory."

Heaven Substantial

The heaven [that] is substantial, that is the equality of the divine excellence of which Jesu Christ came, and after this he ascended. Whereof David saith [Ps. 18:7 (Vulgate 19:6)]: *A summo cœlo egressio ejus, etc.:* "From the high and sovereign heaven the Son of God descended and ascended again unto the sovereign height," the quality of the divine excellence.

And that he ascended above all the heavens material David said it clearly which said [Ps. 8:2

(Vulgate 8:1)], *Elevata est magnificentia tua super cœlos* , "Lord God thy magnificence is lift up and elevate above all the heavens material." He ascended unto the heaven where God the Father sitteth, not like unto Elijah which ascended in a chariot of fire unto a high region, from whence he was translated into a paradise terrestrial. He went no further, but Jesu Christ ascended in the highest heaven that is called *cœlum empyreum,* which is the proper habitation of God, of the angels, and of the saints.

And this habitation properly appertaineth to dwellers, for this heaven, above all other heavens, hath excellence in divinity, in priority, in situation, and circumference. And therefore it is convenient of Jesu Christ, which all the heavens of intelligence and reason surmounteth in divinity, in eternity, in situation of immobility, and in circumference of puissance. Semblably it is the habitation of saints of good congruity. For that heaven is without deformity, unmeasurable, of perfect light, and of capacity without measure; and rightfully it appertaineth unto angels and unto saints, which were all one in operation, immovable in dilection, shining in the faith and in knowledge, of great capacity in receiving the Holy Ghost, it appeareth by this Scripture that saith in the Canticles [Song of Solomon 2:8]: "Lo! this is he that cometh leaping in the mountains and overpassing the hills." And who that ascended above all the heavens of intelligence, that is to say above the angels, appeareth by David, that saith: "He ascended above the cherubin" [Ps. 17:11 (18:10)] which is as much as to say as the plenitude of science, "and flew upon the pens of the wind" [Ps. 103:3 (Vu1gate

104:3)].

And who ascended above unto the heaven substantial, that is, to the equality of God the Father, it appeareth by the gospel of Mark [16:19], *Marci ultimo: Et Dominus quidem, Jesus, etc.* , "Sith that our Lord had spoken to his disciples, he was set in heaven on the right side of God." Whereof saith St. Bernard: "To my Lord Jesus Christ it is said singularly, and given of my Lord God the Father, that he sit on the right side of his glory in glory, in essence consubstantial by generation, semblable of majesty and nothing-unlike, and of eternity semblable."

Four Manners of Height

Now may we say that Jesus in his ascension was right high of four manners of height, that is to wit of place, of remuneration, of reward, of knowledge, and of virtuality or strength.

Of the first said the apostle *ad Ephesios* [Ephesians 4:10]: "He that descended hither down, that is he that ascended above all the heavens."

Of the second, *ad Ephesios secundo* [Philippians 2:8-9]: "He was made obedient unto death," when St. Austin saith: The humility of clearness is the merit, and the clearness of meekness is the meed or reward." Meekness is the merit of clearness, and clearness is the reward of meekness.

Of the third saith David [Ps. 17:11 (18:10)]: *Adscendit super cherubim,* "He ascended above

cherubim," that is above the plenitude of science and of knowledge.

Of the fourth it appeareth, for as it is written [Ephesians 3:19]: "He ascended above Seraphim," which is interpreted "the strength of God."

Nine Fruits of His Ascension

And we ought to know that of his ascension we have nine fruits profitable.

The first is the habitation of the love of God, whereof is said in the gospel, *Johannis xvi.: Nisi enim abiero, etc.* [John 16:7]: "But if I shall go the Holy Ghost shall not come to you." Where saith St. Austin: "If ye seek me by fleshly love ye may not comprehend the Holy Ghost which is spiritual love."

The second is the more greater knowledge of God, whereof saith St. John in the gospel [14:28]: "If ye love me well ye shall have great joy, for I go to my Father, for he is greater than I am." Where saith St. Austin: "I shall withdraw this form of humanity in which my Father is more greater than I, as to that ye may see God."

The third point is the merit of the faith, of whom saith St. Leo the Pope in a sermon of the Ascension:

> Then began the faith more certain to approach, which teacheth us the Son to be equal to the Father and semblable, and as to the body substantial of Jesu Christ, of

> which he is less than the Father, and whereof he had no need. And this vigour is of great courage, and firm without doubt, for to believe that which is not seen at eye, and to affix the desires that may not be beholden.

And St. Austin saith: "He ascended as a giant to run in his way, and tarried not, but he ran crying by voice, by words, by deeds, by death, by life, by descending and by ascending; in crying that we should return to him by good heart that we may find him."

The fourth is our surety, therefor ascended Jesu Christ into heaven for to be our advocate to God the Father. And we ought to hold us well assured when we have such advocate to God the Father, and this witnesseth us St. John, that saith in his canon [I John 2:1]: "We have advocate to the Father, Jesus Christ which is merciful to us for our sins." And of this surety saith St. Bernard: "O man, saith he, we have a sure going or a coming to God the Father, where the Mother is before the Son, to whom she showeth her breast and her paps, and the Son showeth to the Father his side and his wounds. Then we may not be put away where we have so many signs of love and of charity."

The fifth is our dignity. A great dignity have we gotten when our nature is lift up unto the right side of the Father, whereof the angels of heaven, considering that, defended for to be worshipped of man, *Apocalypsis xix* [Revelation 19:10]: St. John would have worshipped the angel that spake to him, and the angel defended him in

saying: "Beware thee that thou do not so, for I am thy brother and thy servant." Whereas the Gloss saith, that in the old law he defended not to be worshipped of man, but after the Ascension, when he saw man lift up above him.

And of this St. Leo saith in a sermon of the Ascension:

> This day the nature of our humanity hath been borne above the height of all puissances unto where as God the Father sitteth, as that it should seem more marvellous when it is seen that it is much far from men, so much more show they the reverence and the honour that they have. And hereof the faith mistrusteth not, ne hope slacketh not, ne charity aminisheth not.

The sixth is the stedfastness and firmness of our faith, whereof saith St. Paul *ad Hebræos sexto* [Hebrew 6:18-19]: "To Jesu Christ we run for refuge, for to keep the hope that hath been delivered to us as an anchor which is firm to the soul and sure, which leadeth to within heaven, where Jesu Christ before us entered." And St. Leo saith thus: "The ascension of Jesu Christ is our mounting and lifting up, and where the joy of our head is, there abideth the hope of our body."

The seventh is the showing of the way of heaven, whereof saith Micah the prophet [2:13]: "He ascended to show us the way." And St. Austin saith: "Thy Saviour hath made the way to thee, arise thou and go thither, for thou hast that thou intendest, be not now slothful."

The eighth is the opening of the gate of heaven; for like as Adam opened the gate of hell, in likewise Jesu Christ opened the gate of heaven, as the Church singeth; "Lord God Jesu Christ, thou art he that hast overcome the prick of death," that is the devil, "and hast opened the realm of heaven to them that believe in thee."

The ninth is the preparation of the new place. Whereof Jesus saith in the Gospel of John [14:2]: "I go for to make ready your place in heaven." And St. Austin saith: "Lord, array that thou hast made ready. Thou arrayest us Lord to thee, and thou arrayest thee to us, when thou makest ready the place, to the end that to thee in us, and in thee to us, may be the preparation of the place and the mansion of the everlasting health." Amen.

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THE LIFE OF ST. AUSTIN, OR AUGUSTINE, DOCTOR

Chapter 28 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483 [1]

S t. Austin the noble doctor was born in Africa in the city of Carthage, and was come of noble kindred. And his father was named Patrick and his mother Monica. He was sufficiently instructed in the arts liberal, so that he was reputed for a sufficient philosopher and a right noble doctor, for he learned all by himself, without master, in reading the books of Aristotle and all other that he might find of arts liberal. And he understood them, as he himself witnesseth in the book of Confessions, saying:

> All the books that be called of the arts liberal, then, I, most wretched servant of all covetises, read them all by myself alone, and understood all them that I might read, and all them of the craft of speaking and of devising, all them of divisions of figures, of music and of numbers. I read and understood them without great difficulty, and without teaching of any man, this knowest thou, my Lord God. For the hastiness of mine understanding and the gift of learning is of thee only, and cometh of thy name, but I have not sacrificed to thee therefore, and therefore science without charity edifieth not, but swelleth in the error of Manicheans, which affirm that Jesu Christ was fantastic, and reny the resurrection of the flesh.

And in the same error Austin fell, and abode therein nine years, whiles he was an adolescent, and was brought to believe the truffes and japes that say that the fig tree weepeth when his figs or leaves be taken away.

His Conversion

And when he was nineteen years of age, he began to read in the book of philosophy, in which he was taught to despise the vanities of the world. And because that book pleased him well, he began to be sorry that the name of Jesu Christ, which he had learned of his

mother, was not therein. And his mother wept oft, and enforced her much to bring him to the verity of the faith.

And as it is read in the book of Confessions, she was in a place much heavy, and her thought that a fair young man was tofore her, that enquired of her the cause of her heaviness, and she said: I weep here the loss of my son Austin, and he answered: Be thou sure, for where thou art he is.

And she saw her son beside her, and when she had told this to Austin, he said to his mother: Thou art deceived mother, it was not said so but: Where that I am thou art.

And she said contrary: Son, it was not said so to me, but where I am thou art.

And then the mother ententively prayed and required a bishop instantly that he would pray for her son Augustin. And he, being overcome, said to her by the voice of a prophet: Go thy way surely, for a son of so many tears may not by possibility perish.

And when he had certain years taught rhetoric in Carthage he came to Rome secretly, without the knowledge of his mother, and assembled there many disciples. And his mother had followed him unto the gate to make him abide, or else that she should go with him, and he abode that night, but he departed secretly on the morn. And when she apperceived it, she replenished the ears of our Lord with clamour, and went in the morning and at even to the church, and prayed God for her son.

Encounter with St. Ambrose in Milan

In that time, they of Milan required a doctor of rhetoric of Symmachus the prefect of Rome, that he might read rhetoric at Milan. And that time Ambrose, servant of God, was bishop of that city, and Augustin was sent at the prayer of them of Milan. And his mother might not rest, but did much pain to come to him, and found

him that he neither was very Manichean, ne very catholic. And then it happed that Augustin began to haunt with St. Ambrose, and oft heard his predications, and was much ententive to hear if anything were said against the Manicheans or other heresies.

On a time it happed that St. Ambrose disputed long against the error Manichean, and condemned it by open and evident reasons and by authorities, so that this error was all put out of the heart of Augustin. And what befell to him afterward he rehearseth in the book of his Confessions, and saith:

> When I knew thee first thou beatedst away the infirmity of my sight, shining in me forcibly. And I trembled for dread of good love, and I found myself right far from thee in a region of unlikelihood, like as I heard thy voice from heaven on high, saying: I am meat of greatness increased and thou shalt eat me, thou shalt not change me in thee as meat of thy flesh, but thou shalt be changed in me.

And as he rehearseth there, the life of Jesu Christ pleased him much well, but he doubted yet to go in such distresses.

St. Simplician

But our Lord anon put in his mind that he should go to Simplician, in whom all divine grace shone, for to refrain his desires, and for to say to him what manner was convenable to live, for to go in the way of God in which that other went. For all that was done displeased him save the sweetness of God and the beauty of the house of God, which he loved.

And Simplician began to exhort him, and St. Augustin exhorted himself and said: How many children and maidens serve in the church of God to our Lord: and mayst not thou do that they do in themselves and not in their God? Wherefore tarryest thou? Cast thyself on him and he shall receive thee and reward thee.

And among these words Victorin came to his mind. Then Simplician

was much glad, and told to him how Victorin was yet a paynim, and deserved to have a great image to his likeness in the market of Rome, and how he ofttimes said that he was a Christian man. To whom Simplician said: I shall not believe it but if I see thee in the church. And he answered merrily: The walls make not a man Christian.

At the last, when he came into the church, he brought to him secretly a book wherein the credo of the mass was, and bade him read. And he ascended upon high, and with voice on high propounced it, whereof Rome marvelled, and the church was joyful, and all cried suddenly: Victorin! Victorin! And anon they held their peace for joy.

Take and Read

And after that there came from Africa a friend of Augustin which was named Poncian, and recounted to him the life and miracles of the great Anthony, that had died lately under Constantine the emperor. And by the ensamples Austin enforced him strongly, so that he assailed his fellow Alipius as well with cheer as mind, and cried strongly: What suffer we? what hear we? Untaught people and foolish, ravish and take heaven, and we with our conning and doctrines plunge and sink into hell, and because they go tofore we be ashamed to follow them.

And then he ran into a garden, and, as he saith himself, he cast himself down under a fig-tree and wept right bitterly, and gave out weeping voice because he had tarried so long from day to day, and from time to time. And was greatly tormented, so that he had no manner in himself for sorrow of his long tarrying, like as he writeth in the book of his Confessions and said:

> Alas! Lord, how thou art high in high things and deep in deepness, and departest not ne goest out of the way, and unnethe we come to thee. Ah! Lord, he said, call me, move me, change me, and enlumine me, ravish me and make sweet and

> soft all mine hindrances and lettings, as it appertaineth, for I dread them sore, I have loved thee over late, thou beauty so old and so new, I over late have loved thee. Thou wert within and I was without, and there I sought thee and in the beauty and fairness that thou hast made I fell all deformed and foul. Thou wert with me, but I was not with thee. Thou hast called and cried and hast broken my deafness. Thou hast enlumined, cleared, and hast put away my blindness. Thou hast replenished me with fragrant odours and I haste me to come to thee. I have tasted thee, and am hungry and desire thee. Thou hast touched me, and I am burnt in the voice of louing thy peace.

And as he wept thus bitterly, he heard a voice saying: Take and read, and anon he opened the book of the apostle [St. Paul], and cast his eyes on the first chapter and read: Clothe ye you in our Lord Jesu Christ. And anon all the doubts of darkness were extinct in him.

And in the meantime he began to be so greatly tormented with toothache, that almost, he saith, he was brought to believe the opinion of Cornelius the philosopher, which putteth that the sovereign weal of the soul is in wisdom, and the sovereign weal of the body is in suffering no pain ne sorrow. And his pain was so great and vehement that he had lost his speech, wherefore as he writeth in the book of his Confessions, he wrote in tables of wax that all men should pray for him that our Lord should assuage his pain, and he himself kneeled down with the other, and suddenly he felt himself whole.

And then he signified by letters to the holy man, St. Ambrose, that he would send to him word, which of the books of holy writ appertaineth best to read in, for to be made most convenable to the Christian faith. And he sent to him answer: Isaiah the prophet, because that he was seen to be the shower and pronouncer of the gospel and of calling of men. And when Augustin understood not all the beginning, and supposed all the remnant to be otherwise than it

was to read, he deferred to read them till he were more conning in holy writ.

Baptism

And when the day of Easter came and Austin was thirty years old, he and his son which was named Adeodatus, a child of noble wit and understanding, whom he had gotten in his youth when he was a paynim and a philosopher, with Alipius his friend, by the merits of his mother, and by the preaching of St. Ambrose received baptism of St. Ambrose.

And then, as it is read, St. Ambrose said: *Te deum laudamus* , and St. Austin answered: *Te dominum confitemur,* and so they two together ordained and made this hymn and sung it unto the end. And so witnesseth it Honorius in his book which is named, The Mirror of the Church. And in some other old books, the title of this hymn or psalm is entitled: The canticle of Ambrose and of Augustin. And anon he was marvellously confirmed in the faith catholic, and forsook all the hope that he had in the world, and renounced the schools that he ruled. And he showeth in his book of Confessions how he was from thenceforth achauffed in the love of God, saying:

> Lord, thou hast throughpierced my heart with thy charity, and I have borne thy words fixed in mine entrails, and the ensamples of thy manners which thou hast made of black, white and shining, and of dead, living, and of corrupt thoughts thou makest fair and high understanding in heavenly things. I mounted up into the hill of weeping, and thou gavest to me, singing the canticle of grees, sharp arrows and coals wasting, ne I was not in the days fulfilled in thy marvellous sweetness, for to consider the height of the divine counsel upon the health of the lineage human.
>
> How much have I wept in thy hymns and canticles sweetly sounding, and by the voice of thy church I have been moved eagerly. The voices have run in mine ears, and thy truth hath

> dropped in mine heart, and then tears have run down and I was well eased with them. Then these hymns were established to be sung in the church of Milan.
>
> And I cried with an high cry of mine heart: *O in pace, O in id ipsum* , [O in peace, O in itself] O thou that sayst I shall sleep in that same and take rest, thou art the same, for thou art not changed, and in thee is rest, forgetting all labours. I read all that psalm, and I burned, which sometime had been a barker bitter and blind, against the letters honied with the sweetness of heaven and enlumined with thy light. And upon such scriptures I held my peace and spake not.
>
> O Jesu Christ my helper, how sweet is it suddenly made to me to lack the sweetnesses of truffes and japes, which were far from me to leave and forsake, and now to leave and forsake them is to me great joy. Thou hast cast them out from me, and thou which art sovereign sweetness hast entered into me for them, which art sweeter than any sweetness or delices, more clear than any light, and more secret than any secret counsels, and more high than all honour, and there is none more high than thou.

And after this he took Nebridius and Evodius, and his mother, and returned again into Africa.

Augustine's Service at Hippo

But when they came to Tiberina, his sweet mother died, and after her death Austin returned unto his proper heritage, and there entended with them that bode with him in fastings and in prayers. He wrote books, and taught them that were not wise, and the fame and renown of him spread over all. And in all his books and works he was holden marvellous. He refused to come to any city whereas was no bishop lest he should be let by that office.

And in that time was in Hippo a man full of great virtues, which sent

to Augustin, that if he would come to him that he might hear the good of his mouth, he would renounce the world. And when St. Augustin knew it he went hastily thither. And when Valerian, bishop of Hippo, heard his renomee and fame, he ordained him a priest in his church, howbeit that he refused it much and wept.

And some reputed his tears to be made by pride, and said to him, in comforting him, that it was time that he were a priest, though he were worthy to a greater office, nevertheless he approached to the bishopric. And anon he established a monastery of clerks, and began to live under the rule of the apostles, out of which monastery were ten chosen to be bishops.

And because the said bishop was a Greek and but little lettered in Latin tongue and taught, he gave power to Augustin for to preach against the manner of the church oriental. And therefore many bishops despised him, but he raught not if he did it to be done by the said Augustin, that which he could not do himself.

In that time he con-vanquished Fortunatus the priest, a Manichean, which was a heretic, and many other heretics, which namely were rebaptized Donatists and Manicheans; all these he confounded and overcame.

He is Made Bishop

Then the blessed Valerian doubted lest Augustin should be taken away from him, for to be made and required to be a bishop in another city. And he would have gladly offered to him his bishopric, but he supposed that he would have fled into some secret place, thereas he should not have been found. And then he impetred of the archbishop of Carthage that he might cease and leave his bishopric, and that he would promise Augustin to be bishop of the church of Hippo.

But when Augustin heard that, he refused it utterly in all manners. Nevertheless he was constrained and so co-acted that he took at

the last the cure of the bishopric, which thing, he said, that he ought not to be ordained, the bishop living, and said, and wrote, for the inhibition of the general council, the which he learned after, that it was ordained in the council of the bishops, that all the statutes of the fathers ought to be said to ordain of them that ordained them. And it is read that he said after of himself: I ne feel our Lord so angry with me in no thing as that I am not worthy to be set in the dignity of the governance of the church.

His Manner of Living

His clothing, and hosing, and shoeing, and all his other adornments and array, were not over foul ne over fair, but they were of sufficient, moderate, and competent habit. And he said of himself: I am ashamed of precious clothing, and therefore, when any is given to me I sell it, for clothing may not be common, the price is common. He used always his table sparing; he used always pottage and wortes for sick folk, and oftimes he had flesh for guests and sick people, and he loved better at his table lessons and disputations than meat, and had these verses written at his table:

> *Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam, Hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.*

That is to say: Whosoever loves to missay any creature that is absent, it may be said that this table is denied to him at all. For, on a time as a man had loosed his tongue to missay of a bishop familiar with him, he rebuked him cruelly, and said that, he should leave off or raze away these verses, or go from the table.

A Lesson in Temperance

On a time when he had bidden to dinner some of his friends, one of them entered into the kitchen, and found yet all the meat cold that they should have at dinner; and anon he returned to Austin and said: What have ye for our dinner?

And Austin answered to him: I noot ne can no skill of such meats.

And then he said: I shall not then dine with you.

And then Augustin said that three things he had learned of St. Ambrose: the first is that, he should never demand wife for another man, the second that, he should never not lend his horse to him that would ride, and the third, that he should go to no feast. The cause of the first, lest they accord not and be not of one will, and curse him that brought them together. The cause of the second, lest the rider take harm in his riding and blame him that lent him the horse. The cause of the third, lest at the feast he lose the manner of temperance.

His Self-Accusations

He was of so great purity and humility, that the right little sins which we repute for none he confessed them to God, as it appeareth in the book of his Confessions, and accused himself meekly to our Lord.

For he accused himself there, that when he was a child, how he played at the ball when he should go to school.

Also of that he would not learn of his father and mother and of his masters, but by constraint.

Also, when he was a child, of that he read gladly the fables of Æneas and complained Dido which died for love.

Also of that he had stolen meat from the table out of the celyer celyer of his father and mother that he had given to children that played with him, and of that, that the plays and games he had victory by fraud.

Also he confessed him of stealing of pears off a pear tree standing nigh his vineyard when he was sixteen years old.

In the same book he accused him of that little delectation which sometime he felt in eating, and said:

> Thou hast taught me that I should take nourishing of meat like a medicine, but when I go to rest with full belly, then I go in the way in which the snare of concupiscence assaileth me. And how well that the cause of eating and drinking be cause of health, she adjoineth with her a perilous chamberer, that is joyousty, which enforceth her oft to perish, so that by the cause it is oft cause of that I would do for health. Drunkenness is far from me; I beseech thee, Lord, have mercy on me, that it approach not me. And, Lord, who is he, but sometime he is ravished out of his meats? Who that it be that is not, certainly is much perfect, it am not I, for I am a sinful man.

Also he held himself suspect of smelling, saying: Of unlawful smelling I intermit me not overmuch, but when they be present, I require them not, and if I have them I refuse them not, nor I covet them not as me seemeth, when I lack them I shall not be deceived. No man, saith he, ought to be sure in this life, for it is called all temptation, that is to wit, that he may be made of the worse the better, and not of the better the worse.

And he confessed him also of hearing, saying: The delights and voluptuosities of mine ears have bowed and subdued me, but thou hast unbound and delivered me, for when it happed me that the song more moved me than the thing sung, I confess me sore to have sinned, and then I would that I had not heard him that so sang.

And then he accused him of seeing; of that he saw sometime gladly the hound running, and when he went sometime by adventure by the fields, he beheld gladly hunting, and when he was at home he beheld oftimes the spincoppes or spiders taking flies by the nets of their cobwebs. Hereof he confessed him to our Lord, for sometime they took from him good thoughts, and letted him of some good works.

And he accused him of the appetite of praising and of the moving of vain glory, saying that he would be praised of men:

And thou blamest him, he shall not be defended of men when thou judgest him, nor be withdrawn when thou shalt damn him. For man is praised for some gift that thou hast given to him; nevertheless he enjoyeth more of that he is praised, than he doth of the gift that thou hast given. We be tempted every day with these temptations without ceasing, for quotidian furnace is our tongue human. Nevertheless I would well that the name of every good deed should increase by the help of a strange mouth. But the tongue increaseth it not, but blame minisheth it. I am sorry sometime of my praisings, when they be praised in me in which they displease me, for so some manners be esteemed better than they be.

The Attacks of Heretics

This holy man confounded right valiantly the heretics, insomuch that they preached openly that it were no sin to slay Augustin, and said that he ought to be slain like a wolf, and they affirmed that God pardoned all the sins to them that slew him, and he was oftimes awaited of them, and when he went in to any places, they set spies, but, by the grace of God, they were deceived of their voyage and might not find him.

His Charity

He remembered always the poor people, and succoured them freely of that he might have, and sometimes he commanded to break the vessels of the church for to give to the poor people, and dispend it among the needy. He would never buy house, nor field, nor town, and refused many heritages that were fallen to him, wherefore, he said, that they appertained to the children of the dead people, and to them that were next of their kin, and it sufficed him enough that which fell to him by the church. And yet he was not ententive for the love of such goods, but day and night he thought in divine scriptures.

His Thoughts on Building New Churches

He had never study in new fabrics nor buildings, but eschewed to set thereon his courage, which ever he would have free from all bodily griefs, so that he might more freely entende, and more continually, to the lesson. Nevertheless he would not forbid them that would edify, if that he saw them not do it disattemperately.

His Thoughts on Death

He praised them strongly that had desire to die, and remembered much oft thereupon the ensamples of three bishops. For when Ambrose was at his end, he was prayed that he should get longer space of his life by his prayers. He answered: I have not lived so that I am ashamed to live among you, and I am not afraid to die, for I have a good Lord.

Which answer Augustin praised marvellously, and also he said of another bishop, that it was said to him that he was yet much necessary to the church, and that he should pray to God for the deliverance of his sickness. And he said: If I did never well but seldom, wherefore should he deliver me now?

And of another bishop, that he said that Cyprian told when he was in grievous sickness and prayed that God would send him health, a youngling appeared to him, and looked sternly on him, and said to him by disdain: Thou doubtest to suffer, thou willest not to die, what shall I do to thee?

His Shunning of Women

He would never have that any woman should dwell with him, neither his own sisters, nor the daughters of his brother, which served God together. For he said, though of his sister nor of his nieces might none evil suspicion grow; nevertheless because that such persons might not be without other that served them, and also other might come to them, and of such might the thoughts be moved to temptations, or might be defamed by evil suspicion of men. He

would never speak alone with any women but if some one were present in secret.

His Treatment of Kin and Friends

He gave never no goods to his kin, nor to his cousins, nor he recked whether they abounded or were needy.

He would never, or seldom, pray for any, neither by letters nor by words, remembering a certain philosopher to whom his friends had not given much to in the time of his fame; and oft he said: Oft the puissant that is required giveth verily.

When he spake for his friend he attempered so the manner of his duty, that he was not overhasting himself, but the courtesy of the sayer deserved to be heard. He would gladlier hear causes of unknown men than of his friends, for between them he might freely know the default, and of them to make one his friend for whom by right he might give sentence, and of his friends he was sure to lose one, that was, him against whom he gave the sentence.

His Preaching

He was desired to preach the word of God in many churches, and there he preached and converted many from errors. When he preached he had a custom sometime to depart him from his purpose, and then he said that God had ordained that for the profit of some person; as it appeared to a Manichean, which in a sermon of Augustin whereas he departed from his matter and preached against the same error, and thereby he was converted to the faith.

The City of God

In that time that the Goths had taken Rome, and that the idolaters and false Christian men enjoyed them thereof, then made St. Augustin therefore the book of the City of God, in which he showed first that righteous men were destroyed in this life, and the evil men flourished. And the treatise of the two cities is Jerusalem and

Babylon and of the kings of them. For the king of Jerusalem is Jesu Christ, and he of Babylon is the devil, the which two cities make two loves in them. For the city of the devil maketh a love to himself, growing the same unto despite of God. And the city of God made a love growing unto the despite of him.

The Vandal Conquest

In that time the Vandals about the year of our Lord four hundred and forty took all the province of Africa, and wasted all, and spared neither man nor woman nor for order nor for age, and after came to the city of Hippo and assieged it with great power. And under that tribulation, Augustin before all other led a bitter and right holy life, for the tears of his eyes were to him bread day and night, when he saw some slain, others chased away, the churches without priests, and the city wasted with the inhabitants.

And among these many evils, by the sentence of a certain wise man he comforted himself, saying: Thou shalt not be great in weening great things because that the woods and stones fall, and they that be mortal die.

He called them his brethren, and said: I have prayed our Lord that either he take away from us these perils or send to us patience, or take me out of this life that I be no more constrained to have so many cursednesses or ill-haps.

And the third thing that he required he had. For in the third month of the siege he travailed in the fevers, and lay down on his bed. And when he understood his departing he had someone write the seven psalms of penance in a place against the wall, and read them lying in his bed and wept abundantly. And because he should entend to God the more diligently, and that his entent should not be letted by nobody, ten days tofore his death he suffered nobody to enter in to him but if it were his physician, or else when his refection was brought him.

Healing the Sick

A certain sick man came because he should lay his hand on him and thereby to heal him of his infirmity: and St. Augustin answered to him: Son, that which thou requirest of me weenest thou that I may do such thing that I ne never did? If I might do it, I would then heal myself.

And the man required of him always, affirming that he was so commanded in a vision to come to him. And then he prayed for him, and he received health.

He healed many sick people and did many other miracles. He counted in the book of the City of God another miracle of twain fools, of which that one said: I have seen a virgin of Hippo which anointeth her with oil, and anon the devil ravished and vexed her, and a priest prayed for her weeping, and she was anon made all whole and the fiend issued from her.

And of that other miracle he saith in the same book: I know well that a bishop on a time prayed for a child that he had never seen, and he was anon delivered of the devil. And it is no doubt but that he said it of himself but he would not name himself because of humility.

He saith in the same book that a man should have been cut of the stone and men doubted that he should die, and then the sick man prayed God weeping, and Austin prayed for him, and he was healed without cutting or incision.

His Departure from this World

Then, when his departing approached, he enseigned his brethren that they should retain in mind that no man, of what excellence that he were, ought not to die without confession, ne without to receive his Saviour.

And when he came to the last hour he felt him whole in all his

members, of good entendment, clear seeing and hearing, and in the year of his age three score and six, and of his bishopric forty, he put himself in prayers with his brethren, which praying he departed out of this life and went unto our Lord. And he made no testament, for he was poor in Jesu Christ and had not whereof. And he flourished about the year of our Lord four hundred.

And thus St. Augustin right clear by light of wisdom, fighting in defence of truth, of faith and of garrison of the church, surmounted all the other doctors of the church, as well by engine as by conning, flourishing without comparison as well by example of virtues as by abundance of doctrine.

The Testimony of Doctors of the Church

Of whom the blessed Remigius in recording of Jerome and other doctors saith thus: St. Augustin concluded all the others by engine and by science. For howbeit that the blessed Jerome saith that he had seen six thousand volumes of Origen, this same wrote so many that no man by day nor night might not write his books ne yet read them.

Volusian, to whom St. Augustin wrote, saith of him, thus: It lacketh in the law of God all that Augustin knew not.

St. Jerome saith thus in an epistle that he wrote to the glorious St. Augustin: I have no conning to answer to thy two great books, shining by all clearness of fair speaking, and certainly this that I have said and have learned by engine and conning, and drawn out of the fountain of scripture, is by thee declared and set forth, but I pray thy reverence thou suffer me a little to praise thy engine.

The blessed Isidore wrote thus of him in the Book of Twelve Doctors: The glorious St. Augustin, bishop, flying by the high mountains as an eagle, hath pronounced by clear words many of the spaces of heaven, the bounds of the lands, and the circle of the waters.

And after it appeareth what reverence and love St. Jerome had to him in the epistles that he sent to the holy father St. Augustin: I, Jerome, honour alway thy blessedness by such honour as it appertaineth to love our Lord Jesu Christ dwelling in thee. But and if it may be, let us now gather of thy praisings something.

The blessed St. Gregory saith thus of his books in an epistle that he sent unto Innocent, provost of Africa: Because it hath liked to thee to send to us for the exposition of holy Job, we rejoice us in thy study. But if thou wilt be made fat in science, read the sweet epistles of thy patron and head St. Augustin our fellow, but think not that our wheat may be compared to his rye.

And the blessed Prosper saith of him: St. Augustin was quick in engine, sweet in speech, wise in letters, and a noble worker in the labours of the church; clear in daily disputations, in all his doings well ordered, sharp in assoiling questions, right appert in confounding heretics, and right catholic in expounding of our faith, and subtle in expounding the canon of scripture.

The Translations of Augustine's Body

And after that the strange people had occupied that country long, and had corrupted the holy places, the good Christian men took the body of St. Augustin and brought it into Sardinia. And after that, two hundred and eighty years, one Liprand, a devout king of the Lombards, sent solemn messengers thither for to bring the relics of St. Augustin to Pavia, which gave great good for it, and brought the body unto Genoa. And when the devout king heard thereof he had great joy, and went for to meet with it at the said city, and received it honourably. And on the morn when they would have led the body away, they might not remove it in no manner till that the king had avowed that, if he would let him be borne thence, he would make there a church in the honour of him; and when he had done so, anon without any difficulty it was led and taken from thence.

And on that day following there fell a miracle in a town named Cassel, in the bishopric of Tyrdone, in the same wise; and there he builded another church in the honour of him. And the same town with all the appurtenances he gave to them that served in the same church, to possess for evermore. And because the king would please the saint, and doubted that he would be in some other place than the king would have, wherever the king harboured by night with the body, he made there a church in the honour of him, and thus was brought to Pavia with great joy; and was laid honourably in the church of St. Peter which is called Cieldore, or heaven of gold in English.

Miracles of St. Augustine

St. Bernard's Vision of St. Augustine

St. Bernard, on a night as he was at matins, he slumbered a little, and the lessons of St. Augustin were read. And then he saw a right fair young man standing before him, and so great abundance of water coming out of his mouth that him seemed all the church was full thereof. And then he awoke, and wist well that it was St. Augustin, which had fulfilled that church with his doctine.

The Man with the Finger

There was a man, which had great devotion to St. Augustin, gave great good to a monk that kept the body of St. Augustin for to have a finger of the glorious saint. And this monk took this money and delivered to him the finger of another dead man, wrapped in silk, and feigned that it was the finger of the glorious St. Austin.

And the good man received it much honourably and in great reverence, and honoured it every day devoutly and touched withal his eyes and his mouth, and oft embraced it against his breast. And God by his mercy, that beholdeth all things, and the faith of this man, gave to him for that finger the very proper finger of St. Augustin, and when he came into his country, there were many miracles showed thereby.

The renown and fame thereof came to Pavia of this finger, and the monk aforesaid affirmed always that it was the finger of another dead man. The sepulchre was opened for to know the truth, and it was found that there lacked one of the fingers of the glorious saint. And when the abbot had knowledge of this thing, he put out the monk of that office, and tormented and punished him sore.

The Boy By the Sea 2

Many other miracles hath God showed by his life, and also after his death, which were overlong to write in this book, for they would, I suppose, contain a book as much as all this and more, but among other corrections, I will set herein one miracle, which I have seen painted on an altar of St. Austin at the black frirs at Antwerp, howbeit I find it not in the legend, mine exemplar, neither in English, French, ne in Latin.

It was so that this glorious doctor made and compiled many volumes, as afore is said, among whom he made a book of the Trinity, in which he studied and mused sore in his mind, so far forth that on a time as he went by tbe sea-side in Africa, studying on the Trinity, he found by the sea-side a little child which had made a little pit in the sand, and in his hand a little spoon. And with the spoon he took out water of the large sea and poured it into the pit.

And when St. Augustin beheld him he marvelled, and demanded him what he did. And he answered and said: I will lade out and bring all this water of the sea into this pit.

What? said he, it is impossible, how may it be done, sith the sea is so great and large, and thy pit and spoon so little?

Yes, forsooth, said he, I shall lightlier and sooner draw all the water of the sea and bring it into this pit than thou shalt bring the mystery of the Trinity and his divinity into thy little understanding as to the regard thereof; for the mystery of the Trinity is greater and larger to

the comparison of thy wit and brain than is this great sea unto this little pit.

And therewith the child vanished away. Then here may every man take ensample that no man, and especially simple lettered men, ne unlearned, presume to intermit ne to muse on high things of the godhead, farther than we be informed by our faith, for our only faith shall suffice us.

Then herewith I make an end of the life of this glorious doctor St. Austin, to whom let us devoutly pray that he be a mediator and advocate unto the blessed Trinity, that we may amend our sinful life in this transitory world, that when we shall depart we may come to everlasting bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. BARBARA

This life of St. Barbara in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend is not in the original, nor does the language suggest origin in the French source that Caxton used along with the original and an earlier English translation. I would suggest that the latter was his source.

I n the time that Maximian reigned there was a rich man, a paynim, which adored and worshipped the idols, which man was named Dioscorus. This Dioscorus had a young daughter which was named Barbara, for whom he did do make a high and strong tower in which he did do keep and close this Barbara, to the end that no man should see her because of her great beauty. Then came many princes unto the said Dioscorus for to treat with him for the marriage of his daughter, which went anon unto her and said: My daughter, certain princes be come to me which require me for to have thee in marriage, wherefore tell to me thine entent and what will ye have to do.

The Tower with Three Windows

Then St. Barbara returned all angry towards her father and said: My father, I pray you that ye will not constrain me to marry, for thereto I have no will ne thought. After this he departed from her and went into the town where there was one making a cistern or a piscine, for he had many workmen to perform this work, and also he had tofore ordained how he should pay unto each of them their salary, and after this he departed thence and went into a far country where he long sojourned.

Then St. Barbara, the ancille of our Lord Jesu Christ, descended from the tower for to come see the work of her father, and anon she perceived that there were but two windows only, that one against the south, and that other against the north, whereof she was much abashed and amarvelled, and demanded of the workmen why they had not made no more windows, and they answered that her father

had so commanded and ordained.

Then St. Barbara said to them: Make me here another window.

They answered: Dame, we fear and dread to anger your father, which commanded us to make no more, ne we dare not therefore make no more.

The blessed maid said: Do and make that I command you, and I shall content my father, and shall excuse you against him.

Then did they that she commanded to them, by of the manner that she enseigned and showed them. When the holy St. Barbara walked and came unto the cistern, she made with her finger toward the orient, a cross with her thumb in the stone of marble, the which cross is there yet unto this day, which every man may see that cometh thither by devotion. And when she came unto the side whereas the water descended into the said cistern, she blessed it, and made the sign of the cross, and incontinent the water was hallowed, in which all they that were sick received health, if they had perfect belief in God and in the blessed maid.

In this same cistern was this holy maid baptized of a holy man, and lived there a certain space of time, in taking only for her refection honeysuckles and locusts, following the holy precursor of our Lord, St. John Baptist.

This cistern or piscine is semblable to the fountain of Siloe in which he that was born blind recovered there his sight. It is also like to the piscine named Robatyoa, in which the impotent by the word of God was made whole. These piscines or pecines be fountains perpetual in which all manner sick men, in whatsomever malady they were grieved or tormented, that went therein received fully their health. In this fountain is living water, and it is the water that the Samaritan required of our Lord to have of the holy piscine.

On a time this blessed maid went upon the tower, and there she

beheld the idols to which her father sacrificed and worshipped, and suddenly she received the Holy Ghost and became marvellously subtle and clear in the love of Jesu Christ, for she was environed with the grace of God Almighty, of sovereign glory and pure chastity. This holy maid Barbara, adorned with faith, surmounted the devil, for when she beheld the idols she scratched them in their visages in despising them all, and saying: All they be made like unto you which have made you to err, and all them that have affiance in you.

And then she went into the tower and worshipped our Lord. And when the work was full performed, her father returned from his voyage, and when he saw there three windows, he demanded of the workmen: Wherefore have ye made three windows?

And they answered: Your daughter hath commanded so.

Then he made his daughter to come afore him, and demanded her why she had do make three windows, and she answered to him, and said: I have done them to be made because three windows lighten all the world and all creatures, but two make darkness.

Then her father took her and went down into the piscine, demanding her how three windows give more light than two. And St. Barbara answered: These three fenestres or windows betoken clearly the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the which be three persons and one very God, on whom we ought to believe and worship.

Then he being replenished with furor, incontinent drew his sword to have slain her, but the holy virgin made her prayer and then marvellously she was taken in a stone and borne into a mountain on which two shepherds kept their sheep, the which saw her fly. And then her father, which pursued after her, went unto the shepherds and demanded after her. And that one, which would have preserved her, said that he had not seen her, but that other, which was an evil man, showed and pointed her with his finger, whom the holy St. Barbara cursed, and anon his sheep became locusts, and he consumed into a stone.

And then her father took her by the hair and drew her down from the mountain and shut her fast in prison, and made her to be kept there by his servants unto the time that he had sent to the judge for to deliver her to the torments. And when the judge was advertised of the faith and belief of the maid he did her to be brought tofore him. Her father went with her, accompanied with his servants threatening her with his sword, and delivered her unto the judge, and conjured him, by the puissance of his gods that, he should torment her with horrible torments.

St. Barbara Before the Pagan Judge

Then sat the judge in judgment, and when he saw the great beauty of St. Barbara, he said to her: Now choose whether ye will spare yourself and offer to the gods, or else die by cruel torments.

St. Barbara answered to him: I offer myself to my God, Jesu Christ, the which hath created heaven and earth and all other things, and fie on your devils, which have mouths and cannot speak, they have eyes, and cannot see, they have ears, and hear not, they have noses, and smell not, they have hands, and may not feel, and they have feet, and may not go. They that make them, be they made semblable to them, and all they that have fiance and belief in them.

Then became the judge all wood and angry, and commanded to unclothe her and beat her with sinews of bulls, and frot her flesh with salt, and when she had long endured this, that her body was all bloody, the judge did do close her in a prison unto the time that he had deliberated of what torments he might make her die.

And then at midnight descended a great light and clearness into the prison in which our Lord showed him to her, saying: Barbara, have confidence. and be firm and steadfast. for in heaven and in the earth thou shalt have great joy for thy passion, therefore, doubt not the judge, for I shall be with thee, and I shall deliver thee from all thy pains that any shall make thee suffer.

And incontinent she was all whole. And then, when our Lord had said thus, he blessed her and remounted into heaven.

Then St. Barbara was greatly rejoiced by the great comfort of our Lord. And on the morn, the judge commanded that she should be brought tofore him, and when she was come he saw that her wounds appeared not but she was all whole, and he said to her: Behold, Barbara, the bounty of our gods, and how much they love thee, for they have healed thy wounds.

Then the blessed Barbara, martyr of Jesu Christ, answered to the judge: Thy gods be semblable to thee, without entendment how may they heal my wounds. They may not help themselves. He that healed me is Jesu Christ, the Son of God, the which will not have thee because thy heart is so indurate and hard with the devils.

Then the judge, replenished of ire, commanded that she should be hanged between two forked trees, and that they should break her reins with staves, and burn her sides with burning lamps, and after he made her strongly to be beaten, and hurted her head with a mallet. Then St. Barbara beheld and looked upward to heaven, saying: Jesu Christ, that knowest the hearts of men, and knowest my thought, I beseech thee to leave me not.

Then commanded the judge to the hangman that he should cut off with his sword her paps, and when they were cut off, the holy saint looked again towards heaven, saying: Jesu Christ, turn not thy visage from me.

And when she had long endured this pain, the judge commanded that she should be led with beating through the streets, and the holy virgin the third time beheld the heaven, and said: Lord God, that coverest heaven with clouds, I pray thee to cover my body, to the end that it be not seen of the evil people.

And when she had made her prayer, our Lord came over her, and

sent to her an angel which clad her with a white vestment, and the knights led her unto a town called Dallasion, and there the judge commanded to slay her with the sword. And then her father all araged took her out of the hands of the judge and led her up on a mountain, and St. Barbara rejoiced her in hasting to receive the salary of her victory.

Her Holy Death

And then when she was drawn thither she made her orison, saying: Lord Jesu Christ, which hast formed heaven and earth, I beseech thee to grant me thy grace and hear my prayer, that all they that have memory of thy name and my passion, I pray thee that thou wilt not remember their sins, for thou knowest our fragility.

Then came there a voice down from heaven saying unto her: Come, my spouse Barbara, and rest in the chamber of God my Father, which is in heaven, and I grant to thee that thou hast required of me.

And when this was said, she came to her father and received the end of her martyrdom with St. Julian. But when her father descended from the mountain, a fire from heaven descended on him, and consumed him in such wise that there could not be found only ashes of all his body.

This blessed virgin St. Barbara received martyrdom with St. Julian the second nones of December. A noble man called Valentine buried the bodies of these two martyrs, and laid them in a little town in which many miracles were showed in the louing and glory of God Almighty. And St. Barbara, the holy martyr suffered passion in the time of Maximian, emperor of Rome, and Marcian the judge. Whom we pray and beseech to be our advocatrix unto Almighty God, that by her merits he bring us after this short and transitory life into his glory perdurable. Amen.

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THE LIFE OF ST. BARNABAS THE APOSTLE

Chapter 81 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

S t. Barnabas was a deacon, and was born in Cyprus, and was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord, and is greatly praised in the history of the Acts of the Apostles of many good things that were in him, for he was right well informed and ordinate, as well to himself as to God and to his neighbour.

Well Ordinate In Himself

He was well ordinate in himself after three virtues that be in the soul, that is to say reason, desire, and strength

Reason

He had reason illumined with the clearness of very knowledge. Hereof is said in the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteenth chapter. It is said that there were in the church of Antioch doctors, prophets and great masters in holy scripture among whom were Barnabas, Simon, and many other great clerks.

Desire

Yet had he desire well ordinate and expurged from the dust of all worldly affection, and thereof is found in the Acts of Apostles the fourth chapter, that he sold a field that he had, and the value and price thereof he laid at the feet of the apostles. And the gloss saith: St. Barnabas showed to us herein that we ought leave the things that men should not put thereon their desire ne their heart, and taught us to despise gold and silver, by that that he laid the silver at the feet of the apostles.

Strength

Yet had he the virtue of the soul which is called strength, well affrmed with prowess of patience, and that may we see on the great things and high that he emprised, and on the great penances that he did, and on the great torments and pains that he suffered.

Great things then he emprised, and that may we see when he took upon him to convert so great a city as was Antioch. For when St. Paul came into Jerusalem anon after his conversion, and would accompany him with the disciples, they fled all away, like sheep do from wolves, but Barnabas went anon to him, and took and brought him in to the company of the apostles.

After, he enforced his body with great penances that he did, for he tormented it with aspre and hard fastings, yet was St. Barnabas a man enforced to suffer pains and torments; for he and St. Paul abandoned their lives overall for the love of our Lord Jesu Christ.

Well Ordinate As Touching To God

Secondly, he was ordained as touching to God in bearing [and] authority, majesty, and bounty.

Bearing and Authority

He bare honour and reverence unto the great authority of God, after that we find in the Acts of the Apostles the thirteenth chapter, when the Holy Ghost said: Take ye to me apart, Barnabas and Paul, for to do the office that I have chosen them to.

Majesty

Yet St. Barnabas bare honour to the great majesty of God, for when there should be done reverence to him and sacrifice as to a God, and was called Jupiter as he that went before, and they called Paul, Mercury, as a fair and wise speaker. Anon Barnabas and Paul rent and tare their coats, and cried all on high: Ye people, what do ye? We be mortal as ye be, which warn you to turn and convert to the very God living, Jesu Christ.

Bounty

After, St. Barnabas bare reverence to the bounty of God, after that is found in the Acts of Apostles the fifteenth chapter. Some converts of the Jews would minish the bounty of the grace of God, and said that this grace that our Lord had done in his passion sufficed not to save us without circumcision. Against this error St. Paul and Barnabas withstood vigorously, and showed to them appertly that the grace and bounty that God hath done is sufficient, without the law, to our salvation. After they sent to the apostles this question, the which they sent anon through the world in epistles against this foolish error.

Well Ordinate as Touching to His Neighbour

After, St. Barnabas was right strongly well ordained against his neighbours, for all them that were committed to his cure he nourished and fed, in word, in example and in benefits.

In Word

In word, for he pronounced to them the holy word of God and the gospel. Hereof is said in the Acts of the Apostles, that Paul and Barnabas abode in Antioch preaching the word of God. That may be seen by the great multitude of people that he converted in the city of Antioch, for they converted so much people there, that the disciples lost their special name and were called Christian men as the other.

In Ensample

Yet nourished he them that he had charge of by good ensample, for his life was to all them that saw him as a mirror of holiness and the exemplar of all religion. For he was in all his works noble and hardy, and well embellished of all good works, and was full of the Holy Ghost, and enlumined and light in the faith of our Lord.

In Benefits

All these four things be touched of him in the Acts of the Apostles, and yet nourisheth he them by benefits in two manners, that is in alms temporal, in administering to the poor their necessity, and in other alms spiritual, in forgiving all rancour and evil will.

Alms Temporal

The first alms did St. Barnabas, for he bare to such as were in right great poverty and misery, that as was needful for them to live, for after that we find in the Acts of the Apostles, there was a great famine in the time of Claudius the emperor, which famine had Agabus prophesied, and because the disciples that would return to their brethren into Judea, sent unto the most ancient their alms by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.

Alms Spiritual

The second alms did St. Barnabas when he pardoned his anger to John, surnamed Mark. For when the said John, which was one of the disciples, was departed from the company of Barnabas and of Paul, he repented him, and would return to them, and Barnabas forgave it him and took him again to his disciple, but Paul would not receive him with him; nevertheless that which was done between them both was by good intention, for in this that Barnabas took him again, we may see the sweetness of his pity, and in this that St. Paul would not receive him, is showed the great savour of right that was in him, after that the gloss saith, Acts xv., because this John had been tofore the master of the law to defend the law of Jesu Christ, and had not contained him vigorously for to repress them, but had been negligent. For this reason St. Paul would not accord to receive him in to the company of the other.

Nevertheless this departing that John was thus departed from the company of St. Paul and from the other, was for no vice that was in him, but for the sharpness and inspiring of the Holy Ghost, to the end that they might preach in divers places; after that it happed after. For when Barnabas was on a time in the city of Iconium, a man with a clear shining visage appeared by night to this John

aforesaid, his cousin, and said to him thus: John, have in thee no doubtance, but be strong and vigorous, for from henceforth thou shalt no more be called John, but thou shalt be called right high enhanced.

And when he had told this to his cousin St. Barnabas, he answered and said to him: Keep thee well that thou tell this vision to no man, for in the same form he appeared to me that night after.

Barnabas in Cyprus

When St. Barnabas and St. Paul had long preached in the city of Antioch, the angel of God appeared to St. Paul and said to him: Go hastily in to Jerusalem, for thou shalt find there some of the brethren that abide thee. Then Barnabas would go in to Cyprus to visit his friends and kin that were there, and St. Paul would go to Jerusalem; thus departed that one from that other by enticement of the Holy Ghost, that so had ordained it.

And when St. Paul had showed to St. Barnabas this that the angel said, St. Barnabas answered to him: The will of God be done like as he hath ordained it. I go now into Cyprus, and more hereafter shall I not see thee, for there shall I end my life.

Then he humbly kneeled down and fell to his feet weeping, and St. Paul, which had compassion of him, said unto him these words by consolation: Barnabas, weep no more, for our Lord will that it be so, our Lord hath appeared to me this night, and hath said to me: Let not ne give none empeshment to Barnabas for to go into Cyprus, for he shall there enlumine many folk and shall suffer there martyrdom.

On a time that Barnabas and John issued out of Cyprus and found an enchanter named Elymas, which by his enchantment had taken away the sight from some and after given it to them again, he was much contrary to them and would not suffer them enter into the temple. After this, Barnabas saw on a day men and women, being all naked, running through the town, and made then great feast,

whereof he was much angry and gave his malediction and curse to the temple, and suddenly a great part thereof fell down and slew a great part of the people.

His Martyrdom

At the last St. Barnabas came into the city of Salome, but this enchanter aforesaid moved the people greatly against him, so much that the Jews came and took him and led him through the city with great shame, and would have delivered him to the judge of the city for to punish him and to put him to death. But when they heard say that a great and a puissant man was come in to the city, which was named Euseblus, and was of the lineage of the emperor Nero, the Jews had doubt that he would take him out of their hands and let him go, and therefore anon they bound a cord about his neck, and drew him out of the city, and there anon burnt him, but yet the felon Jews were not satisfied to martyr him so, for they took the bones of him and put them in a vessel of lead, and would have cast them into the sea, but John, his disciple, with two other of his disciples went by night into the place and took the holy bones and buried them in an holy place.

Then, after that Sigbert saith, they abode in that place unto the time of the emperor Zeno and Gelasius the pope, that was the year of our Lord five hundred. After that then, as St. Dorotheus said, they were found by the revelation of St. Barnabas himself, and were from thence translated in to another place, and St. Dorotheus saith thus: Barnabas preached first at Rome of Christ. and was made bishop of Milan.

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THE LIFE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE

Chapter 123 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), in William Caxton's 1483 translation of that text. With rubrics, paragraphing, and explanatory glosses by Richard Stracke.

St. Bartholomew, the apostle, went into India, which is in the end of the world. And therein he entered into a temple where an idol was which was named Astaroth, and he, as a pilgrim, abode there. In that idol dwelt a fiend that said that he could heal all manner sicknesses, but he lied, for he could not make them whole, but might better them but for a while.

And the temple was full of sick people, and could have no answer of that idol, wherefore they went in to another city whereas another idol was worshipped named Berith, and they demanded him wherefore Astaroth gave to them no answer. And Berith said: Your god is bound with chains of fire that he neither dare draw breath ne speak after that Bartholomew, the apostle of God, entered into the temple.

And they said to him: Who is that Bartholomew?

And the devil said: He is the friend of God Almighty, and he is come into this province for to avoid all the gods of India.

And then they said: Tell us some tokens and signs that we may know him and find him.

And the devil said to them: He hath his hairs black and crisp, his skin white, eyes great, his nostrils even and straight, his beard long and hoar a little, and of a straight and seemly stature. He is clad in a white coat, and a white mantle, which in every corner hath gems of purple and precious stones therein. And it is sith twenty-six years that his clothes never waxed old ne foul. He prayeth and

worshippeth God on his knees a hundred times a day, and a hundred times by night. The angels go with him, which never suffer him to be weary ne to be anhungered, he is always of like semblant, glad and joyous. He seeth all things tofore, he knoweth all things, he speaketh all manner languages, and understandeth them, and he knoweth well what I say to you. And when ye seek him, if he will he may show himself to you, and if him list not, not shall ye find him. And I pray you, when ye find him, that ye pray him that he come not hither, that his angels do not to me as they have done to my fellow.

Then they went and sought him diligently and busily two days, and found him not.

On a day, one that was beset with a devil cried, and said: Apostle of God, Bartholomew, thy prayers burn me.

And the apostle said: Hold thou thy peace and come thence.

And anon he was delivered. And when Polemius, king of that region, heard this thing, which had a daughter lunatic, he sent to the apostle, praying that he would come to him and heal his daughter. And when the apostle was come to him and saw that she was bound with chains, and bit all them that went to her, he commanded to unbind her. And the ministers durst not go to her.

And he said: I hold the devil fast bound that was in her, and therefore be not afeard.

And then anon she was unbound and delivered. And then would have presented to the apostle camels charged with gold and silver and precious stones, but he could not be found in no manner. And on the morrow following, the apostle appeared to the king, alone in his chamber, and said to him: Wherefore soughtest thou me yesterday with gold and silver and precious stones? Those things be necessary to them that covet things worldly, but I desire no things terrien ne carnal.

Then St. Bartholomew began to say many things, and inform the king of our redemption, and among other things how Jesu Christ vanquished the devil by marvellous and convenable puissance, justice, and wisdom. For it was convenable that he that overcame the son made of the earth, that was Adam, while he was yet a virgin, should be overcome of the son of the virgin. He overcame him then mightily, when he threw him puissantly out of his lordship which had thrown out by force our forefather. And thus, as he that overcometh some tyrant, sendeth his fellows tofore for to set up his sign over all, and to cast out tyrants, in like wise Jesu Christ sent his messengers over all for to take away the honour and the worshipping of the devil righteously.

For it is right that he that vanquished man by eating, and held him, that he should be overcome by a man fasting, and hold man no longer. For it is rightful that he which by the art of the devil was despised, that by the art of Jesu Christ he should be vanquished. And like as the falcon taketh the bird, right so took he Jesu Christ in desert because he fasted, and would assay if he had hunger; and if he had hunger, that he might have deceived him by meat, and if he had no hunger, then knew he well without doubt that he was God. But he might not know him, for he had hunger, and consented nothing to him ne to his temptations.

And when [Bartholomew] had preached the sacraments of the faith, he said to the king that, if he would receive baptism, he would show him his god bounden with chains. And the day following, when the bishops sacrificed within the palace of the king, the devils began to cry and say: Cease, ye cursed wretches, to do sacrifice to us, lest ye suffer worse than I that am bounden with chains of fire by the angels of Jesu Christ, whom the Jews crucified and supposed to have brought to death. Which death, that is our queen, he hath imprisoned, and hath bound our prince in chains of fire.

And anon then they set cords on the image for to pull down and overthrow the idol, but they might not. The apostle then commanded the devil that he should issue and go out and break the idol all to

pieces, and he issued out and destroyed and brake all the idols of the temple. And anon the apostle made his prayer, saying: O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, which hast given to us such power that we enlumine the blind, and cleanse the lepers, I desire and require that this multitude might be healed.

And they all answered, Amen. And forthwith all the sick people were cured and healed. And then the apostle did do hallow and dedicate that temple, and commanded the devil to go into the desert.

Then the angel of our Lord appeared there, and flew round about the temple, and ensigned and graved with his finger the sign of the cross in four corners of the temple, saying: Our Lord saith this: Like as I have you cured and made you clean of all your sickness, so let this temple be made clean of all filth and ordure. But I shall show him to you that dwelleth therein tofore, to whom the apostle hath commanded to go in to desert. And doubt ye not to see him, but make in your forehead such a sign as I have graven in these stones.

And then he showed to them an Ethiopian more black than thunder, the face sharp, the beard long, his hairs hanging unto his feet, his eyes flaming as hot fire, and cast out sparkles of fire, and casting out of his mouth flames of sulphur, and his hands bound with chains of fire behind his back.

And then the angel said to him: Because that thou hast heard that the apostle hath commanded, and hast broken all the idols of the temple, I shall unbind thee; go in to such a place whereas dwelleth no man, and be thou there unto the day of judgment.

And when he was unbound he went his way with a great braying and howling, and the angel of our Lord mounted up to heaven in the sight of them all. And then was the king baptized, with his wife and his children and all his people, and left his realm and was made disciple of the apostle.

Then all the bishops of the idols assembled them together and went to Astrages the king, and brother to Polemius, and complained of the loss of their gods and of the destruction of their temples, and of the conversion of his brother made by art magic. Astrages was wroth and sent a thousand men armed to take the apostle.

And when he was brought tofore him, the king said to him: Art thou not he that hast perverted my brother?

And the apostle answered to him: I have not perverted him, but I have converted him.

And the king said to him: Like as thou hast made my brother forsake his god and believe in thy God, so shall I make thee forsake thy God, and thou shalt sacrifice to my god.

And the apostle said: I have bound the god that thy brother adored, and showed him bound, and constrained him to break his false image, and if thou mayst do so to my God, thou mayst well draw me to thine idol, and if not, I shall all to-break thy gods, and then believe thou in my God.

And as he said these words, it was told the king that his god Baldach was overthrown and all to-broken, and when the king heard that, he brake and all to-rent his purple in which he was clad, and commanded that the apostle should be beaten with staves, and that he should be flayed quick and so it was done.

Then the Christians took away the body and buried it honourably. Then the king Astrages and the bishops of the temples were ravished with fiends and died, and the king Polemius was ordained bishop, and accomplished the office of a bishop twenty-two years much louably, and after that rested in peace full of virtues.

THE MANNER OF HIS PASSION

There be divers opinions of the manner of his passion. For the blessed Dorotheus saith that he was crucified, and saith also: Bartholomew preached to men of India, and delivered to them the gospel after Matthew in their proper tongue. He died in Alban, a city of great Armenia, crucified the head downward. St. Theoderus saith that he was flayed, and it is read in many books that he was beheaded only. And this contrariety may be assoiled in this manner, that some say that he was crucified and was taken down ere he died, and for to have greater torment he was flayed and at the last beheaded.

HOW BARTHOLOMEW'S BODY CAME TO ITALY

In the year of our Lord three hundred and thirty-one, Saracens assailed Sicily, and destroyed the isle of Lipari whereas the body of St. Bartholomew lieth, and brake up the sepulchre and threw the bones hither and thither. And it is said that his body came in such wise from India thither into that isle.

When the paynims saw that this body and his sepulchre were greatly honoured for the miracles that befell, they had thereof great despite, and laid them in a tomb of lead, and threw them into the sea, and by the will of God they came into this isle. And when the Saracens had departed and thrown the bones here and there, and were departed thence, the apostle appeared to a monk and said to him: Arise up, and go and gather together my bones that be departed.

And he said to him: By what reason shall I gather together thy bones, and what honour ought we to do to them, when thou sufferest us to be destroyed?

And the apostle said to him: Our Lord hath spared this people here a long while by my merits, but for their sins that they have sinned, which cry vengeance unto heaven, I have not con get pardon ne forgiveness for them.

And then the monk said: How shall I among so many bones find thine?

And the apostle said to him: Thou shalt gather them by night, and them that thou shalt find shining thou shalt take up. And the monk went, and found them all as he had said, and took them up, and brought them with him in to a ship, and sailed with them to Benevento, which is chief city of Apulia, and thus were they transported thither. And it is said now that they be at Rome, howbeit they of Benevento say they have the body.

MIRACLES OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

The Vessel of Oil

There was a woman that brought a vessel full of oil for to put in the lamp of St. Bartholomew, and how well she inclined the vessel for to pour out the oil, there would none issue out, how well she touched with her finger the oil clear. And then one cried and said: I trow this oil be not agreeable to the apostle that it should be in his lamp, wherefore they put it in another lamp and it issued anon.

The Emperor Frederick

When that the emperor Frederick destroyed Benevento, and he had commanded that all the churches that there should be destroyed, and enforced them to bear away the goods from that city into another place, there was a man which found men all white shining, and him seemed that they spake together of some secret thing, and he marvelled strongly who they were and demanded them, and then one of them answered and said: This is Bartholomew, the apostle, with the other saints which had churches in this city, that speak and ordain together in what manner and by what pain this emperor should be justified, that hath cast them out of their tabernacles. And they have now confirmed among them by firm sentence that he, without tarrying, shall go to the judgment of God for to answer thereupon. And anon the emperor died an evil death.

St. Bartholomew Sets Riddles for the Devil

It is in a book read of the miracles of saints that, a certain master hallowed solemnly the feast of St. Bartholomew, and the devil in the form of a maid appeared to this master that preached. And when he saw her, he bade her to come and dine with him, and when they were set at the table she enforced her much for to draw him to her love.

And then St. Bartholomew came to the gate and prayed that he might come in for the love of St. Bartholomew, and she would not, but sent him bread, and he would none take, but prayed the master by his message that he should say what thing that he supposed was most proper in a man.

And he answered: To laugh.

And the maid said: Nay, it is sin in which a man is conceived, born and liveth in sin.

And St. Bartholomew answered that he had well said, but she had more profoundly answered.

And the pilgrim demanded after at the master, where the place was containing the space of a foot where had God made greatest miracle.

And he said, the sign of the cross, in which God had made many miracles.

And she said: Nay, it is the head of a man, in which the little world is.

And the apostle allowed the sentence of that one and of that other, and then he demanded the third time: How far it was from the sovereign siege or seat in heaven unto the lowest and deepest place of hell.

And the master said that he wist not; and she said: I know it well, for I fell down from that one to that other, and it behoveth that I show it to thee.

And the devil fell down into hell with a great bruit and howling, and then they sent for the pilgrim, and he was vanished and gone and away and they could not find him. And in like wise nigh according to this is read of St. Andrew.

COMMENTS BY THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

St. Ambrose

The blessed Ambrose saith thus in the preface that he made of this apostle in abridging his legend:

Jesu Christ, thou hast vouchsafed to show to thy disciples, preaching, many things of thy divine Trinity in marvellous manner, and thy majesty, among whom thou hast sent the blessed Bartholomew honour by right great prerogative into a far country. And how be it that he was all far from human conversation, nevertheless he deserved by the increasing of his predications to mark and think in thy sign the beginning of that people. Ah! by what louings is the marvellous apostle to be honoured. And when the hearts of the people of his neighbours sufficed not to him to receive his seed, he through-pierced like in fleeing into the last countries of the lands of India, and entered into the temple where there was great company of sick people without number, and made the devil so mute that he gat no remembrance to them that adored him, and the maid that was lunatic by torment of the devil he did unbind and delivered her all whole to her father. Oh, how great was this miracle of holiness, when he made the fiend, enemy to the lineage human, to break and destroy his own idol, and to bring it to nought. Oh, how worthy is he to be numbered to the heavenly company to whom the angel appeared, to praise the faith of him by his miracles, and came from the sovereign hall and showed to all the people the devil

chained, and right foul, and the sign of the cross impressed in the stone bearing health. And the king and the queen were baptized, with the people of their cities. And at the last the tyrant brother of Polemius, new in faith by the relation of the bishops of the temple, made the blessed apostle, constant in the faith, to be beaten, flayed, and receive right foul death. And as he denounced the mischief of death, he had and bare with him, into the glory of heaven, victory of his glorious strife.

Theodore

And the blessed Theodore, abbot and noble doctor, saith of this apostle in this manner among other things:

The blessed apostle Bartholomew preached first in Licaonia, and after in India, and at the last in Alban, a city of great Armenia, and there he was first flayed and afterward his head smitten off, and there he was buried.

And when he was sent of our Lord to preach, as I suppose, he heard how our Lord said to him: Go, my disciple, to preach, void out of this country, and go fight and be capax of perils. I have first accomplished and finished the works of my father, and am first witness, fill thou the vessel that is necessary and follow thy master, love thy lord, give thy blood for his blood, and thy flesh for his flesh, and suffer that which he had suffered, let thine armour be debonairty in thy sweatings, and suffer sweetly among wicked people and be patient among them that perish thee.

And the apostle recoiled not, but as a true servant and obeissant to his master went forth joying, and as a light of God illumining in darkness the work of holy church, like as the blessed St. Austin witnesseth in his book, that, like a tiller of Jesu Christ, he profiteth in spiritual tilling.

St. Peter the apostle taught the nations, but St. Bartholomew did great miracles. Peter was crucified the head downward, and

Bartholomew was flayed quick, and had his head smitten off. And they twain increased greatly the church by the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

And right as a harp giveth a right sweet sound of many strings, in like wise all the apostles gave sweet melody of the unity divine, and were established by the king of kings. And they departed among them all the world, and the place of Armenia was the place of Bartholomew, that is from Ejulath unto Gabaoth. There thou mayst see him, with the plough of his tongue, ear the fields unreasonable, sowing in the deepness of the heart the word of the faith, and in planting the vines of our Lord and trees of paradise. And to every each setting medicinally the remedies of the passions, rooting out pernicious thorns, cutting down trees of felony, and setting about hedges of doctrine.

But what reward yielded the tyrants to their curate? They gave to him dishonour for honour, cursing for benediction, pains for gifts, tribulation for rest, and right bitter death for restful life. And sith that he had suffered many torments, he was of them discoriate and flayed quick, and died not, and yet for all that he had them not in despite that slew him, but admonished them by miracles, and taught them by demonstrances, that did him harm. But there was nothing that might refrain their bestial thoughts, ne withdraw them from harm.

What did they afterwards? They enforced them against the holy body, and the malades and sick men refused their mediciner and healer, the city refused him that enlumined their blindness, governed them that were in peril, and gave life to them that were dead.

And how cast they him out? Certainly, they threw the body into the sea in a chest of lead, and that chest came from the region of Armenia with the chests of four other martyrs, for they did also miracles and were thrown with him into the sea. And the four went before a great space of the sea, and did service to the apostles like

as servants in a manner, so far that they came into the parts of Sicily in an isle that is named Lipari, like as it was showed to a bishop of Ostia which then was present. And these right rich treasures came to a right poor woman. And these right precious margarets came to one not noble, the bright shining light came to one right heavy.

And then the other four came in to other lands, and left the holy apostle in that isle, and he left the other behind him.

And that one which was named Papian went into a city of Sicily, and he sent another, named Lucian, into the city of Messina. And the other twain were sent into the land of Calabria, St. Gregory into the city of Columna, and Achate into a city named Chale, where yet at this day they shine by their merits.

And then was the body of the apostle received with hymns, louings, and candles honourably, and there was made and builded a fair church in the honour of him.

And the mountain of Vulcan is nigh to that isle, and was to it much grievous because it received fire, the which mountain was withdrawn by the merits of this holy saint from that isle seven miles, without to be seen of any body, and was suspended toward the sea. And yet appeareth it at this day to them that see it, as it were a figure of fire fleeing away.

Now then, therefore, I salute thee, Bartholomew, blessed of blessed saints, which art the shining light of holy church, fisher of fishes reasonable, hurter of the devil which hurted the world by his theft. Enjoy thee, sun of the world, enlumining all earthly things, mouth of God, fiery tongue pronouncing wisdom, fountain springing goodly, full of health, which hallowest the sea by thy goings and ways not removable, which makest the earth red with thy blood, which repairest in heaviness, shining in the middle of the divine company clear in the resplendishour of glory. And enjoy thee in the gladness of joy insatiable. Amen.

And this is that Theodore saith of him.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. BASIL

Chapter 26 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text adds section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

St. Basil was a venerable bishop and a solemn doctor, of whom Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium wrote the life.

REVELATIONS OF BASILÂ□□S HOLINESS

And it was showed in a vision to an hermit named Effrem how much holy he was. On a time as the said Effrem was in a trance he saw a pillar of fire, whose head reached heaven and a voice thereupon saying: Such is Basil, like unto this pillar that thou seest.

And after this the hermit came to the city for to see at the day of Epiphany so noble a man, and when he saw him, he was clad with a white vesture going honourably with the clergy, then the hermit said to himself; I see well that I have laboured in vain, and for nought, he that is set in such honour may not be such as I have seen, we that have borne the burden and labour of the heat of the day in great pain, we had never such thing, and he here which is set in such honour, and also thus accompanied, is a column of fire, now I have great marvel what this may be.

And St. Basil that saw this in spirit, made him to be brought to him, and when he was come he saw a tongue of fire speaking in his mouth. Then said Effrem: Truly Basil is great, truly Basil is the pillar of fire, and verily the Holy Ghost speaketh in his mouth.

And Effrem said to St. Basil: Sire, I pray thee that thou impetre of God that I may speak Greek.

To whom St. Basil said: Thou hast demanded a hard thing,

nevertheless he prayed for him, and he spake Greek.

Another hermit saw St. Basil, how he went in the habit of a bishop and deemed evilly in his thought, how he delighted in this estate in vain glory, and anon there came a voice that said to him: Thou delightest thee more in playing with and handling thy cat, than Basil doth in all his array and adornments.

BASIL CHALLENGES THE EMPEROR VALENS, PATRON OF THE ARIAN HERETICS

Valens the emperor which sustained the Arian heretics, took away a church from the Christian men, and gave it to the Arians, to whom St. Basil said: O thou emperor, it is written: *Honor regis judicium diligit* , â□□The honour of the king requireth true judgment, and the doom of a king is justice.â□□ And wherefore then hast thou commanded that the catholic Christian men be put out of holy church?

And the emperor said to him: Yet returnest thou to say villainy to me? it appertaineth not to thee. To whom St. Basil said: It appertaineth well to me, and also to die for justice.

Then Demosthenes, provost of the meats of the emperor, upholder of the Arians, spake for them, and made an answer corrupted in language for to make satisfaction. And St. Basil said to him: It appertaineth to thee to ordain for the meats of the emperor and not to enquire of the teachings divine.

The which, as confused, held him still, and said not. And the emperor said to St. Basil: Now go thou forth and judge thou between them, and not for favour ne over great love that thou hast to that one party, ne for hate that thou hast to that other.

Then St. Basil went to them and said tofore the Arians and to the Catholics that the doors of the church should be shut fast, and sealed with the seals of either party, and that every one should pray

to God for his right, and that the church should be delivered to them at whose prayer it should open. And thus they accorded. The Arians put them to prayer three days and three nights, and when they came to the doors they opened not. Then St. Basil ordained a procession, and came to the church, and knocked a stroke with his crook, saying: *Attollite portas principes vestras* , 1 etc., and anon as he had said the verse the doors opened, and they entered in and gave laud and praisings to God, and so was their church rendered to them again.

And after, the emperor did promise to St. Basil much good and honour if he would consent to him. And St. Basil said that was a demand to make to children, for they that be fulfilled with divine words will not suffer that one only syllable of the divine science be corrupted. Then the emperor had great indignation of him, and took a pen for to write the sentence on him that he should be exiled, and the first pen brake, and the second, and also the third, and his hand began to tremble for fear; then in great indignation he all to-rent the schedule.

THE YOUNG MAN WHO SOLD HIS SOUL FOR A WOMAN

There was an honest worshipful man named Heradius which had but one daughter, whom he disposed to consecrate to God, but the fiend, enemy to mankind, inflamed and made one of the servants of the same to burn in the love of this maid. And when he remembered that he was but a servant, him thought it not possible, that ever he should attain to come to his desire of so noble a virgin. He went to an enchanter to whom he promised great quantity of money if he would help him, to whom the enchanter answered that he could not do it; But I shall send thee to the devil which is my master and lord, and if thou do that he shall say to thee, thou shalt have thy desire.

And the young man said he would so do. And this enchanter sent a letter by him to the devil, this containing: My lord and master, because that I must hastily and busily draw all them that I may from the religion of christendom, and bring them to thy will, to the end

that thy party alway grow and multiply, I send to thee this young man, esprised in the love of the maid, and demandeth that his desires may be acomplished, that herein I have glory and honour, and that from now forthon I may gather to thee and draw more.

Then he gave him his letter, and bad him go, and at midnight stand upon the tomb of a paynim, and call the devil, and hold up this letter in the air, and anon he shall come to thee.

And he anon went forth and did as he was bidden, and held the letter in the air, and forthwith came the prince of darkness fellowshipped with a great multitude of fiends, and when he had read the schedule he said to the young man: Wilt thou believe in me if I accomplish thy desire?

And he answered that he would so do. Then the devil said to him: Reny then Jesu Christ.

Which said: I reny him.

And the devil said to him: Ye Christian men, ye be all false and untrue, for when ye have to do ye come to me, and when ye have that ye demand, anon after ye reny me, and return to your Jesu Christ, and he receiveth you because he is right debonai;r but if thou wilt that I do thy will, make a bond of thine own handwriting and deliver it to me, and let it contain that thou hast forsaken Jesu Christ, thy baptism, and the profession of Christian religion, and that thou be my servant and with me at the judgment to be damned.

And anon all this he wrote and took it to the devil, and put him in his servitude; and anon the devil took with him fiends that served for fornication, and commanded them that they should go and inflame the heart of that maid in the love of that young man. The which came to her and so inflamed her in the love of that young man that she fell down to the ground tofore her father crying piteously and saying: Father have pity on me, for cruelly I am tormented for the love of your servant; have mercy on me, and show to me your

fatherly love that ye owe to me, that ye give to me in marriage the young man that I desire, and if ye do not, ye shall see anon that I shall die, and thereof shall ye answer at the day of doom.

And the father weeping said: Alas! wretched that I am; what is to me befallen, God have mercy on my daughter that thus taketh away my treasure and quencheth the light of mine eyes, I would have given thee to the spouse of heaven, and weened to have saved thee, and thou art demeasured in worldly love and fleshly. Abide daughter and tarry that I may marry thee to him that I had purposed, and bring not me my last days in sorrow.

And she cried and said: Father, do as I have said, or anon thou shalt see me dead. And so as she wept bitterly as out of her wit, the father in great desolation of heart moved by the counsel of his friends, and deceived, did her pleasure and married her to the young man and gave to her all his substance, saying: Go forth my daughter, very caitiff that thou art.

And forth she went and took him to her husband and they dwelled together. The husband went not to church, ne he blessed him not, ne recommended him not to God, whereof many of the neighbours noted it, and said to the wife: This young man that thou hast taken is not christened, ne he goeth not to the church. And when she heard that she was much abashed, and for sorrow fell down to the ground, and with her nails began to scratch her face, and beat her breast and said: Alas! most miserable wretch that I am, whereto was I born? I would I had perished in my birth.

And then she told her husband what she had heard of him. and he answered that it was nothing so; then said she: If thou wilt that I believe thee, thou and I shall to-morn go to church, and then shall I know if it be true that thou sayest. Then he yielded him, confused, and saw well that he might not deny but it was so, and told to her all that he had done.

And when she had heard all the case how he had done, she began

to wail and to weep strongly, and forthwith went to St. Basil and rehearsed to him all that she had heard of her husband. And St. Basil sent for the husband and said to him: My son, wilt thou return again to God?

Sire, said he, yea, but I may not, for I have bound myself to the devil, and renied Jesu Christ, and thereof I have made a writing of my hand and delivered it to him.

And St. Basil said to him: Thereof no force; our Lord is debonair and merciful, and shall receive thee if thou repentest thee.

And anon took the young man and made the sign of the cross on his forehead, and shut him in a chamber three days. After, he went to see him, and demanded saying: My son, how is it with thee? And he answered: Sire, I am in great pain, and in great anguish, in such ways that I may not bear the clamours, the terrors, and the lapidiments that the fiends do to me, for they hold in their hands my writing in accusing me, and saying I came to them and not they to me.

Then said Basil: My son, be not afeard, but put firmly thy belief in Jesu Christ.

And St. Basil gave to him a little meat for to comfort him and marked him with the sign of the cross, and closed him again, and he went and prayed for him. After certain days passed, he went and visited him again, and asked how it was with him, and he answered much better than tofore: I hear their clamours and their menaces, but I see them not.

St. Basil gave him meat and closed the door and blessed him, and went and prayed God for him, and forty days after he returned and said to him: My son, how is it with thee? He answered: Holy father, it is well with me this day for I have seen thee fight for me, and overcome the devil. Then he took him out, and called all the clergy, the religiouses and the people, and warned them that they should

pray all for him, and led the young man by the hand to the church.

And anon the devil with a great multitude of fiends, without seeing of any man, took the young man and pained them to take him out of the hand of St. Basil. And the young man began to cry: â□□Holy saint of God, help me.â□□ And the fiends enforced them so greatly that they made St. Basil to move in holding the young man.

St. Basil said: Thou cursed and cruel fiend, sufficeth not to thee enough thy perdition proper, but thou must tempt the creatures of my God for to have them lost?

The devil then said, hearing many, O Basil, thou grievest and annoyest me much.

Then all the people cried, *Kyrie eleison* , and St. Basil said to the devil: Our Lord God blame and reprove thee, cursed fiend.

And the devil said to him, Basil, thou grieves and annoyest me much; I went not to him, but he came to me, he hath renied his God and hath confessed me to be his lord, lo! here in my hand the writing that he gave to me.

And St. Basil said to him: We shall not cease to pray for him unto the time that thou shalt deliver his writing.

And thus as St. Basil prayed holding the hand of the young man, the schedule which he had made was brought in the air in the sight of all, and was laid in the hand of St. Basil, the which received it and said to the child; Brother, knowest thou these letters?

And he answered him: I know them well, for they were written with my hand. Then St. Basil brake them, and led the child to the church, and so ordained and disposed him, that he was worthy to receive the holy sacrament and after, he being enseigned and taught, delivered to him a rule how he should keep him, and delivered him to his wife.

THE WOMAN WHO WROTE DOWN ALL HER SINS

Also there was a woman that had committed many sins, the which she all wrote, and at the end there was one more grievous than the other, which in the writing she delivered to St. Basil, praying him to pray for her, and that by his prayers her sins might be forgiven. And then he prayed for her, and the woman opened the bill, wherein she found all the sins defaced and put out except the grievous sin. And she came to St. Basil and said: Thou holy saint of God, have mercy on me, and get me forgiveness for this, like as thou hast done for the other.

And St. Basil said to the woman: Leave and go from me, woman, for I am a man, sinful as thou art, which have need of pardon as much as thou.

And as that she was busy and grievous to him, he said to her: Go unto the holy man that is named Effrem, and demand of him that he may get pardon for thee.

And when she came to the holy man Effrem, and had told to him wherefore she was sent to him from St. Basil, he said to her: Go from me, for I am a sinful man, but go again to St. Basil, and it is he that may get thee forgiveness for this sin like as he did for the other; and haste thee to the end that thou mayst find him alive.

And when she came into the city, St. Basil was borne to the church for to be buried, and she began to cry, saying: God be judge between me and thee, for thou mayst well appease God for me, and thou hast sent me to another, and anon she threw the bill upon the covering of the bier.

And anon after she took it again, and opened it, and found it all plain, and out clean of the bill, and then with others she gave thankings to God.

ST. BASIL CONVERTS A JEW

Tofore or St. Basil died, he being in the malady that he died, he did do come a Jew to him which was much expert in physic, and he loved him because he saw that he should be converted to the faith. And when he was come, he felt his pulse, and saw that he was nigh his end, and said to his meiny: Make ye ready such thing as behoveth for his sepulture, for he shall die anon.

Which word St. Basil heard and said to him: Thou wottest not what thou sayest.

And the Jew, named Joseph, said to him: This day shalt thou die when the sun shall go down in the west.

To whom St. Basil said: What shalt thou say if I die not this day?

To whom Joseph said: Sire, it is not otherwise possible.

Then said St. Basil: if I live unto the morrow noon what shalt thou do?

And Joseph said: If thou live until the morrow that hour I shall die.

And St. Basil said: thou sayst truth, thou shalt die, that is, sin shall die in thee to the end that thou shalt live in Jesu Christ.

And Joseph said: I wot well what thou sayest, and if thou live unto that time I shall do that thou sayest. Then St. Basil said, how well that by nature he should have died anon forthwith, yet he gat and impetred of God space that he should not then die, and lived unto the morn at noon, which thing seeing, Joseph marvelled much and believed in Jesu Christ.

St. Basil then took heart. and overcame the feebleness of the body, and arose out of his bed, and went to the church, and with his proper hands baptized the Jew, and after returned to his bed, and anon gave up his spirit, and rendered his soul unto God about the year of our Lord three hundred and seventy.

Then let us pray to him that he get us grace of our Lord Jesu Christ, that he will forgive us all our sins.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. THOMAS, MARTYR, OF CANTERBURY

This is the life of St. Thomas Beckett as it appeared in William Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend. It is based on the version included in an earlier translation, which diverged greatly from the original. 1

S Thomas the martyr was son to Gilbert Beckett, a burgess of the city of London, and was born in the place whereas now standeth the church called S. Thomas of Acre. And this Gilbert was a good devout man, and took the cross upon him, and went on pilgrimage into the Holy Land, and had a servant with his knees. And on a Trinity Sunday received he [Thomas] his dignity, and there was at that time the king with many a great lord and sixteen bishops.

And from thence was sent the abbot of Evesham to the pope with other clerks for the pall which he gave and brought to him, and he full meekly received it. And under his habit he ware the habit of a monk, and so was he under within forth a monk, and outward a clerk, and did great abstinence making his body lean and his soul fat. And he used to be well served at his table, and took but little refection thereof, and lived holily in giving good ensample.

After this, many times the king went over into Normandy, and in his absence always S. Thomas had the rule of his son and of the realm, which was governed so well that the king could him great thanks, and then abode long in this realm. And when so was that the king did any thing against the franchise and liberties of holy church, S. Thomas would ever withstand it to his power.

And on a time when the sees of London and of Winchester were vacant and void, the king kept them both long in his hand for to have the profits of them; wherefore S. Thomas was heavy, and came to the king and desired him to give those two bishopricks to

some virtuous men. And anon the king granted to him his desire and ordained one master Roger, bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Gloucester's son, bishop of London, named Sir Robert.

And anon after S. Thomas hallowed the abbey of Reading, which the first Henry founded. And that same year he translated S. Edward, king and confessor at Westminster, where he was laid in a rich shrine. And in some short time after, by the enticement of the devil, fell great debate, variance, and strife, between the king and S. Thomas, and the king sent for all the bishops to appear tofore him at Westminster at a certain day, at which day they assembled tofore him, whom he welcomed, and after said to them how that the archbishop would destroy his law, and not suffer him to enjoy such things as his predecessors had used tofore him. Whereto S. Thomas answered that he never intended to do thing that should displease the king as far as it touched not the franchise and liberties of holy church.

Then the king rehearsed how he would not suffer clerks that were thieves to have the execution of the law; to which S. Thomas said, that he ought not to execute them, but they longeth to the correction of holy church, and other divers points; to which S. Thomas would not agree.

To the which the king said: Now I see well that thou wouldest foredo the laws of this land which have been used in the days of my predecessors, but it shall not lie in thy power, and so the king being wroth departed.

Then the bishops all counselled S. Thomas to follow the king's intent, or else the land should be in great trouble; and in like wise the lords temporal that were his friends counselled him the same, and S. Thomas said: I take God to record it was never mine intent to displease the king, or to take any thing that longeth to his right or honour. And then the lords were glad and brought him to the king to Oxenford, and the king deigned not to speak to him.

And then the king called all the lords spiritual and temporal tofore him, and said he would have all the laws of his forefathers there new confirmed, and there they were confirmed by all the lords spiritual and temporal. And after this the king charged them for to come to him to Clarendon to his parliament at a certain day assigned, on pain to run in his indignation, and at that time so departed. And this parliament was holden at Clarendon, the eleventh year of the king's reign, and the year of our Lord eleven hundred and sixty-four.

At this parliament were many lords which all were against S. Thomas. And then the king sitting in his parliament, in the presence of all his lords, demanded them if they would abide and keep the laws that had been used in his forefathers' days. Then S. Thomas spake for the part of holy church, and said: â□□All old laws that be good and rightful, and not against our mother holy church, I grant with good will to keep them.â□□

And then the king said that he would not leave one point of his law, and waxed wroth with S. Thomas. And then certain bishops required S. Thomas to obey to the king's desire and will, and S. Thomas desired respite to know the laws, and then to give him an answer. And when he understood them all, to some he consented, but many he denied and would never be agreeable to them, wherefore the king was wroth and said he would hold and keep them like as his predecessors had done before him, and would not minish one point of them. Then S. Thomas said to the king with full great sorrow and heavy cheer, â□□Now, my most dear lord and gracious king, have pity on us of holy church, your bedemen, and give to us respite for a certain time.â□□

And thus departed each man. And S. Thomas went to Winchester, and there prayed our Lord devoutly for holy church, and to give him aid and strength for to defend it, for utterly he determined to abide by the liberties and franchise, and fell down on his knees and said, full sore weeping: â□□O good Lord, I acknowledge that I have offended, and for mine offence and trespass this trouble cometh to

holy church, I purpose, good Lord, to go to Rome for to be assoiled of mine offences.â□□ And departed towards Canterbury.

And anon the king sent his officers to his manors and despoiled them, because he would not obey the king's statutes. And the king commanded to seize all his lands and goods into his hands, and then his [Thomas's] servants departed from him, and he went to the seaside for to have gone over sea, but the wind was against him, and so thrice he took his ship and might not pass. And then he knew that it was not our Lord's will that he should yet depart, and returned secretly to Canterbury, of whose coming his meiny made great joy.

And on the morn came the king's officers for to seize all his goods, for the noise was that S. Thomas had fled the land; wherefore they had despoiled all his manors and seized them into the king's hand. And when they came they found him at Canterbury, whereof they were sore abashed, and returned to the king informing him that he was yet at Canterbury.

And anon after S. Thomas came to the king to Woodstock for to pray him to be better disposed towards holy church. And then said the king to him in scorn: â□□May not we two dwell both in this land? Art thou so sturdy and hard of heart?â□□

To whom S. Thomas answered: â□□Sire, that was never my thought, but I would fain please you, and do all that you desire so that ye hurt not the liberties of holy church, for them will I maintain while I live, ever to my power.â□□

With which words the king was sore moved, and swore that he would have them kept, and especial if a clerk were a thief he should be judged and executed by the king's law, and by no spiritual law, and said he would never suffer a clerk to be his master in his own land, and charged S. Thomas to appear before him at Northampton, and to bring all the bishops of this land with him, and so departed.

S. Thomas besought God of help and succour, for the bishops which ought to be with him were most against him. After this S. Thomas went to Northampton where the king had then his great council in the castle with all his lords, and when he came tofore the king he said: â□□I am come to obey your commandment, but before this time was never bishop of Canterbury thus entreated, for I am head of the Church of England, and am to you, Sir King, your ghostly father, and it was never God's law that the son should destroy his father which hath charge of his soul. And by your striving have you made all the bishops that should abide by the right of the church to be against holy church and me, and ye know well that I may not fight, but am ready to suffer death rather than I should consent to lose the right of holy church.â□□

Then said the king, â□□Thou speakest as a proud clerk, but I shall abate thy pride ere I leave thee, for I must reckon with thee. Thou understandest well that thou wert my chancellor many years, and once I lent to thee Â£500 which thou never yet hast repaid, which I will that thou pay me again or else incontinent thou shalt go to prison.â□□

And then S. Thomas answered: â□□Ye gave me that Â£500, and it is not fitting to demand that which ye have given.â□□ Notwithstanding he found surety for the said Â£500 and departed for that day.

And after this, the next day the king demanded Â£30,000 that he had surmised on him to have stolen, he being chancellor, whereupon he desired day to answer, at which time he said that when he was archbishop he set him free therein without any claim or debt before good record, wherefore he ought not to answer unto that demand.

And the bishops desired S. Thomas to obey the king but in no wise he would not agree to such things as should touch against the liberties of the church. And then they came to the king, and forsook S. Thomas, and agreed to all the king's desire, and the proper

servants of S. Thomas fled from him and forsook him, and then poor people came and accompanied him. And on the night came to him two lords and told to him that the king's meiny had emprised to slay him. And the next night after he departed in the habit of a brother of Sempringham, and so chevissed that he went over sea.

And in the meanwhile certain bishops went to Rome for to complain on him to the pope, and the king sent letters to the king of France not to receive him. And the King Louis said that, though a man were banished and had committed there trespasses, yet should he be free in France. And so after when this holy S. Thomas came, he received him well, and gave him licence to abide there and do what he would.

In this meanwhile the king of England sent certain lords into the pope complaining on the Archbishop Thomas, which made grievous complaints, which when the pope had heard said, he would give none answer till that he had heard the Archbishop Thomas speak, which would hastily come thither. But they would not abide his coming, but departed without speeding of their intents, and came into England again.

And anon after, S. Thomas came to Rome on S. Mark's day at afternoon, and when his caterer should have bought fish for his dinner because it was fasting day, he could get none for no money, and came and told to his lord S. Thomas so, and he bade him buy such as he could get, and then he bought flesh and made it ready for their dinner. And S. Thomas was served with a capon roasted, and his meiny with boiled meat. And so it was that the pope heard that he was come, and sent a cardinal to welcome him, and he found him at his dinner eating flesh, which anon returned and told to the pope how he was not so perfect a man as he had supposed, â□□for contrary to the rule of the church he eateth this day flesh.â□□ The pope would not believe him, but sent another cardinal which for more evidence took the leg of the capon in his kerchief and affirmed the same, and opened his kerchief tofore the pope, and he found the leg turned into a fish called a carp. And

when the pope saw it, he said, they were not true men to say such things of this good bishop. They said faithfully that it was flesh that he ate.

After this S. Thomas came to the pope and did his reverence and obedience, whom the pope welcomed, and after communication he demanded him what meat he had eaten, and he said flesh as ye have heard tofore, because he could find no fish and very need compelled him thereto.

Then the pope understood of the miracle that the capon's leg was turned into a carp, and of his goodness granted to him and to all them of the diocese of Canterbury licence to eat flesh ever after on S. Mark's day when it falleth on a fish day, and pardon withal, which is kept and accustomed unto this day.

And then S. Thomas informed the pope how the king of England would have him consent to divers articles against the liberties of holy church, and what wrongs he did to the same, and that for to die he would never consent to them. And when the pope had heard him he wept for pity, and thanked God that he had such a bishop under him that had so well defended the liberties of holy church, and anon wrote out letters and bulls commanding all the bishops of Christendom to keep and observe the same.

And then S. Thomas offered to the pope his bishopric up into the pope's hand, and his mitre with the cross and ring, and the pope commanded him to keep it still, and said he knew no man more able than he was. And after S. Thomas said mass tofore the pope in a white chasuble; and after mass he said to the pope that he knew by revelation that he should suffer death for the right of holy church, and when it should fall that chasuble should be turned from white into red.

And after he departed from the pope and came down into France unto the abbey of Pontigny, and there he had knowledge that when the lords spiritual and temporal which had been at Rome were come

home and had told the king that they might in no wise have their intent, that the king was greatly wroth, and anon banished all the kinsmen that were longing to S. Thomas that they should incontinent void his land, and made them swear that they should go to him and tell to him that for his sake they were exiled, and so they went over sea to him at Pontigny and he being there was full sorry for them.

And after there was a great chapter in England of the monks of Citeaux and there the king desired them to write to Pontigny that they should no longer keep ne sustain Thomas the Archbishop, for if they did, he would destroy them of that order being in England. And, for fear thereof they wrote so over to Pontigny that he must depart thence with his kinsmen, and so he did, and was then full heavy, and remitted his cause to God. And anon after, the king of France sent to him that he should abide where it pleased him, and dwell in his realm and he would pay for the costs of him and his kinsmen. And he departed and went to Sens, and the abbot brought him on the way. And S. Thomas told him how he knew by a vision that he should suffer death and martyrdom for the right of the church, and prayed him to keep it secret during his life.

After this the king of England came into France, and there told the king how S. Thomas would destroy his realm, and then there told how he would foredo such laws as his elders had used tofore him, wherefore S. Thomas was sent for, and they were brought together. And the king of France laboured sore for to set them at accord, but it would not be, for that one would not minish his laws and accustoms, and S. Thomas would not grant that he should do England against S. Thomas, and was wroth with him and commanded him to void his realm with all his kinsmen.

And then S. Thomas wist not whither to go, but comforted his kinsmen as well as he might, and purposed to have gone in to Provence for to have begged his bread. And as he was going, the king of France sent for him again, and when he came he cried him mercy and said he had offended God and him, and bade him abide

in his realm where he would, and he would pay for the dispenses of him and his kin.

And in the meanwhile the king of England ordained his son king, and made him to be crowned by the Archbishop of York, and other bishops, which was against the statutes of the land, for the Archbishop of Canterbury should have consented and also have crowned him, wherefore S. Thomas gat a bull for to do accurse them that so did against him, and also on them that occupied the goods longing to him. And yet after this the king laboured so much that he accorded the king of England and S. Thomas which accord endured not long, for the king varied from it afterward.

But S. Thomas, upon this accord, came home to Canterbury, where he was received worshipfully, and sent for them that had trespassed against him, and by the authority of the pope's bull openly denounced them accursed unto the time they come to amendment. And when they knew this they came to him and would have made him to assoil them by force; and sent word over to the king how he had done, whereof the king was much wroth and said: â□□If he had men in his land that loved him they would not suffer such a traitor in his land alive.â□□

And forthwith four knights took their counsel together and thought they would do to the king a pleasure, and emprised to slay S. Thomas, and suddenly departed and took their shipping towards England. And when the king knew of their departing he was sorry and sent after them, but they were on the sea and departed ere the messengers came, wherefore the king was heavy and sorry.

These be the names of the four knights: Sir Reginald Fitzurse, Sir Hugh de Morville, Sir William de Tracy, Sir Richard le Breton. On Christmas day S. Thomas made a sermon at Canterbury in his own church, and weeping, prayed the people to pray for him, for he knew well his time was nigh, and there executed the sentence on them that were against the right of holy church. And that same day as the king sat at meat all the bread that he handled waxed anon mouldy

and hoar, that no man might eat of it, and the bread that they touched not was fair and good for to eat.

And these four knights aforesaid came to Canterbury on the Tuesday in Christmas week about Evensong time, and came to S. Thomas and said that the king commanded him to make amends for the wrongs that he had done, and also that he should assoil all them that he had accursed anon, or else they should slay him.

Then said Thomas: â□□All that I ought to do by right, that will I with a good will do, but as to the sentence that is executed I may not undo, but that they will submit them to the correction of holy church, for it was done by our holy father the pope and not by me.â□□

Then said Sir Reginald: â□□ But if thou assoil the king and all other standing in the curse, it shall cost thee thy life.â□□

And S. Thomas said: â□□Thou knowest well enough that the king and I were accorded on Mary Magdalene day, and that this curse should go forth on them that had offended the church.â□□

Then one of the knights smote him as he kneeled before the altar on the head. And one Sir Edward Grim, that was his crossier put forth his arm with the cross to bear off the stroke, and the stroke smote the cross asunder and his arm almost off, wherefore he fled for fear, and so did all the monks, that were that time at compline. And then smote each at him, that they smote off a great piece of the skull of his head, that his brain fell on the pavement. And so they slew and martyred him, and were so cruel that one of them brake the point of his sword against the pavement. And thus this holy and blessed Archbishop S. Thomas suffered death in his own church for the right of all holy church.

And when he was dead they stirred his brain, and after went into his chamber and took away his goods, and his horse out of his stable, and took away his bulls and writings, and delivered them to Sir Robert Broke to bear into France to the king. And as they searched

his chamber they found in a chest two shirts of hair made full of great knots, and then they said: Certainly he was a good man; and coming down into the churchward they began to dread and fear that the ground would not have borne them, and were marvellously aghast, but they supposed that the earth would have swallowed them all quick. And then they knew that they had done amiss.

And anon it was known all about, how that he was martyred, and anon after took this holy body, and unclothed him, and found bishop's clothing above, and the habit of a monk under. And next his flesh he wore hard hair, full of knots, which was his shirt. And his breech was of the same, and the knots slicked fast within the skin, and all his body full of worms; he suffered great pain. And he was thus martyred the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and seventy-one, and was fifty-three years old. And soon after tidings came to the king how he was slain, wherefore the king took great sorrow, and sent to Rome for his absolution.

Now after that S. Thomas departed from the pope, the pope would daily look upon the white chasuble that S. Thomas had said mass in, and the same day that he was martyred he saw it turned into red, whereby he knew well that that same day he suffered martyrdom for the right of holy church, and commanded a mass of requiem solemnly to be sung for his soul. And when the quire began to sing requiem, an angel on high above began the office of a martyr: *Letabitur justus* , and then all the quire followed singing forth the mass of the office of a martyr. And the pope thanked God that it pleased him to show such miracles for his holy martyr, at whose tomb by the merits and prayers of this holy martyr our blessed Lord hath showed many miracles. The blind have recovered their sight, the dumb their speech, the deaf their hearing, the lame their limbs, and the dead their life.

If I should here express all the miracles that it hath pleased God to show for this holy saint it should contain a whole volume, therefore at this time, I pass over unto the feast of his translation, where I propose with the grace of God to recite some of them. Then let us

pray to this glorious martyr to be our advocate, that by his petition we may come to everlasting bliss. Amen.

[The following is a separate entry, composed by or for Caxton and included in his 4th volume, covering the feast of the Translation (that is, the moving of the relics) of St. Thomas Ã¡ Beckett, which was the primary feast of the saint in England. It replaces Voragineâ□□s brief accounts of six miracles of the saint: the healing wrought by his bloody garments, the lady who prayed for better looking eyes, the servant who substituted ordinary water for St. Thomasâ□□s water, the bird that escaped the hawk by speaking Thomasâ□□ name, the man who prayed for a cure, and the fates of St. Thomasâ□□ murderers. Four of these miracles are included among those that Caxton puts after dealing with the Translation.]

HERE FOLLOWETH THE TRANSLATION OF S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

The translation of the glorious martyr, S. Thomas of Canterbury, we shall shortly rehearse unto the laud and praising of Almighty God, then in the fiftieth year after his passion, which was the year of jubilee, that is of remission. For, of ancient time, the fiftieth year was called the year of the jubilee of pardon and remission, and is yet used among religious men. For when a religious man hath continued in his order fifty years, then he shall be admitted to make his jubilee, and that made, he is pardoned and hath remission of many observances that tofore he was bounden unto. Then in this year of jubilee from his passion, was the solemnity of his translation accomplished, in the time of Honorius, the third pope of that name. The which granted yearly remissions and indulgences so great and large, that tofore in no time of mind hath been seen any popes to have granted and given like. Then let us call to mind that on a Tuesday his translation was accomplished. On the Tuesday happed to him many things. On a Tuesday he was born, on a Tuesday he was exiled, on a Tuesday our Lord appeared to him at Pountney in France, saying: Thomas, my church shall be glorified in thy blood. On a Tuesday he returned from his exile, and on a Tuesday he

suffered martyrdom.

Then how this holy translation was fulfilled now ye shall hear. The reverend father in God, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard, bishop of Salisbury, Walter, the prior of the same place, with the convent, with spiritual songs and devout hymns, when it was night, went to the sepulchre of this holy martyr, and all that night and day of his translation, they persevered in prayers and fastings. And after midnight, four priests, elected and thereto chosen, approaching to his body, took up the holy head with great devotion and reverence, and unto them all offered it for to kiss it. Then the archbishop, and all the others, made great honour to it, and took all the relics of the precious body, and laid them in a chest, and shut it fast with iron locks, and set it in a place for to be kept unto the day that the translation should be solemnised.

The day then of this holy translation being come, there were present a great innumerable multitude of people, as well of rich as of poor. There was Pandulphus, a legate of our holy father the pope, and two archbishops of France, of Rheims and Arles, with many other bishops and abbots, and also king Harry the Third with earls and barons, which king himself took the chest upon his shoulders, and with the other prelates and lords, brought it with great joy and honour in to the place where it is now worshipped, and was laid in a fair and much rich shrine. At whose holy translation were showed, by the merits of this holy martyr, S. Thomas, many miracles. To blind men was given their sight, to deaf men their hearing, to dumb men their speech, and to dead men was restored life.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIM SAVED FROM DROWNING

Among all others there was a man, because of great devotion that he had to be at this holy translation and visit the holy martyr, which came to the bridge at Brentford by London; and when he was in the middle of the bridge, meeting there one, was cast into the water. This man, not forgetting himself, called S. Thomas unto his help, and besought him not to suffer his pilgrim to perish, ne to be there

drowned. And five times he sank down to the ground, and five times arose above the water, and then he was cast to the dry ground. Then he affirmed that he received no water into his mouth, ne into his ears that did to him grievance ne hurt that he felt, save in his falling he felt in his mouth a little salt water; and added more thereto, saying that, when he sank, a bishop held him up that he might not sink.

THE DATE OF THE TRANSLATION

This holy translation was done and accomplished the year of our Lord twelve hundred and twenty, in the nones of July, at three o'clock, in the fiftieth year after his passion.

A VISION OF ST. THOMAS

For this glorious saint our Lord hath showed many great miracles, as well by his life, as after his death and martyrdom. For a little tofore his death a young man died and was raised again by miracle. And he said that he was led to see the holy order of saints in heaven, and there he saw a seat void, and he asked for whom it was, and it was answered to him that, it was kept for the great bishop of England, S. Thomas of Canterbury.

THE PRIEST WHO SANG OUR LADYÂ□□S MASS

There was also a simple priest that daily sang no other mass but of our Lady, whereof he was put to S. Thomas his ordinary, whom accused, he opposed, and found him full simple of conning, wherefore he suspended him, and inhibited him his mass. Wherefore this priest was full sorry, and prayed humbly to our blessed Lady that he might be restored again to say his mass.

And then our blessed Lady appeared to this priest, and bade him go to S. Thomas, and bid him by the token that â□□the lady whom thou servestâ□□ hath sewed his shirt of hair with red silk, which he shall find there as he laid it, that he give thee leave to sing mass, and assoil thee of his suspending and thine inhibiting, and restore

thee again to thy service.

And when S. Thomas heard this he was greatly abashed, and went and found like as the priest had said, and then assoiled him to say mass as he did before, commanding him to keep this thing secret as long as he lived.

THE LADY WHO WANTED GREY EYES

There was a lady in England that desired greatly to have grey eyes, for she had a conceit that she should be the more beauteous in the sight of the people; and only for that cause she made a row to visit S. Thomas upon her bare feet. And when she came thither, and had devoutly made her prayers to have her desire, suddenly she wax stark blind, and then she perceived that she had offended and displeased our Lord in that request, and cried God mercy of that offence, and besought him full meekly to be restored of her sight again. And by the merits of the blessed S. Thomas she was restored to her sight again, and was glad to have her old eyes, and returned home again, and lived holy to her life's end.

THE THIEVING CARVER

Also there was a lord's carver that brought water to him at his table, to whom the lord said: If thou hast ever stolen anything of mine, I pray God and S. Thomas that thou have no water in the bason, and suddenly it was all void of the water and dry, and there was he proved a thief.

THE TAME BIRD AND THE SPARROWHAWK

There was a tame bird kept in a cage which was learned to speak. And on a time he fled out of the cage and flew into the field; and there came a sparrowhawk, and would have taken this bird and pursued after. And the bird being in great dread cried: S. Thomas! help! like as he had heard others speak, and the sparrowhawk fell down dead. and the bird escaped harmless.

THE MAN WHO PRAYED FOR HEALTH

Also there was a man that S. Thomas loved much in his days, and he fell in a grievous sickness, wherefore he went to the tomb of S. Thomas to pray for his health, and anon he had his desire and was all whole. And as he turned homeward, being all whole, then he began to dread lest this health should not be most profitable for his soul. Then he returned again to the tomb of S. Thomas, and prayed if his health were not profitable to his soul, that his old sickness might come again to him. And it came anon again to him, and endured unto his life's end.

THE BLIND MAN

And in like wise there was a devout blind man which had his sight restored to him again by the merit of S. Thomas; but after, he repented him for he could not be so quiet in his mind as he was before, he had then so much letting by seeing the vanities of the world. Wherefore he prayed to our Lord that by the merits of S. Thomas, he might be blind again to the world as he was before, and anon he had his desire, and lived after full holily to his life's end.

Who should tell all the miracles that our blessed Lord hath showed for this holy martyr, it should overmuch endure, for ever sith his passion unto this day, God hath showed continually for him many great miracles. Then let us pray this holy saint to be a special advocate for us wretched sinners unto our Lord God, who bring us unto his everlasting bliss in heaven.

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THE LIFE OF ST. BENEDICT

Chapter 49 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

S t. Benet was born of the province of Nursia, and was sent to Rome for to study, but in his infancy he left the schools and went into a desert, and his nourice, which tenderly loved him, went alway with him till they came to a place named Æside, and there she borrowed a vessel for to purge or winnow wheat; but the vessel fell to the earth for negligence, and was broken in two pieces. And when St. Benet saw his nurse weep he had great pity, and made his prayers to Almighty God, and after made it also whole as it had been tofore, then they of the country took it and hung it on the front of the church in witness of one so fair a miracle.

The Secret Hermitage

Then left St. Benet his nurse and fled secretly, and came into a hermitage where he was never known of no man but of a monk named Romain, which ministered to him meat for to eat. And because that there was no way from the monastery of Romain unto the pit where St. Benet was, he knit the loaf in a cord and so let it down to him, and because he should hear when Romain should let down the bread he bound a bell on the cord, and by the sound thereof he received his bread, but the devil, having envy of the charity of that one, and of the refection of that other, cast a stone and brake the bell, but nevertheless Romain left not to minister to him.

A Priest Brings Him Food for Easter

It happed that there was a priest on an Easter day that had arrayed his dinner for himself, and our Lord appeared to him and said: Thou ordainest for thyself delicious meats, and my servant dieth for hunger in such a pit, and named him the place. Then the priest arose and bare his meat with him and sought so long that he found St. Benet in great pain. When he had found him he said to him:

Arise and take thy meat and refection for it is Easter Day.

He answered, I know well that it is the feast of Paske, because that I see thee.

The priest said to him: Certainly this day is the day of Easter, and St. Benet wist it not because he had dwelled there so long and so far from people. Then said they graces, and made the benediction, and took their refection.

A Blackbird Pecks at St. Benedict's Face

It happed after this that a black bird, that is called a merle, came on a time to St. Benet and pecked with his bill at his visage, and grieved and noyed him so much that he could have no rest for it, and could not put it from him, but as soon as he had made the sign of the cross, anon the bird vanished away.

A Great Temptation Of The Flesh

And after that came to him a great temptation of the flesh, by the which the devil tempted him in showing him a woman, and he burnt sore, and was inflamed in his courage, but anon he came again to himself; and after, he despoiled himself all naked and went among thorns and wallowed among the nettles, so that his body was torn and pained, by which he healed the wounds of his heart. Then after that time he felt no more temptation of his flesh.

St. Benedict's First Service as Abbot

It happed that the abbot of a monastery was dead, and for the good renomee of this holy man St. Benet, all the monks of the abbey gave their voices and elected St. Benet for their abbot, but he accorded not thereto, ne agreed to them, for he said that his conditions and manners were not according to theirs. Notwithstanding he was vanquished, and so instantly required, that at the last he consented.

But when he saw they lived not ne were not ruled according to their religion and rule, he reproved and corrected them vigorously. And when they saw that they might not do their wills under him, they gave him venom meddled with wine for to drink, but St. Benet made the sign of the cross over it and blessed it, and anon the vessel brake in pieces, which was of glass. When St. Benet then knew so that in that vessel was mortal drink, which might not abide ne suffer the sign of the cross, he rose up and said: God have mercy on you fair brethren; I said to you well, at the beginning, that my conditions and manners appertain not to yours, from henceforth get to you another father, for I may no longer dwell here.

Then went he again to desert, where God showed for him many signs and miracles, and founded there two abbeys.

The Devil In Likeness Of A Little Black Child

Now it happed that in one of these two abbeys, was a monk that might not endure long in prayers, and when the other of his fellows were in prayer he would go out of the church. Then the abbot of that abbey showed this to St. Benet, and anon he went for to see if it were true. And when he came he saw that the devil, in likeness of a little black child, drew him out of the church by his cowl.

Then said St. Benet to the abbot and to St. Maur: See ye not him that draweth him out?

They said: Nay.

Then said he: Let us pray to God that we may see him.

When they had made their prayers St. Maur saw him, but the abbot might not see him. The next day St. Benet took a rod and beat the monk, and then he abode in prayer, like as the devil had been beaten, and durst no more come and draw him away, and from then forthon he abode in prayer and continued therein.

Water on the Mountaintop

Of the twelve abbeys that St. Benet had founded, three of them stood on high rocks, so that they might have no water but by great labour. Then came the monks to him and prayed him that he would set these abbeys in some other place, because they had great default of water.

Then went St. Benet about the mountain, and made his orisons and prayers much devoutly; and when he had long prayed he saw three stones in a place for a sign, and on the morn, when the monks came for to pray, he said to them: Go ye to such a place where ye shall find three stones, and there dig a little and ye shall find water. Our Lord can well provide for you water.

And they went and found the mountain all sweating where as the three stones were, and there they digged and anon they found water, so great abundance that it sufficed to them, and ran down from the top of the hill unto beneath into the valley.

The Miracle of the Axe

It happed on a time that a man hewed bushes and thorns about the monastery, and his axe or instrument of iron that he hewed with, sprang out of the helve and fell into a deep water; then the man cried and sorrowed for his tool, and St. Benet saw that he was over anguished therefor and took the helve and threw it after into the pit, and anon the iron came up and began to swim till that it entered in to the helve.

St. Maur Walks on Water to Rescue a Child

In the abbey of St. Benet was a child named Placidus, which went to the river for to draw water, and his foot slode so that he fell into the river which was much deep, and anon the river bare him forth more than a bow-shot. And when St. Benet, which was in his study, knew it, he called to St. Maur, and said that there was a child which was a monk that was about to be drowned, and bade him go to help

him.

And anon St. Maur ran upon the water like as it had been on dry ground and his feet dry and took up the child by the hair, and drew him to land, and after, when he came to St. Benet, he said that it was not by his merit but by virtue of his obedience.

Florentin, the Raven, and the Seven Naked Maids

There was a priest named Florentin which had envy on St. Benet, and he sent to him a loaf of bread envenomed. After, when St. Benet had this loaf he knew, by the inspiration, that it was envenomed. He gave it to a raven that was wont to take his feeding of St. Benet's hand, and commanded him to bear it unto such a place that no man should find it.

Then the raven made semblant for to obey to the commandment of St. Benet, but he durst not touch it for the venom, and fled about it howling and crying.

St. Benet said to him: Take this bread hardily and bear it away. At the last the raven bare it away into such a place that there was never heard tidings thereof after, and came again the third day after and took his refection of St. Benet's hand as he was wont to do tofore.

When this priest Florentin saw that he could not slay St. Benet, he enforced him to slay spiritually the souls of his disciples. He took seven maidens, all naked, and sent them into the garden to dance and carol for to move the monks to temptation. When St. Benet saw the malice of Florentin he had fear of his disciples, and sent them out of that place.

When Florentin saw that St. Benet and his monks went out, he demened great joy and made great feast, and anon the solar fell upon him and slew him suddenly. When St. Maur saw that Florentin was dead, he ran after St. Benet and called him, saying: Come

again, for Florentin that hath done so much harm to you is dead.

When St. Benet heard this he was sorry for the perilous death of Florentin, and because St. Maur was glad for the death of his enemy, as him seemed, he enjoined him penance therefor.

Conversions at Mount Cassin

After this he went to Mount Cassin, where he had another great adversary, for in the place where that Apollo was adored he made an oratory of St. John Baptist, and converted all the country about to the Christian faith, whereof the devil was so tormented that he appeared to St. Benet all black, and ran upon him with open mouth and throat, and had his eyes all enflamed and said to him, Benet! Benet! and St. Benet answered not. The devil said: Cursed and not blessed, why have I so much persecution?

The Devil Assails a Building Project

It happed on a time that as the monks should lift a stone for a work of an edifice, they might not move it, then there assembled a great multitude of people, and yet they all might not lift it, but anon as St. Benet had blessed it, they lifted it anon. Then apperceived they that the devil was upon it and caused it to be so heavy. And when they had a little made the wall high, the devil appeared to St. Benet and bade him go see them that edified.

Then St. Benet sent to his monks and commanded that they should keep them well, for the devil went to destroy them. But ere the messenger came to them the devil had thrown down a part of the wall, and had therewith slain a young monk. Then they brought the monk, all tobruised, in a sack to St. Benet, and anon St. Benet made upon him the sign of the cross and blessed him, and raised him to life and sent him to the work again.

The Layman Who Broke His Fast

A lay man, of honest life, had a custom once in the year to come to St. Benet all fasting, and on a time as he came, there was one that bare meat accompanied with him, and desired that he would eat with him, but he refused it. After, he prayed him the second time, and yet he refused it, and said he would eat no meat till he came to St. Benet. At the third time he found a fair fountain and a much delitable place, and began sore to desire him to eat with him, and at the last he consented and ate.

And when he came to St. Benet he said to him: Where hast thou eaten?

Which answered, I have eaten a little.

O fair brother, the devil hath deceived thee, but he could not deceive thee the first ne the second time, but the third time he hath surmounted thee.

Then the good man knelt down to the feet of St. Benet and confessed him of his trespass.

Attila Tries to Deceive the Saint

Attila, the king of Goths, would once prove if St. Benet had the spirit of prophecy, and sent to him his servant, and did do array him with precious robes, and delivered to him a great company as he had been the king himself. When St. Benet saw him come, he said to him: Fair son, do off that thou wearest, it is not thine, and the man fell down anon to the ground because he mocked the holy man, and died anon.

The Seminarian Who Took Orders

A clerk that was vexed with the devil was brought to St. Benet for to be healed, and St. Benet put him out, and after said to the clerk: Go, and from henceforth eat no more flesh, and go no more to none order, for what day thou goest and takest orders, the devil shall re-enter into thee.

This clerk held him long time without taking any, till at last he saw younger than he that went to take orders, and had forgotten the words of St. Benet, and took orders, and anon the devil entered in to his body and tormented him till he died.

The Gift of Two Flagons

There was a man that sent to St. Benet two flagons of wine, but he that bare them hid that one, and presented that other without more. When St. Benet had received the present he thanked him much and said to him: Fair brother, take good heed how thou shalt do with that which thou hast hid, and drink not thereof for thou knowest not what is therein.

Then he was ashamed, and so confused went from him, and when he came to the place where he had hid it, he would wit what was therein like as St. Benet had told to him, and bowed it a little, and anon a serpent issued out.

The Prideful Young Man

It happed on a time that St. Benet ate, and a young man which was son to a great lord held to him a candle, and began to think in his heart who is this that I serve? I am son unto a great man; it appertaineth not that one so gentle a man as I am be servant to him.

When St. Benet saw by experience the pride that arose in this monk, he called another monk and made him to hold the candle, and after said to him: What is that thou hast? bless thy heart brother, bless it, God forgive it thee, now thou shalt serve me no more; go into thy cloister and rest thee there.

The Arian King

There was a man of the king of Goths which was named Gallas, which tormented over cruelly the Christian men, because he was of

the sect of the Arians, in such wise that where he found clerks or monks he slew them.

Then it happed on a day that he tormented a villain or a carle for the covetise of his good; when the carle saw that he would take all, he gave all that ever he had to St. Benet. Then left Gallas to torment him a little, but he bound him with the reins of his bridle, and drove him tofore, and he rode after till that he came to the abbey of St. Benet, and bade him that he should show to him this Benet.

When he came thither he saw St. Benet stand tofore the gate alone and studied in a book; then said the villain to the tyrant: Lo! there is Benet that thou demandest after.

When Gallas had looked on him cruelly, like he had been accustomed, he had supposed to have dealt with him like as he had done with other Christian men, and said to St. Benet: Arise up anon and deliver to me the goods of this carle which thou hast by thee.

When St. Benet heard, he lift up a little his eyes and beheld the carle that was tofore him, and anon by great marvel his arms were unbounden, he stood tofore the tyrant appertly, without dread. And anon Gallas fell down to the feet of St. Benet and recommended him to his prayers. And never for all this left St. Benet to read on his book, but called his monks and commanded that his meat should be brought to him, and the monks did so, and sith bare it away. Then admonested St. Benet the tyrant, and said to him that he should leave his cruelty and his woodness, and he departed and never after that day he demanded of villain any good, ne of the man that St. Benet had unbounden only by his sight.

The Famine

It happed over all Champagne, whereas he dwelt that so great a famine was in the country that much people died for hunger. Then all the bread of the abbey failed, and there was within but five loaves for all the convent.

When St. Benet saw that they were abashed he began debonairly to chastise and warn them that they should have their hearts on high to God, and said to them: Wherefore are ye in so great misease for bread? If ye have none this day ye shall have it tomorn.

Now it happed that on the morn they found at their gate two hundred muddes of meal, which were properly sent from God, for never man wist from whence they came. When the monks saw that, they thanked God and learned that they ought not doubt ne of abundance ne of poverty.

Another Building Project

It happed on a time that St. Benet sent his monks for to edify an abbey, and said that at a certain day he would come see them and show them what they should do. Then the night tofore that he had said to come he appeared to the master and to his monks, and showed to them all the places that they should build, but they believed not this vision and supposed it had been but a dream.

Then when they saw that he came not, they returned and said to him: Fair father, we have abided that thou shouldst have come to us like as thou promisedst us.

Then answered he: What is that ye say? Remember ye not that I appeared to you that night that I promised you and enseigned and told how ye should do? Go your way and do in such wise as I have devised to you in the vision.

The Talkative Nuns

There were two nuns nigh unto his monastery which were of much noble lineage, which were much talkative, and restrained not well their tongues, but tormented overmuch him that governed them. And when he had showed this to St. Benet, he sent them word that they should better keep silence and rule their tongues, or he would curse them. But they for all that would not leave it, and so anon

after, they died and were buried in the church.

And when the deacon cried in the end of the mass that they that were accursed should go out of the church, the nurse that had nourished them and that every day had offered for them, beheld and saw that, when the deacon sang so, they issued out of their sepulchres and went out of the church, and when St. Benet knew hereof he offered for them himself and assoiled them. Then after that when the deacon said so as afore, they never issued out after as their nurse had seen them.

The Monk Who Left on a Visit

There was a monk gone out for to see his father and mother, without licence and blessing of his abbot, and the day after he came thither he died; and when he was buried in the earth the earth cast him out again, and so it did twice. Then came the father and mother to St. Benet and told him how the earth threw him and would not receive him, and prayed that he would bless him. Then took he the blessed sacrament and made it to be laid on the breast of the corpse, and when they had done so they buried him, and the earth threw him no more out, but received the body and held it.

The Truant Monk and the Dragon

There was a monk that could not abide in the monastery, and prayed so much to St. Benet that he let him go, and was all angry, and anon as he was out of the abbey he found a dragon with open mouth; and when he saw him he had fear that he would have denounced him, and cried loud: Come hither and help me! come hither, for this dragon will devour me!

Then the monks ran, but they saw no dragon, and brought again the monk trembling and sighing. Then the monk promised that he never would depart from the abbey.

Another Famine

In a time there was in that country a great famine, and all that ever St. Benet might get and have, he gave it to the poor people, in so much that he had no more in the abbey but a little oil, and he commanded yet to the cellarer to give it to a poor man. The cellarer understood him well, but he gave it not because there was no more in the convent. And when St. Benet knew it he took the vessel and cast it out of the window, and it was of glass, and it fell on a stone and brake not; then he reproved the cellarer of inobedience and of the little hope that he had in God; and after he went unto his prayers, and anon a great empty tun that was there was full of oil, insomuch that it ran over.

A Visit to St. Scholastica

It happed another day that St. Benet went to visit his sister, named Scholastica, and as they sat at table she prayed her brother that he would abide there all that night, but he in no wise would grant her, and said he might not live out of his cloister. And when she saw that he would not grant to her to abide, she inclined her head and made her prayers to our Lord, and anon it began to thunder and to lighten, and the air to wax dark which tofore was fair and clear, and a great rain fell down so that for nothing he might depart.

And like as she wept with her eyes, right so forthwith the rain and storm came, and then she lifted up her head. Then St. Benet said to his sister: Almighty God forgive you that ye have done, for ye have letted me that I may not depart hence.

And she said: Fair brother, God is more courteous than ye be, for ye would not accept my prayer, but God hath heard me, now go if ye may.

And then St. Benet abode there all the night, speaking of God between him and his sister without sleeping, till they were both eased. On the morn St. Benet went to his abbey, and on the third day he lift up his eyes to heaven, and saw the soul of his sister mount up into heaven in the likeness of a dove, and anon he did the

body of her to be brought to his abbey, and did it to be buried in his tomb which he had do made for himself.

The Death of St. Benedict

On a night as St. Benet was in his prayer at a window, he saw the soul of St. Germain, bishop of Capua, mount into heaven, and like as a light sudden that enlumineth all the darknesses of the world, so the light of that soul gave a great light; and after he knew that the soul of St. Germain passed that same hour.

After this, when time came that St. Benet himself should depart out of this world, he showed it to his monks six days tofore, and did do make his pit. And after that a fever took him strongly, which held him every day, and at the sixth day he did himself to be borne to the church, and there received the body of our Lord Jesu Christ, and after, among the hands of his disciples, his own hands lifting up to heaven in making his orison, he rendered his soul unto his creator.

The same hour was a revelation showed to two monks, for they saw a way to heaven all covered with palls and mantles of gold, and full of torches burning which illumined all the heaven, which came from the cell of St. Benet unto heaven.

And there was a man in a fair habit to whom these monks demanded what way that was, and he answered that it was the way by which St. Benet mounted up to heaven. Then the body of St. Benet was buried in the oratory that he had made of St. John, where as was wont to be the altar of Apollo, the year of our Lord five hundred and eighteen. To whom let us pray devoutly that he pray to our Lord for us, that we may have grace after this life to come to everlasting bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. BERNARD, THE MELLIFLUOUS DOCTOR

Chapter 120 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Bernard was born in Burgundy in the castle of Fontaine of noble lineage and much religious. Whose father hight Celestin, and was a noble knight in the world and much religious to God. And his mother was named Aleth. She had seven children, six males and one female. The men children she nourished all for to be monks, and the daughter for to be a nun. And anon as she had a child she offered it to God with her own hands. She would refuse strange breasts, for like as she fed them with her motherly milk, so fed she them with nature of goodness. And as long as they grew and were under her hand she nourished them more for [the] desert than for the court. For she fed them with more common and grosser meats, like as she would have sent them right forth into [the] desert.

THE BIRTH OF ST. BERNARD

And as she bare the third son, which was Bernard, in her belly, she saw in her sleep a dream which was a demonstrance of things to come. Her seemed that she had in her belly a whelp, all white and red upon the back, barking in her belly. And when she had told her dream to a holy man, he answered to her, prophesying: Thou art mother of a right noble whelp, which shall be a warden of the house of God, and shall give great barkings against the enemies. For he shall be a noble preacher, and shall target guerish much people by the grace of his tongue.

HIS CHILDHOOD

And as Bernard was yet a little child he was sick of the headache, and there came a woman to him for to charm him, and thereby to assuage the grievous ache of his head, but he put her from him,

crying by right great indignation, and the mercy of God failed not to his infancy in good love, for he arose and felt that he was delivered hereof.

In the blessed night of the nativity of our Lord, when the child Bernard abode in the church the office of matins, and coveted to know what hour Jesu Christ was born, the child Jesus appeared to him as he had been born again out of his mother's belly, wherefore, as long as he lived, he supposed that hour to be the hour of the nativity of our Lord. And ever after as long as he lived was given to him in that hour more perfect wit, and speech more abundant in such things as appertain to the sacrament.

And after that he made a noble work, among all his other works, of the laud and praising of God and his blessed mother. In the which work he expounded the lesson evangelic, how the angel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary.

And when the ancient enemy saw the purpose of the child full of health he bent against him many gins of temptation. And on a time when he had holden his eyes and fixed them upon a woman, he had anon shame in himself and was a cruel venger of himself. For he leapt anon into a pond full of water, and frozen, and was therein so long that almost he was frozen. And by the grace of God he was cooled from the heat of carnal concupiscence.

HIS YOUTH

Tempted by a Naked Maid

About that time, by the instigation of the devil, a maid laid her in his bed by him all naked there where he slept, and when he felt her, he let her lie in that side of the bed she had taken, and turned him to that other side and slept. And she tarried a space of time, and felt him and kittled him, and would have drawn him to her intent. And at the last, when she felt him immoveable, though she were

unshamefaced, yet she was ashamed, and all confused, arose and went her way.

Tempted by a Hostess

Another time as he was harboured in the house of a lady, she considered the beauty of this young man and was greatly achauffed and strongly desired his company. And then she ordained a bed out from the others. And in the night she arose without shame and came secretly to him. And when he felt her he cried: Thieves! thieves!

And she fled, and lighted a candle herself and sought the thief, and none was found, and then each man went to his bed again.

But this unhappy woman rested not, but arose again and went to the bed of Bernard, as she did tofore, and he cried: Thieves! thieves!

And the thief was sought but was not found, ne published of him that knew her well. And yet was she chased the third time, and then with great pain she ceased what for dread and despair.

And on the morn as they went by the way, his fellows reproved him of that he had so dreamed of thieves, and enquired of him what it was. And he answered: Verily, I have suffered this night the assailings of a thief, for mine hostess enforced to take away from me treasure not recoverable.

BERNARD AND HIS BROTHERS JOIN THE CISTERCIANS

And then he bethought himself that it was not sure thing to dwell with the serpent, and thought for to flee it. And then he ordained him to enter into the order of Cistercians. And when his brethren knew it they would have taken him from that purpose, and our Lord gave to him so great grace that they might not turn him from his conversion, but he brought all his brethren and many others to religion.

Nevertheless, Gerard, his brother, a noble knight, supposed always that they were vain words and refused always his monestements and teachings. And then Bernard, burning in the faith and in the spirit of brotherly love of charity, said: My brother, I know well that one sharp travail shall give understanding to thine ears. And after that he put his finger on his side, and said to him: One day shall come, and that soon, that a spear shall pierce thy side, and shall make way to thine heart, for to take the counsel that thou now refusest.

And a short time after Gerard was taken of his enemies, and was hurt on the side in the place where his brother had set his finger, and was put in prison fast bounden. And then came to him Bernard, and they would not suffer him to speak to him. And he cried on high: Gerard, brother, know thou that we shall go shortly and enter into the monastery.

And that same night the bonds of Gerard brake and fell off, and the door opened by himself, and he fled out, and said to his brother that he had changed his purpose and would be a monk.

And this was in the year of the incarnation of our Lord eleven hundred and twelve, in the fifteenth year of the order of Citeaux. The servant of God, Bernard, at the age of twenty-two years entered into the order of Citeaux with more than thirty fellows. And as Bernard issued with his brethren out of his father's house, Guy, that was the eldest, saw Nivard, his younger brother, which was a little child and played with the children, and said to him: Nivard, brother, all the possession of our heritage shall appertain to thee.

And the child answered not as a child, and said: Ye shall then have heaven, and leave to me only the earth, this part is not evenly ne righteously divided. And after, the child abode a little while with his father, but afterward he followed his brethren.

In All Things Occupied In God

When the servant of God, Bernard, was entered in to the order, he was so esprised and in all things occupied in God that he used no bodily wits. He had been a year in the cell of novices, and yet he wist not whether there were any windows in the house or no, and oft-times he had entered and gone out of the church whereas in the head were three windows, and he supposed there had been but one. And the abbot of Citeaux sent of his brethren for to edify the house of Clerevaux, and made Bernard there abbot, which was there long in great poverty, which oft made his pottage with leaves of holm.

SAYINGS OF ST. BERNARD

On Sleep

And the servant of God waked over man's power, and said that he lost no time but when he slept, and said that the comparison of sleep and of death were like semblable, so they that sleep be like as death were with men, and like as dead men be seen sleeping to God.

On Nourishment

He was unnethe drawn to any meat for delight of appetite, but only for dread of failing, and he went to take his meat like as he should have gone to a torment. And he was always accustomed, when he had eaten, to weet if he had eaten too much or more than he was accustomed, and if he had so done he would punish himself so that he refrained his mouth, that he lost a great part of the savour and tasting of his meat. For sometimes he drank oil when it was given him by error instead of drink. He said that the water was good alone and refreshed him well, and he perceived not that he drank oil, but when his lips were anointed some told him thereof. And some time and other while he ate the fat of raw flesh instead of butter.

On Reading Scripture

He said that all that he had learned of holy scripture he had learned it in woods, in fields, most by meditation and praying, and confessed that he had none other masters but oaks and holm-trees, this confessed he among his friends. At the last he confessed that sometime, when he was in meditation or praying, him thought that all holy scriptures appeared to him expounded. On a time, as he rehearseth in Canticis, that he would put among the words such as the Holy Ghost counselled him, and whiles he made that treatise he would think, of good courage, what he should do when that were made. And then a voice came to him, saying: Till thou hast accomplished this work thou shalt do none other.

On Clothing

He had never pleasure in clothing; he said that filths were in demonstrance of negligence, and outrageous clothing was folly, a man but glorifying himself in respect of outward vain glory. He had in his heart always this proverb, and oft said it: Who doth that no other man doth, all men wonder on him. He ware many years the hair, and as long as he might hide it he ware it. And when he saw that it was known, he left it anon and took him to common vesture.

On Laughing

He laughed never but if he made greater force to laugh than to refrain him.

On Patience

He was wont to say that the manner of patience was in three manners, of injuries of words, of damage of things, and of misdoing of the body.

On Blasphemy

On a time he wrote a letter to a bishop, friendly, and admonished him amiably, and he was much wroth, and wrote to him a letter saying thus at the beginning: Greeting to thee that hast the spirit of

blasphemy. To whom he answered: I suppose not to have the spirit of blasphemy, ne have said evil to any man, but only to the prince the devil.

On Riches

An abbot sent to him six hundred marks of silver for to make a convent, but all the money was robbed by thieves by the way. And when St. Bernard heard thereof he said none other thing but: Blessed be God that hath spared me from this charge.

ANECDOTES

The Canon Regular

A canon regular came to him and prayed him much that he Bernard would receive him to be a monk, and he would not accord it to him, but counselled him to return to his church. He said to him: Why hast thou so much in thy books praised perfection if thou wilt not show it, and deliver it to him that coveteth it? If I had thy books I would all torend them.

And Bernard said to him: Thou hast not read in any of them but that thou mightest be perfect in thy cloister; I praise in all my books the correction of manners and not the mutation of places.

And the canon being all araged leapt to him and smote him on the cheek, that it was red and swollen. And they that were by arose against this cursed man for to have smitten this cursed man, but Bernard came between, crying and conjuring by the name of Jesu Christ that they should not touch him, ne do him none harm.

Advice to Novices

He had a custom to say to the novices that would enter into religion: Leave there without your body, ye that will enter into religion, leave the body without that ye have taken from the world, and join you to

them that be here within, let the spirit enter only, for the flesh profiteth no thing.

St. Bernard's Sister Enters the Religious Life

St. Bernard's father went into the monastery and dwelled there a certain time, and after died in good age. The sister was married in to the world, and on a time she arrayed and apparelled her in riches and delights of the world, and went into the monastery for to visit her brethren in a proud estate and great apparel. And he dreaded her as she had been the devil, or his net for to take souls, ne would not go out for to see her.

And when she saw that none of her brethren came against her, one of her brethren, that was porter, said to her that she was a foul ordure stinking, wraped in gay array. And then she melted all in tears, and said: If I be a sinner, God died for sinners, and because I am a sinful woman I come to ask counsel of them that be good. If my brother despise my flesh, he that is servant of God ought not to despise my soul; let my brother come, and what he shall command me I shall do.

And she held that promise. And he came with his brethren, and because she might not depart from her husband, he taught her to despise the glory of the world, and showed to her how she should ensiew the steps of her mother. And then when she came home again she was so sore changed, that in the middle of the world she led the life of a hermit, and all estranged from the world.

In the end she vanquished her husband by prayers, and was assoilled by the bishop of her vow and entered into a monastery.

St. Bernard Has a Vision of Judgment

On a time St. Bernard was sore sick, so that him seemed he should give up his spirit, and was at his end as him seemed in a trance, and him thought that he was tofore God in judgment and there was the devil on that other side, which put on him many accusations and

reproaches, and when he had all said, Bernard said without fear, dread, or wrath: I confess me that I am not worthy to have the kingdom of heaven by mine own merits, but our Lord which holdeth me by double right as his heritage and by the merits of his passion. By that one he is content, and that other he giveth to me, by which gift I ought not to be confounded, but it appertaineth to me by right.

And thus he was confused and the vision failed, and the man of God came to himself and destrained his body by so great travail of fastings and wakings, that he languished in continual malady, that he might not follow the convent but with pain.

His Brethren Pray Him out of Illness

On a time he was so grievously sick that all the brethren prayed for him, so that he felt him a little alleged and eased of his pain. Then he did do assemble all his brethren, and said: Wherefore hold ye so wretched a man? Ye be stronger and have vanquished, I pray you, spare me and let me go.

Many Cities Want Him for Their Bishop

This holy man was elect of many cities for to be a bishop, specially of the city of Milan, and refused it not follily, ne granted thereto, but said to them that required that he was not his own, but deputed to other. And by the counsel of this holy man, the brethren so provided by the authority of the pope, that none might take him from them which was their joy to have him.

The Costly Saddle

On a time when he visited the order of Charterhouse, and when the brethren were well edified by him, one thing there was that moved a little the prior of the place, and that was, the saddle that St. Bernard rode on was over precious and showed little poverty of the brethren, and the prior told it to one of the brethren. And the brother said it to St. Bernard, and he marvelled and asked what saddle it was, and sent for it. For he wist not what saddle it was, how well he had

ridden upon it from Clerevaux to the Charterhouse.

He went all a long day by the lake of Lausanne and saw not the lake ne took heed of it, and at even as his fellows spake of that lake, he demanded where was that lake. And when they heard that, they marvelled strongly, for certainly the humbleness of his heart vanquished in him the height of name. For the world could never enhance him so high, but he alone humbled himself the more; he was reputed sovereign of all, and he accounted himself least and most low.

His Humility

And at the last he confessed that when he was among his sovereign honours and favours of the people, him seemed that there was another man changed in him, or as he had been in a dream. And there where he was among the most simple brethren he used most amiable humility, there he joyed, there found he himself, and that he was returned in to his own person. He was always found tofore the hours, or reading, or writing, or in meditation, or in edifying his brethren by word.

A Temptation to Pride

On a time as he preached to the people, and that they all understood devoutly his words, such a temptation arose in his heart: Verily, now preachest thou well, now art thou well heard of the people, and art reputed wise of them all. And the holy man feeling him to be put in this temptation, rested and tarried a while, and thought whether he might say more or make an end. And anon he was comforted by divine aid, and answered softly to him that tempted him: I neither began by thee, ne shall I end by thee; and so performed surely all his sermon.

The Monk Who Wanted to Return to the World

A monk that had been a ribald in the world and a player, tempted by a wicked spirit, would return again to the world. And as St. Bernard

retained him, he demanded him whereof he should live. And he answered to him that he could well play at the dice, and should well live thereby.

And St. Bernard said to him: If I deliver to thee any good, wilt thou come again every year that I may part half gain with thee?

And he had great joy thereof, and promised him so to do. And then St. Bernard said that there should be delivered to him twenty shillings, and he went withal. And this holy man did this for to draw him again to the religion, as he did after. And he went forth, and lost all, and came again all confused tofore the gate. And when St. Bernard knew him there, he went to him joyously and opened his lap for to part the gain.

And he said: Father, I have won nothing, but have lost your chattel; receive me, if it please you, to be your chattel. And St. Bernard answered to him sweetly: If it be so, it is better that I receive thee, than lose both thee and that other.

Stability in Prayer

On a time St. Bernard rode upon an horse by the way, and met a villein by the way, which said to him that he had not his heart firm and stable in praying. And the villein or uplandish man had great despite thereof, and said that he had his heart firm and stable in all his prayers. And St. Bernard, which would vanquish him and shew his folly, said to him: Depart a little from me, and begin thy paternoster in the best entent thou canst. And if thou canst finish it without thinking on any other thing, without doubt I shall give to thee the horse that I am on. And thou shalt promise to me by thy faith that if thou think on any other thing thou shalt not hide it from me.

And the man was glad and reputed the horse his, and granted it him, and went apart and began his paternoster. And he had not said the half when he remembered if he should have the saddle withal. And therewith he returned to St. Bernard and said that he had

thought in praying, and after that he had no more will to advance him.

Writing in the Rain

There was monk of his named brother Robert, nigh to himself as to the world, had been deceived in his childhood by the enticement of some persons, and was sent to the abbey of Cluny, and the honourable man left him awhile there. And he would call him again by letters; and as he dictated the letter by clear day, and another monk wrote it, a rain came suddenly upon them. And he that wrote would have hid the parchment from the rain, and St. Bernard said: This work is the work of God, write on hardily and doubt thee nothing. And then he wrote the letter in the midst of the rain without being wet, and yet it rained all about them; for the virtue of charity took away the moisture of the rain from them.

Flies in the Church

A great multitude of flies had taken a church that he had do make, so that they did much harm to all them that came thither. And he said: I curse and excommunicate them, and on the morn they were found all dead.

He Casts Out a Devil

He was on a time sent from the pope to Milan for to reconcile the church, and when he had so done and was returned, a man of Milan brought to him his wife which was demoniac. And anon the devil began to missay him through the mouth of the wretched woman, and said: Thou eater of porret, ween thou to take me out of mine house? Nay, thou shalt not!

And the holy man, St. Bernard, sent him to St. Syrus in his church, and the said St. Syrus gave the honour to his host and healed her not, and thus was she brought again to St. Bernard. And then the devil began to cry, and said: Neither Syrus ne Bernard shall put me out.

And St. Bernard said: Syrus ne Bernard shall not put thee out, but our Lord shall put thee out.

And as soon as he made his prayer the wicked spirit said: Ha! ha! how gladly would I issue from hence, for I am here tormented grievously. But I may not, for the great Lord wills it not.

And the holy man said: Who is that Lord? and he said, Jesus of Nazareth.

And St. Bernard said: Sawest thou him ever?

And he answered: Yea.

St. Bernard said: Where sawest thou him?

And he said: In his glory.

And St. Bernard asked him: And wert thou in glory?

And he said: Yea.

How wentest thou from thence?

And he said: With Lucifer many of us fell. All these he said by the mouth of the woman, that every man heard.

Then said to him the holy man: Wouldst not thou go again into that glory?

And he said, mowing marvellously: It is too late.

Then the holy man prayed, and the wicked spirit issued out of that woman, but when the man of God was departed thence, the wicked spirit entered again.

And her husband came after the holy man and told him what was happed. And he made to bind a writing about her neck containing these words: I command thee in the name of our Lord Jesu Christ that thou be not so hardy to touch more this woman, and he durst never after touch her.

Another Woman is Exorcised

There was a piteous woman in Guienne, which was vexed with a devil that dwelled in her and vexed her marvellously six years during, in using her to his lechery. And the holy man, St. Bernard, came in to the parts. And the devil menaced her, if she went to him that it should not profit her. And if she went, he that was her love should be to her a cruel persecutor. But she went surely to the holy man, and told to him, weeping strongly, what she suffered.

And he said: Take this staff which is mine, and lay it in thy bed, and if he may do anything let him do it.

And she did so and laid it in her bed. And he came anon, but he durst not go to his work accustomed, ne presumed to approach her bed, but he threatened her right eagerly that, when he was gone, he would avenge him right cruelly on her. And when she had said this to Bernard, he assembled the people that every each should hold a candle burning in his hand, and came to this devil, and with all them that were there he cursed him and excommunicated him, and defended that never after he should so do to her ne to none other. And thus was she all delivered of that illusion.

The Duke of Guienne

And when on a time as this holy man went as a legate in to that province for to reconcile the duke of Guienne to the church, and he refused to be reconciled in all manners, the holy man went to the altar for to sing mass, and the duke abode without the church as excommunicate. And when he had said Pax domini, he laid the body of our Lord upon the paten, and bare it without the church, and went out with a face flaming and burning, and assailed the duke by

fearful words, saying: We have prayed thee and thou hast despised us, lo! here is the son of the Virgin which is come to thee, which is Lord of the church whom thou persecutest. This is thy judge, in the name of whom all knees bow, in the hands of whom thy soul shall come. Despise him not as thou hast his servants, resist him if thou mayst.

Then anon the duke waxed all stiff and was impotent in all his members, and then he fell down at his feet. And the holy man put his foot at him, and commanded him to arise and to hear the sentence of God. He then trembling arose, and accomplished anon that the holy man commanded.

A Messenger is Taken into the Religious Life

On a time as this holy St. Bernard entered into Almaine for to appease a great discord, there was an archbishop that sent an honorable clerk against him. And when the clerk said to him that he had been sent from his master against him, the holy man answered to him and said: Another lord hath sent thee.

And he marvelled and said that he was sent of none other, but of his lord the archbishop.

And St. Bernard said: Son, thou art deceived. Our Lord Jesu Christ, which hath sent thee, is a greater master.

And when the clerk understood him he said: Sire, weenest thou that I will be a monk? Nay, I thought it never, ne it came never in my heart.

Yet after in the same voyage he forsook the world and received the habit of this holy man, St. Bernard.

A Knight Enters the Order

He took also on a time into the order a noble knight, and when he had followed St. Bernard a little time he began to be grievously

tempted, and when a brother saw him so heavy, he inquired the cause of his heaviness. And he answered him: I wot well that I shall never be glad.

And the brother told it to St. Bernard, and he prayed to God much ententively for him, and anon that brother that was so pensive and so heavy, seemed more joyous than the other, and more glad than he had been tofore heavy. And the brother blamed him because he had said that he should never be joyous.

And he answered and said: I wot well I said I should never be glad, but I say now that I never shall be sorrowful.

The Death of St. Malachi

When St. Malachi, bishop of Ireland, of whom he wrote the life, full of virtues, passed out of this world out of his monastery blessedly to our Lord Jesu Christ, and St. Bernard offered to God for him sacrifice of health, he saw the glory of him by revelation of our Lord, and by the inspiration of God he changed the form of prayer after the communion, saying thus with joyous voice: God, that hast accompanied St. Malachi by his merits with thy saints, we pray thee to give to us that we that make the feast of his precious death, may follow the examples of his life.

And when the chanter heard him, he said to him, and showed that he erred. And he said: I err not, but I know well what I say, and then went to the body and kissed his feet.

Numerous Knights Enter the Order

And in a time that the Lent approached he was visited of divers knights. And he prayed them that at the least in these holy days they should abstain them from their vanities, their jollities, and doing outrages, and they in no wise would agree thereto. And then he bade make ready wine, and said to them: Drink ye the health of your souls.

And when they had drunk the wine they were suddenly changed and went to their houses, and that they had denied to do a little time, they gave to God after, all the time of their life, and led a right holy life.

HIS DEATH AND LEGACY

At the last the holy St. Bernard, approaching to the death, said blessedly to his brethren: I require and command you to keep three things, the which I remember to have kept to my power as long as I have been in this present life. I have not willed to slander any person, and if any have fallen I have hid it as much as I might. I have ever trusted less mine own wit than any others. If I were hurt, I never required vengeance of the hurter. I leave to you charity, humility, and patience.

And after that he had done many miracles, and had made one hundred and seventy-one monasteries, and had ordained many books and treatises, he accomplished the days of his life the sixty-third year of his age, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and fifty six. He slept in our Lord among the hands of his sons, and his glory showed his departing hence to much people.

He appeared to an abbot in a monastery and admonished him that he should follow him, and he so did. And then St. Bernard said: We be come to the mount of Lebanon, thou shalt abide here, and I shall ascend up on high.

And he asked him wherefore he would go up, and he said: For to learn, I will go up.

And he being greatly admarvelled, said: What wilt thou learn, father, of whom we believe that there is none to thee like, ne holden so wise in science as thou art?

And he said: Here is no science, ne here is no knowledge of truth, but there above is plenty of science, and on high is the very

knowledge of truth. And with that word he vanished away. And then that abbot marked that day, and found that St. Bernard was then passed to our Lord, which showed for him many miracles and innumerable. To whom be given laud and praising everlasting. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. BLASE

Chapter 38 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

S Blase was so sweet, holy and humble in manners, that the Christian men of Cappadocia of the city of Sebaste chose him to be a bishop. The which when he was bishop saw that Diocletian the emperor made so many persecutions to Christian men that S. Blase sought and would dwell in an hermitage in a ditch, in which place the birds of heaven brought to him meat for to eat. And it seemed to him that they came to serve him and accompany him, and would not depart from him till he had lift up his hands and blessed them. And also sick men came to him and anon were cured and healed.

ST. BLAISE PREACHES TO THE PRINCE'S KNIGHTS

Now it happed that the prince of this region sent his knights to hunt, and they could take nothing. But by adventure they came unto the desert place where S. Blase was, where they found great multitude of beasts which were about him, of whom they could take none, whereof they were all abashed and showed this to their lord, the which anon sent many knights for him [i.e. St. Blaise], and commanded to bring him and all the Christian men with him.

And that night Jesu Christ appeared to him [i.e., to St. Blaise] thrice, which said to him: Arise up and make to me sacrifice. Lo! here be the knights that come to fetch thee at the commandment of the prince. And the knights said to him: "Come out from this place, the president calleth thee."

And S. Blase answered: "My sons, ye be welcome, I see now well that God hath not forgotten me." He went with them and continually preached, and did many miracles tofore them.

THE BOY WITH A FISH BONE IN HIS THROAT

There was a woman that had a son dying, in whose throat was a bone of a fish athwart, which estrangled him, and she brought him tofore his feet, praying him that he would make her son whole. And S. Blase put his hand upon him and made his prayer to God that this child, and all they that demanded benefits of health in his name, that they should be holpen and obtain it, and anon he was whole and guerished.

THE WIDOW'S PIG

Another woman there was that was poor which had a swine, which the wolf had borne away, and she humbly prayed to S. Blase that she might have again her swine. And he began to smile and said: Good woman anger thee not, for thou shalt have again thy swine, and anon the wolf brought again to the woman, which was a widow, her swine.

THE CHRISTIANS ARE PERSECUTED BY THE PREFECT OF THE CITY

St. Blaise is Arrested

And anon after he was entered into the city, the prince commanded to put him in prison, and after another day he made him to come tofore him, whom he saluted by fair words, saying to him: "Be thou joyful, Blase, the friend of God."

S. Blase answered to him: "Be thou joyous right good prince, but call not them gods whom thou worshippest, but fiends, for they be delivered to fire perdurable with them that serve and worship them."

Then was the prince much wroth, and made to beat S. Blase with staves, and after to put him in prison. Then said S. Blase: "O mad man, weenest thou by thy torments and pains to take away from me the love of my God whom I have with me and is my helper?"

The Widow Brings Him Succor

And when this good widow, which by S. Blase had recovered her swine, heard thereof, she slew it, and the head and the feet with a little bread and a candle, she brought to S. Blase, and he thanked God and ate thereof, and he said to her that every year she should offer in his church a candle, "and know thou that to thee and to all them that so shall do shall well happen to them."

And so she did all her life, and she had much great prosperity.

St. Blaise is Tortured

After this that the right cruel prince had brought him tofore his gods, and in no wise might make him incline for to adore to their gods, he made him to be hanged on a gibbet, and his body to be torn with combs of iron, and this done he was remitted again to prison.

The Passion of the Seven Christian Women

And there were seven women that siewed him, which gathered up the drops of his blood, which women anon were taken, and constrained to sacrifice to their gods. The which said: "If thou wilt that we worship thy gods, and that we do to them reverence, send them to the water for to wash and make clean their visages, to the end that we may more cleanlier worship them."

Then the prince was right glad and joyous, and anon sent them to the water, and the women took them and threw them in the middle of the stagne or pond, and said: "Now shall we see if they be gods."

And when the prince heard this he was out of his wit for anger, and smote himself all wroth saying: "Wherefore retained not ye our gods that they should not have thrown them in the bottom of the water?"

The ministers answered: "Thou spakest shrewdly to the women, and they cast them into the water."

To whom the women said: "The very God may not suffer iniquity ne falseness, for if they had been very gods they had well eschewed

that they had not been thrown there, and had seen what we would have done."

Then the tyrant became wroth and did do make ready lead molten and iron combs, and seven coats of iron burning as hot as fire on that one side, and that other he did do bring smocks of linen cloth and said to them that they should choose which they would. And one of them that had two small children ran hardily and took the smocks of linen cloth and threw them in the furnace for to go after herself if she had failed. And the children said to the mother, "leave us not after thee, but right sweet mother, like as thou hast nourished us with thy milk so replenish us with the realm of heaven."

Then the tyrant did do hang them, and with hooks and crochets of iron did do tear their flesh and all to-rent it. Of whom the flesh was as white as snow, and for blood they gave out milk. And as they suffered these great torments the angel of God descended from heaven and comforted them, and said to them: "Have ye no dread, the worker is good that well beginneth and well endeth, and who deserveth good reward shall have joy, and for his work complete he shall have his merit, and for labour he shall have rest, and that shall be the reward."

Then the tyrant did do take them down and did do throw them into the burning furnace, which women, by the grace of God issued without taking harm, and the fire was extinct and quenched. And the tyrant said to them, "now leave ye your art of enchantment and adore ye our gods."

And they answered: "Do that thou hast begun, for we be now called to the kingdom of heaven."

Then he commanded that they should be beheaded; and when they should be beheaded they began to adore God kneeling on their knees, saying: "Lord God which hast departed us from darknesses, and in to this right sweet light hast brought us, and of us hast made thy sacrifice, receive our souls, and make us to come to the life

perdurable."

And thus had they their heads smitten off, and sith their souls went to heaven.

St. Blaise Is Executed

After this the prince made S. Blase to be brought before him, and said to him: "Hast thou now worshipped our gods or not?"

S. Blase answered: Right cruel man I have no dread of thy menaces, do what thou wilt, I deliver to thee my body whole."

Then he took him and did him to be cast in to a pond, and anon he blessed the water and the water dried all away, and so he abode there safe. And then S. Blase said to him, "If your gods be very and true gods, let them now show their virtue and might and enter ye hither."

Then there entered into it sixty-five persons, and anon they were drowned. And an angel descended from heaven, and said to S. Blase: "Blase go out of this water and receive the crown that is made ready of God for thee."

And when he was issued out of the pond the tyrant said to him: "Thou hast determined in all manners not for to adore our gods."

To whom S. Blase said: "Poor caitiff, know thou that I am servant of God, and I adore not the fiends as ye do."

And anon then the tyrant did do smite off his head, and S. Blase prayed to our Lord tofore his death that whosoever desired his help from the infirmity of the throat, or required aid for any other sickness or infirmity, that he would hear him, and might deserve to be guerished and healed. And there came a voice from heaven to him saying that his petition was granted and should be done as he had

prayed. And so then with the two little children he was beheaded about the year of our Lord three hundred and eighty seven.

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THE LIFE OF ST. KATHERINE, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Caxton's life of St. Catherine, based on chapter 172 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), with additional material provided by an earlier English translation 1

KATHERINE'S PARENTAGE

Katherine, by descent of line, was of the noble lineage of the emperors of Rome as it shall be declared more plainly hereafter by a notable chronicle, whose most blessed life and conversation wrote the solemn doctor Athanasius, which knew her lineage and her life, for he was one of her masters in her tender age ere she was converted to the Christian faith. And after, the said Athanasius, by her preaching and marvellous work of our Lord, was converted also, which, after her martyrdom, was made bishop of Alexandria, and a glorious pillar of the church by the grace of God and merits of St. Katherine.

And as we find by credible chronicles, in the time of Diocletian and Maximian was great and cruel tyranny showed in all the world, as well to Christian men as to paynims, so that many that were subject to Rome put away the yoke of servage and rebelled openly against the empire. Among whom the realm of Armenia was one that withstood most the tribute of the Romans, wherefore they of Rome deputed a noble man of dignity named Constantius, which was tofore others a valiant man in arms, discreet and virtuous.

The which lord, after he came in to Armenia, anon subdued them by his discreet prudence, and deserved to have the love and favour of his enemies, in so much that he was desired to marry the daughter of the king which was sole heir of the realm, and he consented and married her. And soon after the king her father died, and then Constantius was enhanced and crowned king, which soon after had a son by his wife named Costus, at the birth of whom his mother

died. After the death of whom Constantius returned to Rome to see the emperor, and to know how his lordships were governed in those parts, and in the meantime tidings came to Rome how that Great Britain, which now is called England, rebelled against the empire. Wherefore, by the advice of the consulate, it was concluded that Constantius, king of Armenia, should go into Britain to subdue them; which addressed him thither, and in short time after he entered into the land, by his prowess and wisdom he appeased the realm and subdued it again to the empire of Rome.

And also he was so acceptable to the king of Britain, named Coel, that he married his daughter Helen, which afterward found the holy cross, and in short time he gat on her Constantine, which after was emperor. And then soon after died Constantius. And Constantine, after the death of King Coel, by his mother was crowned king of Britain. And Costus, the first son of Constantius, wedded the king's daughter of Cyprus, which was heir, of whom, as shall be hereafter said, was engendered St. Katherine, which came of the lineage of Constantius.

In the year of our Lord two hundred, reigned in Cyprus a noble and prudent king named Costus, which was a noble and seemly man, rich and of good conditions, and had to his wife a queen like to himself in virtuous governance, which lived together prosperously, but after the law of paynims, and worshipped idols. This king, because he loved renomee and would have his name spread through the world, he founded a city in which he edified a temple of his false gods, and named that city after his name Costi, which after, to increase his fame, the people named it Fama Costi, and yet unto this day is called Famagosta; in which city he and the queen lived in great wealth and prosperity.

HER BIRTH, YOUTH, AND CORONATION

And like as the fair rose springeth among the briars and thorns, right so between these two paynims was brought forth this blessed St. Katherine. And when this holy virgin was born she was so fair of

visage and so well formed Katherine in her members that all the people enjoyed in her beauty, and when she came to seven years of age, anon after she was set to school, where she profited much more than any other of her age, and was informed in the arts liberal, wherein she drank plenteously of the well of wisdom, for she was chosen to be a teacher and informer of everlasting wisdom.

The king Costus her father had so great joy of the great towardness and wisdom of his daughter, that he let ordain a tower in his palace, with divers studies and chambers, in which she might be at her pleasure and also at her will, and also he ordained for to wait on her seven the best masters and wisest in conning that might be gotten in those parts. And within a while they that came to teach her, they after that, learned of her and became her disciples.

And when this virgin came to the age of fourteen years, her father king Costus died, and then she was left as queen and heir after him, and then the estates of the land came to this young lady, Katherine, and desired her to make a parliament in which she might be crowned and receive the homage of her subjects, and that such rule might be set in her beginning, that peace and prosperity might ensue in her realm. And this young maid granted to them their asking.

THE MARRIAGE PARLIAMENT

And when the parliament was assembled and the young queen crowned with great solemnity, and she sitting on a day in her parliament, and her mother by her, with all the lords each in his place, a lord arose by the assent of her mother, the other lords, and the commons, and kneeled down tofore her, saying these words: Right high and mighty princess, and our most sovereign lady, please if you to wit that I am commanded by the queen your mother, by all the lords and commons of this your realm, to require your highness that it may please you to grant to them that they might provide some noble knight or prince to marry you, to the end that he might rule and defend your realm and subjects, like as your father

did before you, and also that of you might proceed noble lineage which after you may reign upon us, which thing we most desire, and hereof we desire your good answer.

This young queen Katherine, hearing this request, was abashed and troubled in her courage how she might answer to content her mother, the lords, and her subjects, and to keep herself chaste, for she had concluded to keep her virginity, and rather to suffer death than to defile it. And then with a sad cheer and meek look she answered in this wise: Cousin, I have well understood your request, and thank my mother, the lords, and my subjects of the great love that they all have to me and to my realm, and as touching my marriage, I trust verily there may be no peril, considering the great wisdom of my lady my mother, and of the lords, with the good obeisance of the commons, trusting in their good continuance. Wherefore we need not to seek a stranger for to rule us and our realm, for with your good assistance and aid we hope to rule, govern, and keep this our realm in good justice, peace, and rest, in like wise as the king my father held you in. Wherefore at this time I pray you to be content and to cease of this matter, and let us proceed to such matters as be requisite for the rule, governance and universal weal of this realm.

And when this young queen Katherine had achieved her answer, the queen her mother, and all the lords, were abashed of her of words and wist not what to say, for they considered well by her words that she had no will to be married. And then there arose and stood up a duke, which was her uncle, and with due reverence said to her in this wise: My sovereign lady, saving your high and noble discretion, this answer is full heavy to my lady your mother, and to us all your humble liegemen, without ye take better advice to your noble courage. Wherefore I shall move to you of four notable things that the great God hath endowed you with before all other creatures that we know, which things ought to cause you to take a lord to your husband, to the end that the plenteous gifts of nature and grace may spring of you by generation, which may succeed by right line to reign upon us, to the great comfort and joy of all your people and

subjects, and the contrary should turn to great sorrow and heaviness.

Now, good uncle, said she, what be these four notable things that so ye repute in us? Madame, said he, the first is this, that we be ascertained that ye be come of the most noble blood in the world. The second, that ye be a great inheritor, and the greatest that liveth of woman to our knowledge. The third is, that ye in science, conning, and wisdom pass all other, and the fourth is, in bodily shape and beauty there is none like to you. Wherefore, madame, us think that these four notable things must needs constrain you to incline to our request.

Then said this young Queen Katherine with a sad countenance: Now, uncle, sith God and nature have wrought so great virtues in us, we be so much more bound to love and to please him, and we thank him humbly of his great and large gifts. But sith ye desire so much that we should consent to be married, we let you plainly wit that like as ye have described us, so will we describe him that we will have to Katherine our lord and husband, and if ye can get such an one we will agree to take him with all our heart. For he that shall be lord of mine heart and mine husband shall have the four notable things in him over all measure; so farforthly that all creatures shall have need of him, and he needeth of none. And he that shall be my lord must be of so noble blood that all men shall do to him worship, and therewith so great a lord that I shall never think that I made him a king, and so rich that he pass all others in riches. And so full of beauty that angels have joy to behold him, and so pure that his mother be a virgin. And so meek and benign that he can gladly forgive all offences done unto him. Now I have described to you him that I will have and desire to my lord and to my husband, go ye and seek him, and if ye can find such an one, I will be his wife with all mine heart, if he vouchsafe to have me. And finally, but if ye find such an one I shall never take none, and take this for a final answer.

And with this she cast down her eyes meekly and held her still. And when the queen her mother and the lords heard this, they made

great sorrow and heaviness, for they saw well that there was no remedy in that matter.

Then said her mother to her with an angry voice: Alas, daughter, is this your great wisdom that is talked so far? Much sorrow be ye like to do me and all yours. Alas! who saw ever woman forge to her such a husband with such virtues as ye do? For such one as ye have devised, there was never none, ne never shall be, and therefore, daughter, leave this folly, and do as your noble elders have done tofore you.

And then said this young Queen Katherine unto her mother, with a piteous sighing: Madam, I wot well by very reason that there is one much better than I can devise him, and but he by his grace find me, I shall never have joy. For I feel by great reason that there is a way that we be clean out of, and we be in darkness, and till the light of grace come we may not see the clear way, and when it pleaseth him to come he shall avoid all darkness of the clouds of ignorance, and show him clearly to me whom my heart so fervently desireth and loveth. And if it so be that he list not that I find him, yet reason commandeth me to keep whole that is unhurt, wherefore I beseech you meekly, my lady mother, that ye ne none other move me more of this matter, for I promise you plainly that for to die therefore I shall never have other husband but only him that I have described, to whom I shall truly keep me with all the pure love of mine heart.

And with this she arose, and her mother and all the lords of the parliament, with great sorrow and lamentation, and taking their leave, departed. And this noble young Katherine went to her palace, whose heart was set afire upon this husband that she had devised, that she could do nothing, but all her mind and intent was set on him, and continually mused how she might find him, but she could not find the means, how well he was nigh to her heart that she sought. For he had kindled a burning love which could never after be quenched for no pain ne tribulation, as it appeared in her passion.

But now I leave this young queen in her contemplation, and shall say you as far as God will give me grace, how that our Lord by his special miracle, called her unto baptism in a special manner, such as hath not been heard of before ne sith, and also how she was visibly married to our Lord, in showing to her sovereign tokens of singular love.

CATHERINE'S CONVERSION AND MYSTICAL MARRIAGE

Then, beside Alexandria, a certain space of miles, dwelled a holy father, a hermit in desert named Adrian, which had served our Lord continually by the space of thirty years in great penance. And on a day as he walked before his cell being in his holy meditations, there came against him the most reverent lady that ever any earthly creature might behold, and when this holy man beheld her high estate and excellent beauty, which was above nature, he was sore abashed and so much astonished, that he fell down as he had been dead.

Then this blessed lady, seeing this, called him by his name goodly and said: Brother Adrian, dread ye nothing, for I am come to you for your good honour and profit. And with that she took him up meekly, comforting him, and said in this wise: Adrian, ye must go in a message for me into the city of Alexandria, and to the palace of the queen Katherine, and say to her that the lady saluteth her whose son she hath chosen to her lord and husband, sitting in her parliament with her mother and lords about her, where she had a great confiict and battle to keep her virginity, and say to her that this same lord whom she chose is my son, that am a pure virgin, and he desireth her beauty and loveth her chastity among all the virgins on the earth. I command her, without tarrying, that she come with thee alone unto this palace, whereas she shall be new clothed, and then shall she see him, and have him to her everlasting spouse.

Then Adrian hearing this said dreadfully in this wise: Ah! blessed lady, how shall I do this message? for I know not the city ne the way thither, and who am I, though I knew it, to do such a message to the

queen? For her meiny will not suffer me to come to her presence, and though I come to her she will not believe me, but put me in duresse as I were a faitour.

Adrian, said this blessed lady, dread ye not, for that my son hath begun in her must be performed, for she is a chosen vessel of special grace before all women that live, but go forth and ye shall find no letting, and enter into her chamber, for the angel of my lord shall lead you thither, and bring you both hither safely.

Then he, meekly obeying, went forth into Alexandria and entered into the palace, and found doors and closures opening against him, and so passed from chamber to chamber till he came into her secret study, whereas none came but herself alone. And there he found her in her holy contemplation, and did to her his message like as ye have heard, according to his charge.

And when this blessed virgin Katherine had heard his message and understood by certain tokens that he came for to fetch her to him whom she so fervently desired, anon she arose forgetting her estate and meiny, and followed this old man through her palace and the city of Alexandria, unknown of any person, and so into desert. In which way as they walked she demanded of him many a high question, and he answered to her sufficiently in all her demands and informed her in the faith, and she benignly received his doctrine.

And as they thus went in the desert this holy man had lost his way, and wist not where he was and was all confused in himself, and said secretly: Alas I fear me I am deceived, and that this be an illusion. Alas! shall this virgin here be perished among these wild beasts? Now blessed lady, help me that almost am in despair, and save this maiden that hath forsaken for your love all that she had, and hath obeyed your commandment.

And as he thus sorrowed, the blessed virgin Katherine apperceived and demanded him what him ailed, and why he sorrowed, and he said: For you, because I cannot find my cell, ne wot not where I am.

Father, said she, dread ye not, for trust ye verily, that that good lady which sent you for me, shall not suffer us to perish in this wilderness, and then she said to him: What monastery is yonder that I see, which is so rich and fair to behold?

And he demanded of her where she saw it, and she said: Yonder in the east, and then he wiped his eyes and saw the most glorious monastery that ever he saw, whereof he was full of joy, and said to her: Now blessed be God that hath endowed you with so perfect faith, for there is that place wherein ye shall receive so great worship and joy, that there was never none like, save only our blessed Lady, Christ's own mother, queen of all queens.

Now, good Father Adrian, hie you fast that we were there, for there is all my desire and joy. And soon after they approached that glorious place, and when they came to the gate, there met them a glorious company, all clothed in white and with chaplets of white lilies on their heads, whose beauty was so great and bright that the virgin Katherine ne the old man might not behold them, but all ravished fell down in great dread.

Then one more excellent than another spake first, and said to this virgin: Katherine, stand up our dear sister, for ye be right welcome, and led her farther in till they came to the second gate where another more glorious company met her, all clothed in purple, with fresh chaplets of red roses on their heads.

And the holy virgin seeing them, fell down for reverence and dread, and they, benignly comforting her, took her up and said to her: Dread ye nothing, our dear sister, for there was never none more heartily welcome to our sovereign lord than ye be, and to us all, for ye shall receive our clothing and our crown with so great honour, that all saints shall joy in you; Come forth, for the Lord abideth desiring you.

And then this blessed virgin Katherine with trembling joy passed

forth with them, like as she that was ravished with so marvellous joy that she could not speak, and when she was entered into the body of the church she heard a melody of marvellous sweetness, which passed all hearts to think it, and there they beheld a royal queen standing in her estate with a great multitude of angels and saints, whose beauty and riches might no heart think, ne no pen write, for it exceedeth every man's mind.

Then the noble company of martyrs with the fellowship of virgins, which led the virgin Katherine, fell down flat tofore this royal empress with sovereign reverence, saying in this wise: Our most sovereign Lady Queen of heaven, Lady of all the world, Empress of hell, Mother of Almighty God, King of bliss, to whose commandment obey all heavenly creatures and earthly, liketh it you that we here present to you our dear sister, whose name is written in the Book of Life, beseeching your benign grace to receive her as your daughter chosen and humble handmaid, for to accomplish the work which our blessed Lord hath begun in her.

And with that our blessed Lady said: Bring ye my daughter. And when the holy virgin heard our Lady speak, she was so much replenished with heavenly joy that she lay as she had been dead.

Then the holy company took her up and brought her tofore our blessed Lady, to whom she said: My dear daughter ye be welcome to me, and ye be strong and of good comfort, for ye be specially chosen of my son to be honoured. Remember ye not how sitting in your parliament ye described to you a husband, whereas ye had a great conflict and battle in defending your chastity?

And then this holy Katherine kneeling with most humble reverence and dread said: O most blessed Lady; blessed be ye among all women; I remember how I chose that Lord which then was full far from my knowledge, but now blessed Lady, by his mighty mercy and your special grace he hath opened the eyes of my blind conscience and ignorance, so that now I see the clear way of truth, and humbly beseech you most blessed Lady, that I may have him whom my

heart loveth and desireth above all things, without whom I may not live.

And with these words her spirits were so fast closed that she lay as she had been dead, and then our Lady in conforting her said: My dear daughter, it shall be as ye desire, but yet ye lack one thing that ye must receive ere ye come to the presence of my son; ye must be clothed with the sacrament of baptism, wherefore come on my daughter for all things are provided. For there was a font solemnly apparelled with all things requisite unto baptism.

And then our blessed Lady called Adrian the old father to her and said: Brother, this office longeth to you for ye be a priest, therefore baptize ye my daughter but change not her name, for Katherine shall she be named and I shall be her godmother.

And then this holy man Adrian baptized her, and after, our Lady said to her: Now mine own daughter be glad and joyful, for ye lack no thing that longeth to the wife of a heavenly spouse, and now I shall bring you to my Lord my son which abideth for you.

And so our Lady led her forth unto the quire door whereas she saw our Saviour Jesu Christ with a great multitude of angels, whose beauty is impossible to be thought or written of earthly creature, of whose sight this blessed virgin was fulfilled with so great sweetness that it cannot be expressed.

To whom our blessed Lady benignly said: Most sovereign honour, joy and glory be to you, King of bliss, my Lord, my God and my son, Lo! I have brought here unto your blessed presence your humble servant and ancille Katherine, which for your love hath refused all earthly things, and hath at my sending obeyed to come hither, hoping and trusting to receive that I promised to her.

Then our Blessed Lord took up his mother and said: Mother, that which pleaseth you, pleaseth me, and your desire is mine, for I desire that she be knit to me by marriage among all the virgins of

the earth. And said to her Katherine, come hither to me.

And as soon as she heard him name her name, so great a sweetness entered into her soul that she was all ravished, and therewith our Lord gave to her a new strength which passed nature, and said to her: Come my spouse, and give to me your hand.

And there our Lord espoused her in joining himself to her by spiritual marriage, promising ever to keep her in all her life in this world, and after this life to reign perpetually in his bliss, and in token of this set a ring on her finger, which he commanded her to keep in remembrance of this, and said: Dread ye not, my dear spouse, I shall not depart from you, but always comfort and strengthen you.

Then said this new spouse: O blessed Lord, I thank you with all mine heart of all your great mercies, beseeching you to make me digne and worthy to be thy servant and handmaid, and to please you whom my heart loveth and desireth above all things. And thus this glorious marriage was made, whereof all the celestial court joyed and sang this verse in heaven: Sponsus amat sponsam, salvator visitat illam [the bridegroom love his spouse, the savior comes to her], with so great melody that no heart may express ne think it.

This was a glorious and singular marriage to which was never none like before in earth, wherefore this glorious virgin, Katherine, ought to be honoured, lauded, and praised among all the virgins that ever were in earth.

And then our blessed Lord, after this marriage, said unto the blessed Katherine: Now the time is come that I must depart into the place that I came from, wherefore what that ye will desire I am ready to grant to you, and after my departing ye must abide here with old Adrian ten days, till ye be perfectly informed in all my laws and will. And when ye shall be come home ye shall find your mother dead, but dread ye not, for ye were never missed there in all this time, for I have ordained there one in your stead, that all men ween

it were yourself, and when ye come home, she that is there in your stead shall void. Now fare well, my dear spouse.

And then she cried with a full piteous voice: Ah! my sovereign Lord God and all the joy of my soul, have ye ever mine on me.

And with that he blessed her and vanished away from her sight. And then for sorrow of his departing she fell in a swoon so that she lay still a large hour without any life, and then was Adrian a sorry man, and cried upon her so long that at the last she came to herself and revived and lift up her eyes and saw nothing about her save an old cell, and the old man Adrian by her, weeping. For all the royalty was voided, both monastery and palace, and all the comfortable sights that she had seen, and specially he which was cause of all her joy and comfort; and then she sorrowed, & mourned, and wept unto the time that she saw the ring on her finger, and for joy thereof yet she swooned, and after she kissed it a thousand sithes with many a piteous tear, and then Adrian comforted her the best wise he could with many a blessed exhortation. And the blessed virgin Katherine took all his comforts and obeyed him as to her father, and dwelled with him the time that our Lord had assigned her till she was sufficiently taught all that was needful to her.

And then she went home to her palace and governed her holily in converting many creatures to the Christian faith of Jesu Christ, on whom all her joy was wholly set, and ever he was in her mind, and so dwelled still in her palace, never idle, but ever continued in the service of our Lord, full of charity, where awhile I let her dwell fulfilled of virtues and grace, as the dear and singular spouse of Almighty God.

THE PASSION OF ST. CATHERINE

And then in this meantime Maxentius, that was then emperor, and vicious to God's law and cruel tyrant, considered the noble and royal city of Alexandria, and came thither and assembled all the people, rich and poor, for to make sacrifice to the idols, and the

Christian men that would not make sacrifice he let slay.

And this holy virgin was at that time eighteen years of age, dwelling in her palace full of riches and of servants, alone, without parents and kin, and heard the braying and noise of beasts, and the joy that they made and sung, and marvelled what it might be, and sent one of her servants hastily to inquire what it was. And when she knew it, she took some of the people of her palace and garnished her with the sign of the cross and went thither, and found there many Christian men to be led to do sacrifice for fear of death.

Then was she strongly troubled for sorrow, and went forth hardily to the emperor, and said in this wise: The dignity of thine order and the way of reason have moved me to salute thee, if thou know the creator and maker of heaven, and wouldst revoke thy courage from the worshipping of false gods.

And then she disputed of many things with Cæsar tofore the gates of the temple. And then she began to say: I have set my cure to say these things to thee as to a wise man, wherefore hast thou now assembled this multitude of people thus in vain for to adore the folly of the idols. Hast thou marvel of this temple that is made with man's hands? Wonderest thou on the precious ornaments which be as dust tofore the wind? Thou shouldst rather marvel thee of heaven, and of the earth, and of all the things that be therein, and of the sun, the moon, the stars, and of the planets that have been since the beginning of the world, and shall be as long as it shall please God; and marvel thee of the ornaments of heaven, that is to say, the sun, moon, stars, and planets, how they move from the orient to the occident and never be weary, and when thou shalt have knowledge of all these things, and hast apperceived it, demand after, who is most mighty of all, and when thou knowest him that is sovereign and maker of all things, to whom none is semblable ne like, then adore him and glorify, for he is God of gods, and Lord of lords.

And when she had disputed of many things of the Incarnation of the Son of God much wisely, the emperor was much abashed and could

not answer to her, but at the last when he was come to himself, he said to her: O thou woman, suffer us to finish our sacrifice, and after, we shall give thee an answer.

Then commanded he that she should be led to his palace and to be kept with great diligence, and marvelled much of her great prudence and of her great beauty, for she was right fair to behold, unto the people.

And after this the emperor came to the palace, and said to Katherine: We have heard thy fair speech and be marvellously abashed of thy wisdom, but we be so occupied in the sacrifices that we may not entend to understand all things. And we demand thee, first, of what lineage art thou?

And the holy virgin Katherine said: Praise not thyself over much, ne blame thyself also, for so do fools that travail in vain glory. Nevertheless, I shall acknowledge to thee my lineage, not for any avaunting but by humility. I am Katherine, daughter of Costus the king, and howbeit that I was born in purple, and am informed in the arts liberal, yet have I despised all things and have given me wholly to our Lord Jesu Christ, and the gods that thou worshippest may not help thee ne none other. O ye cursed adorers of such gods, for when they be called in need they help not, in tribulation they succour not, and in perils they defend not.

And the king said: If it be so as thou sayest, all the earth erreth and thou only sayest truth, and every word ought to be confirmed by the mouth of two or three witnesses. If thou wert an angel or a celestial virtue, yet thou oughtest not to be believed when thou art but one frail woman.

To whom she said: O emperor, I beseech thee be not overcome with woodness, for in the courage of a wise man is no trouble, for the wise man saith: If thou governest thyself by good courage thou shalt be a king, and if thou governest thee otherwise thou shalt be a servant. And thou, as I see [said the emperor], ordainest to embrace

us in thy mortal subtlety when thou labourest to draw us by the ensamples of the philosophers.

And when the emperor saw that in no manner he could resist her wisdom, he sent secretly by letters for all the great grammarians and rhetoricians that they should come hastily to his pretorium to Alexandria, and he should give to them great gifts if they might surmount a maiden well bespoken. And then were there brought from divers provinces fifty masters which surmounted all mortal men in worldly wisdom. And then demanded they for what cause they were called from so far parts, and the emperor answered and said: We have a maiden, none comparable to her in wit and wisdom, which confoundeth all wise men, and she saith that our gods be devils, and if ye surmount them by honour I shall send you again into your country with joy.

And one of them had hereof despite, and said by disdain: This is a worthy counsel of an emperor, that for one maid, young and frail, he hath done assemble so many sages, and from so far countries, and one of our clerks or scholars may overcome her.

And the king said to them: I may well by strength constrain her to sacrifice, but I had liefer that she were overcome by your arguments.

Then said they: Let her be brought tofore us, and when she shall be overcome by folly she may know that she never saw wise man.

And when the virgin knew the strife of the disputation that she abode, she commended her all unto our Lord, and an angel came to her and said that she should keep her firmly for she should not be vanquished, but she should surmount them and send them to martyrdom. And when she was brought tofore the masters and orators she said to the emperor: What judgment is this to set fifty orators and masters against one maid, and to promise to them great rewards for their victory, and compellest me to dispute with them without hope of any reward? And God Jesu Christ, which is very

guerdon of them that strive for him, shall be only with me, and he shall be my reward, for he is the hope and crown of them that fight for him.

And when the masters had said that it was impossible that God was made man, ne that he had suffered death, the virgin showed to them that the paynims had said it tofore that he was made. For Plato said God to be all round and to be slain, and Sibyl said thus, that the ilke God should be blessed and happy that should hang on the cross. And when the virgin right wisely disputed with the masters, and that she had confounded their gods by open reasons, they were abashed and wist not what to say, but were all still.

And the emperor was replenished with felony against them, and began to blame them because they were overcome so foully of one maid.

And then one that was master above all the others said to the emperor: Know thou, sir emperor, that never was there any that might stand against us but that anon he was overcome. But this maid in whom the spirit of God speaketh hath so converted us that we cannot say anything against Jesu Christ, ne we may not, ne dare not. Wherefore, sir emperor, we acknowledge that but if thou mayest bring forth a more provable sentence of them that we have worshipped hitherto, that all we be converted to Jesu Christ.

And when the tyrant heard this thing he was esprised with great woodness, and commanded that they all should be burnt in the midst of the city. And the holy virgin comforted them and made them constant to martyrdom, and informed them diligently in the faith, and because they doubted that they should die without baptism, the virgin said to them: Doubt ye nothing, for the effusion of your blood shall be reputed to you for baptism, and garnish you with the sign of the cross, and ye shall be crowned in heaven.

And when they were cast into the flames of fire they rendered their souls unto God, and neither hair ne clothes of them had none harm

ne were hurt by the fire. And when the Christian men had buried them, the tyrant spake unto the virgin and said: Ah! right noble lady virgin, have pity of thy youth, and thou shalt be chief in my palace next the queen, and thine image shall be set up in the midst of the city, and shall be adored of all the people as a goddess.

To whom the virgin said: Leave to say such things, for it is evil to think it. I am given and married to Jesu Christ, he is my spouse, he is my glory, he is my love, and he is my sweetness, there may no fair words ne no torments call me from him. And then he being full of woodness, commanded that she should be despoiled naked and beaten with scorpions, and so beaten to be put in a dark prison, and there was tormented by hunger by the space of twelve days.

And the emperor went out of the country for certain causes, and the queen was esprised with great love of the virgin, and went by night to the prison with Porphyry, the prince of knights, and when the queen entered, she saw the prison shining by great clearness, and angels anointing the wounds of the holy virgin Katherine. And then St. Katherine began to preach to the queen the joys of Paradise and converted her to the faith, and said to her that she would receive the crown of martyrdom, and thus spake they together till midnight. And when Porphyry had heard all that she had said, he fell down to her feet and received the faith of Jesu Christ, with two hundred knights. And because the tyrant had commanded that she should be twelve days without meat and drink, Jesu Christ sent to her a white dove which fed her with meat celestial. And after this, Jesu Christ appeared to her with a great multitude of angels and virgins, and said to her: Daughter, know thy maker, for whom thou hast emprised this travailous battle; be thou constant, for I am with thee.

And when the emperor was returned, he commanded her to be brought tofore him, and when he saw her so shining, whom he supposed to have been tormented by great famine and fasting, and supposed that some had fed her in prison, he was fulfilled with fury and commanded to torment the keepers of the prison, and she said to him: Verily, I took never sith meat of man, but Jesu Christ hath

fed me by his angel.

I pray thee, said the emperor, set at thine heart this that I admonish thee, and answer not by doubtable words. We will not hold thee as a chamberer, but thou shalt triumph as a queen in my realm, in beauty enhanced.

To whom the blessed virgin Katherine said: Understand, I pray thee, and judge truly, whom ought I better to choose of these two, or the king puissant, perdurable, glorious and fair, or one sick, unsteadfast, not noble, and foul?

And then the emperor having disdain, and angry by felony, spake: Of these two choose thee one, or do sacrifice and live, or suffer divers torments and perish.

And she said: Tarry not to do what torments thou wilt, for I desire to offer to God my blood and my flesh like as he offered for me; he is my God, my father, my friend and mine only spouse.

And then a master warned and advised the king, being wood for anger, that he should make four wheels of iron, environed with sharp razors, cutting so that she might be horribly all detrenched and cut in that torment, so that he might fear the other Christian people by ensample of that cruel torment. And then was ordained that two wheels should turn against the other two by great force, so that they should break all that should be between the wheels, and then the blessed virgin prayed our Lord that he would break these engines to the praising of his name, and for to convert the people that were there. And anon as this blessed virgin was set in this torment, the angel of our Lord brake the wheels by so great force that it slew four thousand paynims.

And the queen, that beheld these things, came from above and had hid herself till then, descending anon and began to blame the emperor of so great cruelty, and then the king was replenished with woodness when he saw that the queen despised to do sacrifice,

and did do first rend off her paps, and after smite off her head. And as she was led unto martyrdom, she prayed Katherine to pray God for her, and she said to her: Ne doubt thee nothing, well-beloved of God; for this day thou shalt have the realm perdurable for this transitory realm, and an immortal spouse for a mortal.

And she was constant and firm in the faith, and bade the tormentors do as was to them commanded. And then the sergeants brought her out of the city and erased off her paps with tongs of iron, and after smote off her head, whose body Porphyry took away and buried it. The next day following was demanded where the holy body of the queen was, and the emperor bade that many should be put to torment for to know where the body was. Porphyry came then tofore them all, and cried, saying: I am he that buried the body of the ancille and servant of Jesu Christ, and have received the faith of God.

And then Maxentius began to roar and bray as a mad man, and cried, saying: O! wretched and caitiff, lo! Porphyry, which was the only keeper of my soul and comfort of all mine evils, is deceived; which thing he told to his knights, to whom they said: And we also be Christian and be ready for to suffer death for Jesu Christ.

And then the emperor, drunken in woodness, commanded that all should be beheaded and that their bodies should be cast to dogs, and then called he Katherine and said to her: Howbeit that thou hast made the queen for to die by thine art magic, if thou repent thee thou shalt be first and chief in my palace, for thou shalt this day do sacrifice or thou shalt lose thine head.

And she said to him: Do all that thou hast thought; I am ready to suffer all.

And then he gave sentence against her, and commanded to smite off her head. And when she was brought to the place ordained thereto, she lift up her eyes to heaven praying, and said: O Jesu Christ, hope of and help of them that believe in thee! O beauty and

glory of virgins! Good king, I beseech and pray thee that whosomever shall remember my passion, be it at his death or in any other necessity, and call me, that he may have by thy mercy the effect of his request and prayer.

And then came a voice to her, saying: Come unto me, my fair love and my spouse; lo! behold the gate of heaven is open to thee, and also to them that shall hallow thy passion, I promise the comfort of heaven of that they require.

And when she was beheaded there issued out of her body milk instead of blood, and angels took the body and bare it unto the Mount of Sinai, more than twenty journeys from thence, and buried it there honourably, and continually oil runneth out of her bones which healeth all maladies and sicknesses, and she suffered death under Maxentius the tyrant, about the year of our Lord three hundred.

HOW THE MONASTERY OF ST. KATHERINE WAS ESTABLISHED IN SINAI

How Maxentius was punished for this felony and for others, it is contained in the history of the invention of the holy cross, but forasmuch as it was not known long after where this holy body was become, there was great sorrow and lamentation among Christian men, saying: Alas! the most clear light of our faith, of wisdom, and the temple of the Holy Ghost, is gone from us, and besought God devoutly that it might please him to show to them this holy relic, which after came to knowledge in this manner.

In the desert about the Mount of Sinai there were many Christian hermits which were inflamed with great devotion toward this holy virgin St. Katherine, wherefore by common assent they ordained a chapel in which this holy virgin should [be] specially remembered, which chapel was by the Mount of Sinai, not far from the hill, fast by the place whereas our Lord appeared in the bush to Moses. In which place the holy hermits lived in great abstinence and devotion

a glorious life.

To whom on a time the angel of God appeared and said: God hath beholden your effectual devotion from heaven, therefore he hath granted to you this grace that by you shall be found and known the holy body of the glorious virgin St. Katherine, to his sovereign honour and glory. And therefore arise ye up and follow me, and though it so be that ye see me not, yet the shadow of the palm that I bear in mine hand shall never depart from your sight.

And then these hermits went forth and followed the angel till they came to the place where unnethe any creature might enter for straitness of the way and sharpness of the rocks; and when they came to the top of the hill they saw not the angel, but they saw evidently the shadow of the palm, that it seemed all the place had been shadowed by the leaves of the palm, by which they came unto the place where the body had lain one hundred and thirty years in a stone. And her flesh was dried up for length of time, but the bones were so compact and pure that they seemed to be kept by the cure of angels.

Then they took up with great joy and reverence this holy body and bare it down into the chapel which they had made, and this was done by great miracle, for the place where she lay in was so steep, thick, strait, and so dangerous, that it seemed to man's reason impossible to come thereto. And these holy men, after they had brought this body with solemnity, ordained the feast of the invention of this holy body should be solemnised, which is yet there kept and is about the time of the Invention of the Holy Cross. Which place is greatly honoured, and our Lord showeth there many miracles, and out of the bones floweth out oil largely, by which many maladies be guerished.

MIRACLES OF ST. KATHERINE

A Joint of Her Finger

And it is said that tofore the body was found that a monk went to the Mount of Sinai and dwelled there by the space of seven years much devoutly in the service of St. Katherine, and on a time as he prayed with great devotion that he might have something of her body, suddenly there came a joint of one of her fingers of her hand, which gift he took joyfully of our Lord.

The Monk Who Fell in Foul Thought

It is read also that there was a man much devout to St. Katherine and oft called on her to his aid, and by length of time he fell in foul thought, and lost the devotion that he had to the saint, and ceased to pray to her; and as he was on a time in prayer he saw a great multitude of virgins passing by him, among whom there was one more resplendissent than the other, and when she approached him she covered her visage and passed tofore him, her face covered. And he marvelled much of the beauty of her, and demanded what she was, and one of the virgins said that it was Katherine whom thou wert wont for to know, and because thou knowest ne rememberest her not, she passed tofore thee with face covered and without knowledge.

QUALITIES OF ST. KATHERINE

It is to be noted that this blessed virgin St. Katherine seemeth and appeareth marvellous in five things: first, in wisdom, secondly, in eloquence, thirdly, in constancy, fourthly, in cleanness of chastity, and fifthly, in privilege of dignity.

Wisdom

First she appeared marvellous in wisdom, in her was all manner of philosophy. Philosophy is divided in three, in theory, in practice, and in logic. Theory is divided in three, that is intellectual, natural, and mathematical.

The blessed Katherine had science intellectual in knowledge of things divine, of which she used against the masters, to whom she

proved to be but one very God only, and convanquished all the false gods.

Secondly, she had science natural of which she used in disputing against the emperor.

Thirdly, she had science mathematical, that is a science that be holdeth the forms and the manner of things, and this science had she in despising the earthly things, for she withdrew her heart from all earthly matter. She showed to have this science when she answered to the emperor, when he demanded who she was, and said: I am Katherine, daughter of king Costus, and how she had been nourished in purple. And hereof used she when she enharded the queen to despise the world and herself, and to desire the reign perdurable. The practice is divided in three manners, in ethic, economic, and politic. The first teacheth to inform manners and adorn him with virtues, and that appertaineth to all men. The second teacheth to rule and govern well his meiny, and that appertaineth to them that have men to govern. The third appertaineth to the governors of cities, for she teacheth to govern the peoples, the cities, and the commons.

And these three sciences had the blessed Katherine. First, she had in herself all honesty of manners; secondly, she ruled her meiny laudably, which was left to her, thirdly, she informed wisely the emperor. Logic is divided in three, in demonstrative, in probable, and in sophistical. The first pertaineth to philosophers, the second to rhetors and logicians, and the third to sophisters, and these three sciences had Katherine in her, for she disputed with the emperor.

Eloquence

Secondly, she was marvellous in eloquence, for she had fair speech in Katherine preaching as it appeared in her predications, she was right sharp in rendering reason, as when she answered to the emperor, she had sweet words in drawing the people to the faith, as it appeared in Porphyry and the queen, whom she drew to the

Christian faith by sweetness of her fair speech. She had right virtuous word in overcoming, as it appeared in the masters whom she vanquished so puissantly.

Constancy

Thirdly, she was marvellous in constancy, for she was most constant against the threatenings and menaces, for she despised them all and answered to the emperor: Tarry not to do the torments that thou hast purposed, for I desire to offer to God my blood, and make an end of that thou hast conceived in thy courage, I am ready to suffer all.

Secondly, she was firm when great gifts were offered to her, for she refused all, and said to the emperor when he promised to hold her as second lady in his palace, and she said: Leave to say such things, it is felonous to think it.

Thirdly, she was constant in the torments that were done to her.

Chastity

Fourthly, she was constant in cleanness of chastity, for she kept chastity among those things that chastity is wont to perish. For there be five things in which chastity may perish, that is in pleasance of riches, convenable opportunity, flowering youth, freedom without constraint, and sovereign beauty. And among all these things the blessed Katherine kept her chastity, for she had great plenty of riches as she that was heir of rich parents; she had convenable leisure to do her will, as she that was lady of herself, and conversed all day among her servants which were young of age; she had freedom without any that governed her in her palace, and of these four it is said before, and she had beauty, so much that every man marvelled of her beauty.

Dignity

Fifthly, she was marvellous in privilege of dignity, for certain special privileges were in some saints when they died, like as the visitation of Jesu Christ was in St. John the Evangelist, the flowing of oil in St. Nicholas, the effusion of milk for blood that was in St. Paul, the preparation of the sepulchre that was in St. Clement, and the hearing and granting of the petitions that was in St. Margaret, when she prayed for them remembering her memory. All these things together were in this blessed virgin St. Katherine as it appeareth in her legend. Then let us devoutly worship this holy virgin and humbly pray her to be our advocatrice in all our needs bodily and ghostly, that by the merits of her prayers we may after this short and transitory life come unto the everlasting bliss and joy in heaven whereas is life perdurable. *Quod ipse præstare dignetur qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum.* ["Which he is worthy to do who reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit , world without end."] Amen.

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OF ST. CHRISTOPHER

Chapter 100 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Christopher was of the lineage of the Canaanites, and he was of a right great stature, and had a terrible and fearful cheer and countenance, and he was twelve cubits of length.

HIS SEARCH FOR THE GREATEST PRINCE THAT WAS IN THE WORLD

The Right Great King

And as it is read in some histories that, when he served and dwelled with the king of Canaan, it came in his mind that he would seek the greatest prince that was in the world, and him would he serve and obey. And so far he went that he came to a right great king, of whom the renomee generally was that he was the greatest of the world. And when the king saw him, he received him into his service, and made him to dwell in his court.

Upon a time a minstrel sang tofore him a song in which he named oft the devil, and the king, which was a Christian man, when he heard him name the devil, made anon the sign of the cross in his visage. And when Christopher saw that, he had great marvel what sign it was, and wherefore the king made it, and he demanded of him. And because the king would not say, he said: If thou tell me not, I shall no longer dwell with thee.

St. Christopher is typically pictured crossing a stream carrying the Christ Child. The child will sometimes be carrying a globe to represent the world that he created. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of images of this saint.)

VORAGINE'S ETYMOLOGY FOR THE NAME *CHRISTOPHER*

Christopher tofore his baptism was named Reprobus, but afterwards he was named Christopher, which is as much to say as bearing Christ, of that that he bare

And then the king told to him, saying: Alway when I hear the devil named, I fear that he should have power over me, and I garnish me with this sign that he grieve not ne annoy me.

Then Christopher said to him: Doubtest thou the devil that he hurt thee not? Then is the devil more mighty and greater than thou art. I am then deceived of my hope and purpose, for I had supposed I had found the most mighty and the most greatest Lord of the world, but I commend thee to God, for I will go seek him for to be my Lord, and I his servant.

The Knight Cruel and Horrible

And then [Christopher] departed from this king, and hasted him for to seek the devil. And as he went by a great desert, he saw a great company of knights, of which a knight cruel and horrible came to him and demanded whither he went, and Christopher answered to him and said: I go seek the devil for to be my master. And he said: I am he that thou seekest. And then Christopher was glad, and bound him to be his servant perpetual, and took him for his master and Lord.

And as they went together by a common way, they found there a cross, erect and standing. And anon as the devil saw the cross he was afeard and fled, and left the right way, and brought Christopher about by a sharp desert. And after, when they were past the cross, he brought him to the highway that they had left. And when Christopher saw that, he marvelled,

Christ in four manners. He bare him on his shoulders by conveying and leading, in his body by making it lean, in mind by devotion, and in his mouth by confession and predication.

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and demanded whereof he doubted, and had left the high and fair way, and had gone so far about by so aspre a desert. And the devil would not tell him in no wise.

Then Christopher said to him: If thou wilt not tell me, I shall anon depart from thee, and shall serve thee no more.

Wherefor the devil was constrained to tell him, and said: There was a man called Christ which was hanged on the cross, and when I see his sign I am sore afraid, and flee from it wheresoever I see it.

To whom Christopher said: Then he is greater, and more mightier than thou, when thou art afraid of his sign, and I see well that I have laboured in vain, when I have not founden the greatest Lord of the world. And I will serve thee no longer, go thy way then, for I will go seek Christ.

The Hermit

And when he had long sought and demanded where he should find Christ, at last he came into a great desert, to an hermit that dwelt there, and this hermit preached to him of Jesu Christ and informed him in the faith diligently, and said to him: This king whom thou desirest to serve, requireth the service that thou must oft fast.

And Christopher said to him: Require of me some other thing, and I shall do it, for that which thou requirest I may not do.

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And the hermit said: Thou must then wake and make many prayers.

And Christopher said to him: I wot not what it is; I may do no such thing.

And then the hermit said to him: Knowest thou such a river, in which many be perished and lost?

To whom Christopher said: I know it well.

Then said the hermit, Because thou art noble and high of stature and strong in thy members, thou shalt be resident by that river, and thou shalt bear over all them that shall pass there, which shall be a thing right convenable to our Lord Jesu Christ whom thou desirest to serve, and I hope he shall show himself to thee.

Then said Christopher: Certes, this service may I well do, and I promise to him for to do it.

The Christ Child

Then went Christopher to this river, and made there his habitacle for him, and bare a great pole in his hand instead of a staff, by which he sustained him in the water, and bare over all manner of people without ceasing. And there he abode, thus doing, many days. And in a time, as he slept in his lodge, he heard the voice of a child which called him and said: Christopher, come out and bear me over.

Then he awoke and went out, but he found no man. And when he was again in his house, he

heard the same voice and he ran out and found nobody. The third time he was called and came thither, and found a child beside the rivage of the river, which prayed him goodly to bear him over the water.

And then Christopher lift up the child on his shoulders, and took his staff, and entered into the river for to pass. And the water of the river arose and swelled more and more: and the child was heavy as lead, and alway as he went farther the water increased and grew more, and the child more and more waxed heavy, insomuch that Christopher had great anguish and was afeard to be drowned.

And when he was escaped with great pain, and passed the water, and set the child aground, he said to the child: Child, thou hast put me in great peril; thou weighest almost as I had all the world upon me, I might bear no greater burden.

And the child answered: Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders. I am Jesu Christ the king, to whom thou servest in this work. And because that thou know that I say to be the truth, set thy staff in the earth by thy house, and thou shalt see to-morn that it shall bear flowers and fruit, and anon he vanished from his eyes.

And then Christopher set his staff in the earth, and when he arose on the morn, he found his staff like a palmier bearing flowers, leaves and dates.

HE CONVERTS EIGHT THOUSAND IN LYCIA

And then Christopher went into the city of Lycia, and understood not their language. Then he prayed our Lord that he might understand them, and so he did. And as he was in this prayer, the judges supposed that he had been a fool, and left him there. And then when Christopher understood the language, he covered his visage and went to the place where they martyred Christian men, and comforted them in our Lord.

And then the judges smote him in the face, and Christopher said to them: If I were not Christian I should avenge mine injury.

And then Christopher pitched his rod in the earth, and prayed to our Lord that for to convert the people it might bear flowers and fruit, and anon it did so. And then he converted eight thousand men.

ST. CHRISTOPHER BEFORE THE KING OF LYCIA

And then the king sent two knights for to fetch him to the king, and they found him praying, and durst not tell to him so. And anon after, the king sent as many more, and they anon set them down for to pray with him. And when Christopher arose, he said to them: What seek ye?

And when they saw him in the visage they said to him: The king hath sent us, that we should lead thee bound unto him.

And Christopher said to them: If I would, ye should not lead me to him, bound ne unbound.

And they said to him: If thou wilt go thy way, go quit, where thou wilt. And we shall say to the king that we have not found thee.

It shall not be so, said he, but I shall go with you.

And then he converted them in the faith, and commanded them that they should bind his hands behind his back, and lead him so bound to the king. And when the king saw him he was afeard and fell down off the seat, and his servants lifted him up and releved him again. And then the king inquired his name and his country; and Christopher said to him: Tofore or I was baptized I was named Reprobus, and after, I am Christopher; tofore baptism, a Canaanite, now, a Christian man.

To whom the king said: Thou hast a foolish name, that is to wit of Christ crucified, which could not help himself, ne may not profit to thee. How therefore, thou cursed Canaanite, why wilt thou not do sacrifice to our gods?

To whom Christopher said: Thou art rightfully called Dagnus, for thou art the death of the world, and fellow of the devil, and thy gods be made with the hands of men.

And the king said to him: Thou wert nourished among wild beasts, and therefore thou mayst not say but wild language, and words unknown to men. And if thou wilt now do sacrifice to the

gods I shall give to thee great gifts and great honours, and if not, I shall destroy thee and consume thee by great pains and torments.

But, for all this, he would in no wise do sacrifice, wherefore he was sent in to prison, and the king did do behead the other knights that he had sent for him, whom he had converted.

THE CONVERTS NICÆA AND AQUILINA PULL DOWN THE LYCIAN IDOLS

And after this he sent in to the prison to St. Christopher two fair women, of whom that one was named Nicæa and that other Aquilina, and promised to them many great gifts if they could draw Christopher to sin with them.

And when Christopher saw that, he set him down in prayer, and when he was constrained by them that embraced him to move, he arose and said: What seek ye? For what cause be ye come hither?

And they, which were afraid of his cheer and clearness of his visage, said: Holy saint of God, have pity of us so that we may believe in that God that thou preachest.

And when the king heard that, he commanded that they should be let out and brought tofore him. To whom he said: Ye be deceived, but I swear to you by my gods that, if ye do no sacrifice to my gods, ye shall anon perish by evil death.

And they said to him: If thou wilt that we shall

do sacrifice, command that the places may be made clean, and that all the people may assemble at the temple.

And when this was done they entered in to the temple, and took their girdles, and put them about the necks of their gods, and drew them to the earth, and brake them all in pieces, and said to them that were there: Go and call physicians and leeches for to heal your gods.

And then, by the commandment of the king, Aquilina was hanged, and a right great and heavy stone was hanged at her feet, so that her members were much despitously broken. And when she was dead, and passed to our Lord, her sister Nicæa was cast into a great fire, but she issued out without harm all whole, and then he made to smite off her head, and so suffered death.

ST. CHRISTOPHER IS TORTURED

The Stool of Iron

After this Christopher was brought tofore the king, and the king commanded that he should be beaten with rods of iron, and that there should be set upon his head a cross of iron red hot and burning, and then after, he did do make a siege or a stool of iron, and made Christopher to be bounden thereon, and after, to set fire under it, and cast therein pitch. But the siege or settle melted like wax, and Christopher issued out without any harm or hurt.

The Forty Archers

And when the king saw that, he commanded that he should be bound to a strong stake, and that he should be through-shotten with arrows with forty knights archers. But none of the knights might attain him, for the arrows hung in the air about, nigh him, without touching. Then the king weened that he had been throughshotten with the arrows of the knights, and addressed him for to go to him. And one of the arrows returned suddenly from the air and smote him in the eye, and blinded him. To whom Christopher said: Tyrant, I shall die to-morn, make a little clay, with my blood tempered, and anoint therewith thine eye, and thou shalt receive health.

The Beheading

Then by the commandment of the king he was led for to be beheaded, and then, there made he his orison, and his head was smitten off, and so suffered martyrdom. And the king then took a little of his blood and laid it on his eye, and said: In the name of God and of St. Christopher! and was anon healed. Then the king believed in God, and gave commandment that if any person blamed God or St. Christopher, he should anon be slain with the sword.

WHAT SAINT AMBROSE WROTE OF ST. CHRISTOPHER

Ambrose saith in his preface thus, of this holy martyr: Lord, thou hast given to Christopher so great plenty of virtues, and such grace of doctrine, that he called from the error of paynims forty-eight thousand men, to the honour of Christian faith, by his shining

miracles. And Nicæa and Aquilina, which long had been common at the bordel, under the stench of lechery, he called and made them serve in the habit of chastity, and enseigned them to a like crown of martyrdom. And with this, he being strained and bounden in a seat of iron, and great fire put under, doubted nothing the heat. And all a whole day during, stood bounden to a stake, yet might not be through-pierced with arrows of all the knights. And with that, one of the arrows smote out the eye of the tyrant, to whom the blood of the holy martyr re-established his sight, and enlumined him in taking away the blindness of his body, and gat of the Christian mind and pardon, and he also gat of thee by prayer power to put away sickness and sores from them that remember his passion and figure. Then let us pray to St. Christopher that he pray for us, etc.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. CECILIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR

Chapter 169 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Cecilia, the holy virgin, was come of the noble lineage of the Romans, and from the time that she lay in her cradle she was fostered and nourished in the faith of Christ, and always bare in her breast the gospel hid, and never ceased day ne night from holy prayers, but recommended to God always her virginity.

ST. CECILIA'S WEDDING NIGHT

And when this blessed virgin should be espoused to a young man named Valerian, and the day of the wedding was come, she was clad in royal clothes of gold, but under she ware the hair. And she hearing the organs making melody, she sang in her heart, only to God, saying: O Lord, I beseech thee that mine heart and body may be undefouled so that I be not confounded. And every second and third day she fasted, commending herself unto our Lord whom she dreaded.

The night came that she should go to bed with her husband as the custom is, and when they were both in their chamber alone, she said to him in this manner: O, my best beloved and sweet husband, I have a counsel to tell thee, if so be that thou wilt keep it secret and swear that ye shall bewray it to no man.

To whom Valerian said that he would gladly promise and swear never to bewray it, and then she said to him: I have an angel that loveth me, which ever keepeth my body whether I sleep or wake, and if he may find that ye touch my body by villainy, or foul and polluted love, certainly he shall anon slay you, and so should ye lose the flower of your youth. And if so be that thou love me in holy love and cleanness, he shall love thee as he loveth me and shall

show to thee his grace.

Then Valerian, corrected by the will of God, having dread, said to her: If thou wilt that I believe that thou sayest to me, show to me that angel that thou speakest of, and if I find veritable that he be the angel of God, I shall do that thou sayest, and if so be that thou love another man than me, I shall slay both him and thee with my sword.

Cecilia answered to him: If thou wilt believe and baptize thee, thou shalt well now see him. Go then forth to Via Appia, which is three miles out of this town, and there thou shalt find Pope Urban with poor folks, and tell him these words that I have said, and when he hath purged you from sin by baptism, then when ye come again ye shall see the angel.

THE CONVERSION OF CECILIA'S HUSBAND VALERIAN

And forth went Valerian and found this holy man Urban louting among the burials; to whom he reported the words that Cecilia had said, and St. Urban for joy gan hold up his hands and let the tears fall out of his eyes, and said: O Almighty God Jesu Christ, sower of chaste counsel and keeper of us all, receive the fruit of the seed that thou hast sown in Cecilia, for, like a busy bee she serveth thee; for the spouse whom she hath taken which was like a wood lion, she hath sent hither like as a meek lamb.

And with that word appeared suddenly an old man clad in white clothes, holding a book written with letters of gold, whom Valerian seeing, for fear fell down to the ground as he had been dead. Whom the old man raised and took up, and read in this wise. *One God, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all, above all, and in us all, everywhere.*

And when this old man had read this, he said: Believest thou this or doubtest thou it? Say yea or nay.

Then Valerian cried saying: There is nothing truer under heaven.

Then vanished this old man away. Then Valerian received baptism of St. Urban and returned home to St. Cecilia, whom he found within her chamber speaking with an angel. And this angel had two crowns of roses and lilies which he held in his hands, of which he gave one to Cecilia, and that other to Valerian, saying: Keep ye these crowns with an undefouled and clean body, for I have brought them to you from Paradise, and they shall never fade, ne wither, ne lose their savour, ne they may not be seen but of them to whom chastity pleaseth. And thou Valerian because thou hast used profitable counsel, demand what thou wilt.

THE CONVERSION OF VALERIAN'S BROTHER TYBURTIUS

To whom Valerian said: There is nothing in this world to me liefer than my brother, whom I would fain that he might know this very truth with me.

To whom the angel said: Thy petition pleaseth our Lord, and ye both shall come to him by the palm of martyrdom.

And anon Tyburtius, his brother, came and entered into this chamber, and anon he felt the sweet odour of the roses and lilies, and marvelled from whence it came. Then Valerian said: We have crowns which thine eyes may not see, and like as by my prayers thou hast felt the odour of them, so if thou wilt believe thou shalt see the crowns of roses and lilies that we have.

Then Cecilia and Valerian began to preach to Tyburtius of the joy of heaven and of the foul creance of paynims, the abuse of idols, and of the pains of hell which the damned suffer, and also they preached to him of the incarnation of our Lord, and of his passion, and did so much that Tyburtius was converted and baptized of St. Urban. And from then forthon he had so much grace of God that every day he saw angels, and all that ever he required of our Lord he obtained.

VALERIAN AND TYBERTIUS ARE MARTYRED

After, Almachius, provost of Rome, which put to death many Christian men, heard say that Tyburtius and Valerian buried Christian men that were martyred, and gave all their goods to poor people. He called them tofore him, and after long disputation he commanded that they should go to the statue or image of Jupiter for to do sacrifice, or else they should be beheaded.

And as they were led, they so preached the faith of our Lord to one called Maximus that they converted him to the Christian faith, and they promised to him that if he had very repentance, and firm creance that he should see the glory of heaven which their souls should receive at the hour of their passions, and that he himself should have the same if he would believe. Then Maximus gat leave of the tormentors for to have them home to his house, and the said Maximus, with all his household and all the tormentors, were turned to the faith.

Then came St. Cecilia thither with priests, and baptized them, and afterwards, when the morning came, St. Cecilia said to them: Now, ye knights of Christ, cast away from you the works of darkness and clothe you with the arms of light.

And then they were led four miles out of the town, and brought tofore the image of Jupiter, but in no wise they would do sacrifice ne incense to the idol, but humbly with great devotion kneeled down and there were beheaded, and St. Cecilia took their bodies and buried them. Then Maximus, that saw this thing, said that he saw in the hour of their passion angels clear shining and their souls ascend into heaven, which the angels bare up, wherefore many were converted to the Christian faith.

And when Almachius heard that Maximus was christened, he did do beat him with plummets of lead so long till he gave up his spirit and died, whose body St. Cecilia buried by Valerian and Tyburtius.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. CECILIA

And after, Almachius commanded that Cecilia should be brought into his presence for to do sacrifice to Jupiter, and she so preached to them that came for her that she converted them to the faith, which wept sore that so fair a maid and so noble should be put to death. Then she said to them: O ye good young men, it is nothing to lose the youth, but to change it, that is, to give clay, and take therefor gold, to give a foul habitation, and to take a precious, to give a little corner, and to take a right great place. God rewardeth for one simple, a hundredfold. Believe ye this that I have said?

And they said: We believe Christ to be very God which hath such a servant.

Then St. Urban was called, and four hundred and more were baptized.

Then Almachius, calling tofore him St. Cecilia, said to her: Of what condition art thou?

And she said that she was of a noble kindred. To whom Almachius said: I demand thee of what religion art thou?

Then Cecilia said: Then begannest thou thy demand foolishly, that wouldst have two answers in one demand.

To whom Almachius said: From whence cometh thy rude answer?

And she said: Of good conscience and faith not feigned.

To whom Almachius said: Knowest thou not of what power I am?

And she said: Thy power is little to dread, for it is like a bladder full of wind, which with the pricking of a needle is anon gone away and come to nought.

To whom Almachius said: In wrong begannest thou, and in wrong thou perseverest; knowest thou not how our princes have given me

power to give life and to slay?

And she said: Now shall I prove thee a liar against the very truth. Thou mayst well take the life from them that live, but to them that be dead, thou mayst give no life, therefore thou art a minister not of life, but of death.

To whom Almachius said: Now lay apart thy madness and do sacrifice to the gods.

To whom Cecilia said: I wot never where thou hast lost thy sight, for them that thou sayest be gods we see them stones, put thine hand, and by touching thou shalt learn that which thou mayst not see with thine eyes.

Then Almachius was wroth, and commanded her to be led into her house, and there to be burnt in a burning bain, which her seemed a place cold and well attempered. Then Almachius, hearing that, commanded that she should be beheaded in the same bath. Then the tormentor smote at her three strokes, and could not smite off her head, and the fourth stroke he might not by the law smite, and so left her there lying half alive and half dead, and she lived three days after in that manner, and gave all that she had to poor people, and continually preached the faith all that while; and all them that she converted she sent to Urban for to be baptized, and said: I have asked respite three days, that I might commend to you these souls, and that ye should hallow of mine house a church.

And then at the end of three days she slept in our Lord, and St. Urban with his deacons buried her body among the bishops, and hallowed her house into a church, in which unto this day is said the service unto our Lord. She suffered her passion about the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty three, in the time of Alexander the emperor, and it is read in another place that she suffered in the time of Marcus Aurelius, which reigned about the year of our Lord one hundred and seventy. Then let us devoutly pray unto our Lord that

by the merits of this holy virgin and martyr, St. Cecilia, we may come to his everlasting bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. GRYSOGONE [ST. CHRYSOGONUS]

Chapter 171 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Grysogone was taken and set in prison by the commandment of Diocletian, and S. Anastasia fed him and gave to him meat and drink to live by, wherefore by her husband she was put into a strait prison, and she sent to Grysogone, which had informed her in the faith of Jesu Christ, in writing this that followeth:

> To the holy confessor of Christ, Grysogone: I, Anastasia have taken the yoke of a wicked husband; by the mercy of God I have eschewed his bed by feigned and dissembled infirmity, and have night and day embraced the steps of our Lord Jesu Christ. And my husband hath taken away my patrimony, of which he is ennobled, and setteth it on foul idols, and hath put me in prison as a cursed enchantress for to make me to lose my life temporal. So there bleveth no more, but I that am servant to the spirit, may lie down and die. In which death I glorify myself, but I am greatly troubled in my mind, that my riches which I had ordained to God be wasted and spent in foul things. Farewell, servant of God, and remember me.

To whom S. Grysogone answered again by writing:

> See that thou be not angered ne troubled for any thing that is done to thee feloniously in thy life, though it be contrary unto thee; thou mayst not be deceived if thou be proved. A time peaceable shall come to thee anon, for after this darkness thou shalt see anon the flourished light of God, and after this cold time of frost and ice there shall come to thee soft and sweet time. Farewell, be with God and pray for me.

And as this blessed Anastasia was thus constrained in such wise that unnethe any bread was given to her in four days, and that she supposed she should have died, she wrote an epistle to him in this wise:

> To the confessor of Christ, Grysogone, Anastasia. The end of my time is come, remember me so that when the soul shall depart from me, that he receive it for whose love I suffer these things, which thou shalt hear by the mouth of this old woman.

To whom he wrote again:

> It appertaineth always that darkness go tofore the light. In like wise after sickness and infirmity health shall return, and life is promised after death. All adversities and prosperities of this world be enclosed by one end; because desperation should have no dominion on the sorrowful, ne elation ne pride should not dominate on them that be glad and joyful. There is but one sea in which the ship of our Lady saileth, and our souls use the office of mariners under the governance of the body, and the ships which be fastened and bounden with strong chains pass well without any breaking through the strong waves of the sea. And some ships there be that have brittle and feeble jointures of trees, and fall oft in peril to be drowned, but thou handmaid of Jesu Christ, have in thy mind the victory of the cross, and make thee ready to the work of God.

And then Diocletian, which was in the parts of Aquila, and slew other Christian men, commanded that Grysogone should be brought tofore him; to whom he said: Take the power of the provost, and the consulate of thy lineage, and do sacrifice to the gods.

And he answered: I adore and worship one only God of heaven, and I despise thy dignities as filth or mire.

And then sentence was given upon him, and he was brought into a place where he was beheaded, about the year of our Lord two

hundred and eighty-seven, whose body S. Zelus the priest buried, and the head also.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF THE HOLY VIRGIN ST. CLARE

This vita was added by William Caxton to his 1483 translation of the Golden Legend. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

There was a marvellous holy woman in the city of Assisi, which was named Clare. First ye shall understand that her nativity was much worthy and noble. It is read that as touching the world she was of right noble lineage, and as touching the spirit to the regard of the estate of virtues and noble manners towards God, she was of right noble reputation. Then for to show that after her nativity she was a devout espouse of God, she is worthy to be of great recommendation.

QUALITIES OF ST. CLARE

Her Worthy and Noble Nativity

It is read that when her mother was enceinted or great with child of her, on a time as she was before the crucifix, weeping and praying that of his grace he would grant to her the deliverance of her fruit with joy and gladness, she heard a voice suddenly saying to her, "Woman, have thou no doubt, for without peril thou shalt be delivered of a daughter which shall by her doctrine enlumine all the world." And therefore, as soon as she was born, she did do name her at the font, Clare.

Her Virtues

Secondly, is found in her life and known, great plenty of virtues. It is read that this holy virgin, after the time of her infancy, was so composed in all good manners, in port, in maintenance, and in continuance, that all others might take of her fair and good ensample for to maintain and govern them. And in especial she had so great pity of the poor people, that ofttimes she spared her own

mouth and sent by secret messengers such as she should herself have been sustained by. Also in making devout prayer she had so great pleasure that ofttimes it seemed to her, being in orisons, that her spirit was refreshed with the sweetness of heaven.

She was in her array like others, but by penance she chastised her body, for how well that for the honour of her friends she was nobly apparelled, yet nevertheless she ware always the hair on her bare body, and from her infancy her heart had determined that for to die she would never have other espouse than Jesu Christ. And many other and plenty of virtues shone in her, the which were overlong to recount.

Spouse of God

Thirdly, how St. Francis showed to her the way of truth; it is read that as soon as St. Clare heard the renomee of St. Francis, it was spread over all the world as it were a new man sent into the world, showing how we ought to follow the new way of Jesu Christ, she never might have rest in her heart till she was come to him, and that to him she had opened her heart. Then after she had sweetly understood him, and had received of him many a holy, sweet, and angelic word, St. Francis exhorted her above all other things to flee the world both with heart and her body. And to this he enjoined her that on Palm Sunday she should hallow the feast with the other people, but the night following, in remembrance of the passion of Jesu Christ, she should turn her joy into weeping and afflictions, for in such wise to weep the passion of Jesu Christ, finally she might come to heaven as virgin and espouse of God, well eurous and happy.

Her Entry into the Convent

Fourthly, how she had no quietness in her heart till she had accomplished her thought and purpose; it is read that St. Clare, thus informed of St. Francis, could have no rest in her heart till that, the night assigned and the hour, she issued out of the city of Assisi, in which she dwelled, and came to the church of our Lady of

Portiuncula. And then the friars received her, which awoke in the said church, and abode for her tofore the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary. And there her hair was cut off, and after, they led her into an abbey of nuns and there left her.

She Leaves Behind Her Worldly Friends

Fifthly, how her friends despised this work ordained by our Lord; it is read when this lady was thus ordained, she laboured and did so much that she drew her sister named Agnes into her company, wherefore as well for that one as for that other, the carnal friends of St. Clare had her in indignation out of measure, wherefore St. Francis translated them into the church of St. Damian, which church by the commandment of the crucifix he had repaired. And there this lady began the religion that was called of poor sisters, and there she was inclosed in a little cell which St. Francis had edified.

Her Humility

Sixthly, how she had humility in her heart; it is read that St. Clare glorified herself sovereignly in humility, like as the wise man saith: Of so much that a creature is promoted, of so much ought he to be the more humble. Therefore, after that she had assembled a great convent of holy virgins, unnethe and with great pain, if it had not been for the obedience of St. Francis, she had never received the sovereignty of them. And after that she had received the domination over them and governance, she was tofore all other ready to serve them that were sick, as she had been a handmaid or servant, and was so humble that she would wash the feet of her hand-maidens and servants when they came from without from their work, and dried them and kissed them.

Her Poverty

Seventhly, how St. Clare kept poverty; it is read that for to keep and to follow poverty after the gospel of Jesu Christ, St. Clare put thereto all her entent, wherefore sith the beginning of her holy life, all that ever that came to her of father and mother, she sold and

gave it for God's sake, insomuch that for her ne for her sisters she had but simple feeding and clothing, ne would have none other. And notwithstanding that she was assoiled of the pope of the vow of poverty, and thereupon had received letters of the pope, much suddenly weeping, she wrote again saying. I will well be assoiled of my sins, but the vow of poverty I shall keep unto the death.

How Jesus Provided for Her

The eighth, how in necessity Jesu Christ visited her; it is read that, on a time that at the hour of dinner in the college of St. Clare was but one loaf of bread, ne there might no more be had. Then St. Clare took this loaf of the hand of the dispenser, and made then her prayer, and after, of that loaf made as many loaves and parts as there were sisters. And as soon as every each had received her part, how well it was but little, the divine grace multiplied it so much that every each left some and had enough.

Item semblably it is read that that God did for her when in her college the pots were failed.

Her Self-Denial

Ninthly, how in straitness St. Clare was ruled; this holy lady was content with one poor coat lined with a mantlet; she used never pendants ne furs of skins, but dispensed all her time in keeping her body in servage of the spirit. And herewith thrice in the week she fasted in this manner that she never tasted thing that was sodden.

Item, every year she fasted two lentens to bread and water only, save the Sunday she took a little wine.

And shortly, she lived so straitly that she became so feeble that St. Francis commanded her by virtue of obedience that she should fail no day but that she should take for her refection an ounce and a half of bread.

She was never without hair next her flesh, and for a pillow, she took

a block or a great stone; she lay always on the bare ground, or for to take the better her rest she lay otherwhile upon the cuttings of vines, unto the time that St. Francis had commanded her, because that it was over foul, that she should use to lie on a sack full of straw.

Her Enmity with the Devil

Tenthly, how she hath despised the iniquity of the fiend our enemy; it is read that in especial she had a custom that from midday she was in prayers and remembering the passion and sufferance of Jesu Christ, two hours during, and after the eventide she was always a long while in orisons. And it is read that ofttimes the fiend appeared to her by night saying: If so be that ye abstain you not from waking and weeping, ye shall for certain be blind.

And she answered: He shall not be blind that shall see our Lord in his glory.

And when the fiend heard this answer, anon he departed all confused, ne durst never after tempt her ne let her of her prayers.

Her Devotion to the Passion of Jesus

Eleventhly, God of his grace had pierced her heart, it is read that St. Clare for to dispend amorously the time that God had lent her, in especial she was determined that from the hour of mid-day unto evensong time, she would dispend all that time in thinking and beweeping the passion of Jesu Christ, and say prayers and orisons according thereto, after unto the five wounds of the precious body of Jesu Christ, as smitten and pierced to the heart with the dart of the love divine.

It is read that from the time on a Shere Thursday the hour of the maundy, unto Easter even the Saturday she was remembering and thinking on the sufferance of our Lord Jesu Christ so burningly, that she was ravished as all drunken in the love of God, that she knew

not what was said ne done about her, but as unmovable or as all insensible, in standing she held her eyes fixed in one place.

Her Patience in Times of Sickness

Twelfthly, how in her disease and pain she was of God comforted; it is said that she was by the space of eight and twenty days in continual languor and sickness, nevertheless was never seen in her sign of impatience, but always sweet words and amiable in praising and thanking God of all. And in especial it is read that, in the sickness in which she passed toward the end of her life she was seventeen days without meat or drink. And nevertheless she was so sweetly visited of God that it seemed unto all them that saw her that she had no pain ne disease, but yet more every creature that came to her was comforted in God.

And in especial it is read that, when the hour of death approached, she, which long time had lost her speech, began to speak and say: Go out surely, thou hast a good safeconduct.

And when one of her sisters, being there present, heard that, she demanded her to whom she spake.

And she answered: To my soul, whom I see abashed to depart from my body, for he ought not for to doubt, for I see the holy Virgin Mary which abideth for me.

And this said, our Blessed Lady entered into the chamber where St. Clare lay. And she was crowned with a crown right clear shining, that the obscurity of the night was changed into clearness of mid-day. And she brought with her a right great multitude of other virgins all nobly crowned, among whom there was one that bare a rich mantle, to whom she said: Give hither the mantle.

And when she had sweetly embraced her she clad her with the mantle. And at that same time was weeping about her the college of sisters, and in especial Agnes the sister of St. Clare, making great

moan and sorrow. Then St. Clare said sweetly: My sisters, discomfort you not, for ye shall have unto God of me a good and a true advocate. And thou Agnes shalt soon after follow me into glory.

THE GREAT MARVELS THAT GOD SHOWED FOR ST. CLARE

Now it is well reason and right that we say and show of the great marvels that God showed for St. Clare by her holy prayers, for she was veritable, true, and worthy of all honour.

Assisi Saved from the Saracens

That great tempest that was in the time of Frederick the emperor, whereof holy church had so much to suffer, that in divers parts of the world was much war, so that by the commandment of the emperor were battles established of knights, and with that so many archers of Saracens as they had been hills of bodies for to destroy the people, castles and cities. The Saracens ran as wood men till they came to the gates of Assisi. And the felon Saracens, that be full of all cruelty and falsehood, and seek nothing but for to slay and destroy Christian men's blood, and they came unto the cloister of the poor ladies of St. Damian, and the holy ladies had so great fear that their hearts melted in their bodies, and ran weeping to their mother St. Clare.

And she that was sick, without fear of heart, made her to be led tofore her enemies unto the door, and did do bear tofore the body of our Lord, the which was in a pix much richly garnished and devoutly. And this holy lady was on her knees, saying with weeping tears unto our Lord: Ah! fair Lord God, please it you then that they that serve you, and be disarmed, whom I nourish for your love, be brought into the hands and power of the paynims? Fair sweet Lord, I beseech thee that thou keep thy handmaidens and servants, for I may not keep them in this point.

And our Lord anon sent of his special grace a voice as it had been a child, which said to her: I shall keep you always.

O sweet fair Lord, keep this city if it please you, which hath given to us such things as hath been needful to us, for the love of you.

And he answered: The city shall have some grievance, but nevertheless I shall keep and defend it.

Then this holy virgin St. Clare arose from her prayer, which had yet her visage all bewept, and comforted much sweetly her sisters that wept, and said to them: I command you fair daughters that ye comfort you in good faith, and trust ye only in our Lord, for the Saracens shall never do you harm.

Anon then the Saracens had so great dread and fear, that over the walls, and by those places that they had entered, they fled hastily, and were in this wise by the orison and prayer of St. Clare destroubled and put from their emprise. Then commanded she to all them that heard the voice that in no manner they should discover ne tell it to any that lived.

Assisi Saved from a Captain of the Emperor Frederick

On another time it happed that an old squire, full of vain glory, the which was much hardy in battle and was captain of a great host, which Frederick had delivered to him, and came with all his host for to take the city of Assisi, he did do hew down the trees, and destroy the country all about, and besieged the city, and sware that he would not depart thence till he had taken the city, and thus was the city besieged for to have been taken. And when St. Clare, the handmaid of Jesu Christ, heard the tidings, she had great pity and did do call her sisters and said to them: Right sweet daughters, we receive daily many benefits of this city, and it should be a great unkindness in us if we succoured it not in this great need as much as we may.

Then commanded she to bring ashes, and said to her sisters that they should discover their heads, and she herself first cast great plenty of ashes upon her head, and after, upon the heads of all the

others, and said to them: Now go, fair daughters, and with all your hearts require and pray ye to our Lord that he will deliver this city.

And then every each by themselves, in great weepings and tears, made their orisons and prayers devoutly to our Lord, in such wise that he kept and defended the city, that on the morn the host departed out of the country, and it was not long after that they all were dead and slain.

THE POWER OF ST. CLAREÂ□□S PRAYERS

It should not be according that we should hele and keep secret the marvellous virtue of her prayer, by the which at the beginning of her conversion she converted a soul to God.

Her Prayer for the Conversion of Her Sister Agnes

For she had a sister younger than herself was, whose conversation she much desired, and in all her prayers that she made, she prayed at the beginning with all her heart to our Lord that like as she and her sister had been in the world of one heart and of one will, that it might please the Father of mercy that Agnes, her sister, whom she had left in the world, might despise the world, and savour the sweetness of God, so that she might have no will to marry her, save only to God her true friend, in such wise that between them both they might espouse their virginity to our Lord.

These two sisters loved marvellously together, and were much sorrowful of their departing, and that one more than that other. But our Lord granted unto St. Clare the first gift that she demanded, for it was a thing that much pleased him. After the seventh day that St. Clare was converted, Agnes, her sister, came to her and discovered her secretness to her and will, and said utterly that she would serve God. And when St. Clare heard that, anon she embraced her, and said for joy that she had: My sister, ye be right welcome, I thank God that hath heard me for thee, for whom I was in great sorrow.

Her Prayers When the Family Tried to Take Agnes Back

Howbeit that this conversion was marvellous, and yet more to be wondered how Clare defended her sister by her prayers. At that time were the good blessed sisters at St. Michael of Pambo, which were joined to God, and they followed the life and works of Jesu Christ. And there was St. Clare, which felt more of God than the other, and she informed her sister, her nurse, how she should rule her. And the parents and kinsmen of St. Clare began a new battle and strife against the virgins. For when they heard say that Agnes was gone to dwell with her sister St. Clare, there came on the morn to the place where St. Clare dwelled, twelve of her kinsmen and friends all from themselves, all araged, and showed not withoutforth the malice that they had in their hearts, but gave them to understand that they came for good.

And when they came within they made no force of St. Clare for to draw her out, for they knew well that they should nothing exploit of their intent, but they turned to Agnes and said to her: What makest thou here? Come out with us home to thy house.

And she answered, that she would never depart from the company of St. Clare. And a tyrant, a knight, took and drew her by the hair, and the other took her by the arms, and carried her forth afar. And she, which seemed that she was among the hands of a lion, and taken from the hands of God, began to cry and said: Fair dear sister! help me, and suffer not that I be taken from the holy company of Jesu Christ.

But the felons drew this virgin against her will over the mountain, and rent her clothes and drew and rased out her hair.

And the holy sweet virgin St. Clare kneeled down, and put herself to prayer, and prayed our Lord to give her sister a strong heart and a stable, and that she might by the puissance of God overcome and surmount the puissance of the people. And anon the Holy Ghost made her so pesant and heavy, that it seemed that her body were fixed to the ground, in such wise that for all the force and power that they could do they might not bear her over a little brook. And the

men that were in the fields and river came for to help them, but they might never remove her from the earth. And then one of them said in mocking: It is no wonder though she be heavy, for she hath eaten much lead.

Then the lord Mouvalt, her uncle, lift up his arm for to beat her cruelly, but an ache and pain took him suddenly, and tormented him a long time right cruelly. After that this said St. Agnes had suffered this long wrestling of her kinsmen and friends, came St. Clare and prayed them for God's sake they should leave this battle with her sister, and go their way and take heed of themselves. And she received the cure and charge of Agnes, her sister, which lay there on the ground in great disease, and finally her kinsmen departed in great anguish and sorrow of heart.

And then anon after, she arose up much gladly, and had much great joy of that first battle that she had suffered for the love of Jesu Christ, and from this time forward she ordained herself to serve God perdurably. And St. Francis cut off her hair with his own hands, and induced and taught her to serve God, and so did St. Clare her sister. And because we may not shortly account with few words the great perfection of the life of Agnes, therefore we shall entend unto the life of St. Clare the virgin.

How Her Prayers Delivered a Woman from Five Devils

Was it not great marvel of the orisons and prayers of St. Clare, which were so strong, and so much availed against the malice of the people, when they fled and were puissant to burn the devils? It happed on a time that a much devout woman of the bishopric of Pisa, came to one of the ladies for to yield thankings to God and St. Clare which had delivered her from the hands of five devils. For they fled, and wailed that the orisons of St. Clare burnt them all, and therefore they might no longer dwell in that place.

How Pope Gregory Benefitted from Her Prayers

The pope Gregory had much great faith and great devotion in the prayers of that holy virgin, and not without cause, for he had proved and felt certain virtue thereof, which had holpen many and divers that had necessity and need. And when he was bishop of Hostence and after when he was pope, he sent his letters to her by which he required her to pray for him, and anon he felt eased and alleged by her prayers. Then certainly if he which was vicar of Jesu Christ, by his humility, as we may see, had so great devotion to St. Clare, of whom he required her aid, and recommended him to the virtue of her orisons, as well ought we then to ensue with all our power the devotion of such a man. For he knew well how much love is mighty and how the pure virgins have delivered entry into the door of the heart of our Lord. And if our sweet Lord give himself to them that love him firmly, how may he deny to them for whom they require him devoutly? Always seen that they require of him that is needful and behoveful.

HER DEVOTION TO THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR

The holy work showeth well the great faith and the great devotion that she had in the holy sacrament of the altar. For in that great malady which had so vexed her that she lay in her bed, she arose and did her to be borne from one place to another, and did spin a fine small cloth of which she made more than fifty corporas, and sent them in fair towels of silk into divers churches in divers places of Assisi.

When she should receive the body of our Lord, it was marvel to see the tears that she wept, of which she was all wet. And she had so great fear when she approached nigh unto her Saviour, that she ne doubted him no less which is in semblance very God in the form of bread, the sacrament, than him that governeth heaven and earth, which is all one.

THE CHRISTMAS SERVICE

Thus as she had always souvenance and mind of Jesu Christ in her malady, so God comforted her and visited her in her infirmity and

languor. In the hour of the nativity of Jesu Christ at Christmas, when the angels and the world made feast and sung and enjoyed of little Jesus that was born, all the poor ladies went to matins into their monastery, and left alone their poor mother sore grieved in her malady.

Then she began to think on little Jesus, and was sorrowful that she might not be at the service, and praise our Lord, and said in sighing: Fair Lord God, I wake here alone. And anon she began to hear the friars that sang, and St. Francis, and heard well the jubilation, the psalmody, and the great melody of the song, howbeit her bed was not so nigh that the voice of a man ne of a woman might not be heard, ne understood if God did it not by his courtesy, or if God had not given to her, above all nature of man, force and power to hear it. But this passed all, for she was worthy to see in her oratory the joy of our Lord.

On the morning, when the ladies, her daughters, came to her, she said to them: Blessed be our Lord Jesu Christ, for when ye left me, he left me not truly, and I say to you that I have heard this night all the service and solemnity that hath been done in the church by St. Francis, through the grace of Jesu Christ.

HER DEATH

At the pains of her death our Lord comforted her always. For she drew out of the holy wounds of Jesu Christ a bitterness, of which her heart, her will, and her thought were full of anguish, marvellously bitter, and often as she had been drunken of the sorrow and tears that she wept for the love of Jesu Christ. For ofttimes the love of God which she had imprinted in her heart withinforth she made to appear by signs outward. She informed and taught the novices, and admonished them that they have in their mind the sorrow and pain of the death of Jesu Christ.

And that she said with her mouth, she did it in her heart, and gave ensample. When she was secretly alone, tofore she might say

anything she was all bedewed with tears. She was most devout and had more fervour of devotion between undern and noon than any other time, because she would that in the hour that Jesu Christ was crucified in the altar of the cross, that her heart should be sacrificed to God our Lord.

On a time it happed at the hour of noon that she prayed to God in her cell, and the devil gave to her such a stroke under the ear, that her eyes and her visage were all covered with blood. She had learned an orison of the five wounds of Jesu Christ, which she oft recorded and remembered because her heart and thought were nourished therein, and might feel the delights that be in Jesu Christ. She learned the office of the Cross of St. Francis, which loved her truly, and she said it as gladly, to her power, as he did. She girded to her flesh a cord whereon were thirteen knots which were full of brochets of small needles, and thereon small rings, and this did she in remembrance of the wounds of our Lord.

It happed on a time on the holy Shere Thursday, which is the day when our Lord made his maundy or supper, whereas is remembered how God loved unto the end his disciples, about the hour of even, when God began the wrestling of his passion, then St. Clare being heavy and sorrowful, enclosed her in the chamber of her cell. And it happed that she prayed God long, and was sorrowful unto the death, and in that sorrow and heaviness she drew a fervent love full of desire, for she remembered how Jesus in that hour was taken, estrained, haled forth and mocked, insomuch that of this remembrance she was all drunken, and sat in her bed.

All that night she was so ravished and on the morn, that she wist not where her body was. The eyes of her head looked steadfastly in one place, without moving or looking aside, and the eye of her heart was so fixed in Jesu Christ that she felt nothing. One of her daughters, more familiar and secret with her than other, went oft to her for to see her, and always she found her in one point. The night of the Saturday, this good devout daughter brought a candle burning, and without speaking made a sign to her blessed mother

Clare that she should remember the commandments of St. Francis, for he had commanded that every day she should eat somewhat. Then as she stood tofore her with a candle burning, St. Clare came again to her estate, and her seemed she was come from another world.

And she said: Fair daughter, what need is of a candle, is it not yet day? And she answered: Right, dear fair mother, the night is passed and the day is gone, and that other night is come.

Fair daughter, said St. Clare, this sleep that I have made be blessed, for I have much desired it, and God hath given it to me, but beware that thou say it never to creature as long as I live.

HER LOVE OF THE CROSS

When our Lord knew and apperceived how well and how much this holy Clare loved him, and the right great love that she had to the very cross for the love of him, he so illumined and privileged her in such manner that she had power to make tokens and miracles by the cross. For when she made the sign of the very cross upon them that were sick, anon the malady fled away.

A MIRACLE OF ST. CLARE

And so many miracles God showed for her of which I shall tell you some. First, of a friar that was out of his wit. On a time it happed that St. Francis sent to St. Clare a friar named Steven, and was all mad from himself, that she should make upon him the sign of the cross. For he knew well that she was a woman of great perfection, and he honoured her much for the virtue that was in her.

And she, that was obeissant and good daughter of obedience, blessed the friar by the commandment of St. Francis, and made him to sleep a little, and after, she took him by the hand and he arose all whole, and went to St. Francis clean delivered of all his malady.

HOW SHE INSTRUCTED THE SISTERS IN HER CARE

This blessed St. Clare was a good mistress and true for to inform young people that knew but little of religion, and she was president and upperest of the maidens of our Lord, and informed them in good customs and taught them right well to do penance. She nourished them by so great love that unnethe any tongue may express, she taught them privily to flee all noise of the world, because they should join to our Lord, and also she exhorted them that they should put from them all carnal affection and fleshly love of their friends, and that they should not be over tender over them ne love them over much, ne houses, ne land, but make them strong to please and serve God. She counselled them and warned them that they should hate to do the will of the body, and that the delights and fleshly desires of the flesh they should with all their heart and good reason go thereagainst. She said to them the fiend of hell lieth in await and layeth his hooks and grinnes subtilly for to take and bind the holy souls, and yet they tempt more the good people than them of the world.

She would that they should work and labour with their proper hands in such works as she had established to them. She would that when they had done their bodily travail they should go to prayer, for prayer is a thing that pleaseth much God. And she would that in praying they should rechaufe their bodies, and that they should leave and depress negligence and all coldness of heart, and be kindled and lighted in the holy love of God, so that instead of coldness they should be hot in devotion.

In no place ne in no cloister was silence better kept ne holden, there was no lavas in their speech ne evil, but they were sober and so good that they showed well that in their hearts was none evil but all goodness. The good mistress St. Clare herself spake so little that she restrained them and thought marvellously on their words, howbeit that in her heart ne in her thought was but all holiness. This good lady purveyed to her daughters the Word of God by devout preachings, and had so much joy and gladness profoundly in her heart in hearing the words of the holy predication, that all her delight was in our Lord Jesu Christ her spouse.

THE FRIARS WHO CAME TO PREACH

For on a time as friar Philip Adrian preached, a right fair child was tofore St. Clare and abode there a great part of the sermon, and beheld marvellously and graciously St. Clare, whereof it happed that he was worthy to know and see so high things, of St. Clare received in that sight, and beholding so great a sweetness in his heart and so great comfort, that it might not be said ne expressed.

And howbeit that she was not lettered, yet heard she more gladly the sermons in Latin than in her vulgar tongue. She knew well that within the shell was the kernel, she heard the sermons ententively and assavoured them more sweetly. She could much well draw to her that was most profitable for her soul. And well knew she that it was no less cunning to gather fair flowers among the sharp thorns, than to eat the fruit of a fair tree, that is to say that she loved better a rude sermon well edifying than a fair polished, little profiting.

On a time it happed that the pope Gregory defended that no friar should go to the house of the ladies without his leave. And when the holy mother St. Clare knew that, she had much sorrow in her heart, because she saw well she might not have that which was needful, which was the nurture of Holy Scripture, and said to her sisters with a sorrowful heart; Now forthon well may the pope Gregory take from us all the friars, when he hath taken from us them that nourished our souls with the Word of God. And anon she sent again all the friars of her house to the master or minister, for she said she had nothing to do to have friars to get them bodily bread, when they failed them that nourished her and her sisters with the Word of God. Anon as the pope Gregory heard this tiding he repealed that which he had defended, and set all at the will of God.

HER SERVICE TO THE SISTERS

This holy and good abbess loved not only the souls of her good daughters, but thought well in her heart oft-times how she might serve their bodies most charitably. For when it was right cold she

covered by night them that were feeble, and visited them much sweetly. And if she saw any trouble by any temptation or any anger, which happeth sometimes, she would call them secretly and comforted them, all weeping. And other while she would fall down to the feet of her daughters that were mat and heavy, and kneeled tofore them, so that by the sweetness and debonairty that the ladies saw in their good mother, that she alleged and took away their sorrow, whereof the ladies, her daughters, couthe her much thanks. And thus learned they to do well by devotion and to love their good mother more sweetly, and followed by the right way the works of their good abbess.

THE DEATH OF ST. CLARE

And they marvelled much of the great abundance of holiness that God had given to his spouse. When she had been forty years in the state of right holy poverty it pleased to our Lord to call her to be rewarded in heaven, and sent to her a great malady, and multiplied her languor and sickness. She had sometime done so sharp penance that her body ne her flesh had no strength. And at the last she was over sick and much more than she was wont to be, for as our Lord had given to her in her health, riches of merits, of good virtues and of good are works, right so would God enrich her in her sickness, to the end that she should suffer for him right great pain and torments, for in suffering of sickness is virtue perfect. How and in what wise she was virtuous in her malady and perfect, ye may hear. For howbeit that she had been eight and twenty years in languor and malady, yet never she grudged, ne murmured, ne plained, but always said holy words and rendered thankings to our Lord, howbeit that she was marvellously aggrieved and sick, so that it seemed that she hasted much to draw to her end.

It pleased nevertheless to our Lord that he respited her from the death unto the time that her end might be honoured, and enhanced her by the presence of the pope and of the cardinals, to whom she was especial daughter. For when the pope and the cardinals had abode a great while at Lyons, St. Clare was then marvellously

destrained by sickness, so that her daughters had great sorrow at their hearts that them seemed that a glaive had pierced them, or that they had been riven with a sword. But our Lord showed anon a vision to one, his handmaid, which dwelled at St. Paul's, for it seemed to her that she and her sisters were at St. Damian's tofore St. Clare, which was right sick. And her seemed that this Clare lay in a much fair bed and much precious, and her seemed that her daughters wept when the soul should pass out of the body. And anon she saw a right fair lady at the head of the bed, and said to them that wept: Fair daughters, weep no more, for this lady shall overcome all. And know ye that she shall not die till that our Lord and his disciples shall come. And she shall not abide long after that the pope and the court of Rome shall come to Perugia.

And anon as the Bishop of Hostence heard say that this holy woman was sick, anon in great haste he went to see and visit the spouse of Jesu Christ, for he was her ghostly father, and had the cure of her soul, and nourished her with pure heart and will, for he had always devoutly loved the holy virgin. And then he gave to her in her malady the body of our Lord, for that is the very feeding of the soul, and he comforted the other daughters by his sermons and holy words. Then the holy good mother, weeping, prayed him much sweetly that he would take heed of her daughters there being, and of all the others, and that for the love of our Lord he would remember her. And above all other things she prayed him that he would do so much that her privilege of poverty might be confirmed of the pope and of the cardinals. And he that loved verily her and the religion, and that had always truly aided her, promised that he should do, and did it.

In the year after came the pope and the cardinals to Assisi for to see the departing of the holy virgin, and to put to effect the vision that had been seen and signified of her. For the pope is the highest man in earth under God, and that best representeth the person of Jesu Christ, for like as our Lord had his disciples which were joined to him in earth, in like wise the pope hath his cardinals, the which be joined to him in the holy church. Our Lord God hasted him as he

that knew the firm purpose of his spouse St. Clare, and hasted for to honour her, and to set in the palace of the king of paradise his poor pilgrim, and the good lady also coveted and wished with all her heart that she might be delivered of her mortal body, and that she might see in heaven Jesu Christ as she that had ensued him in the earth with all her heart in very poverty.

Her members were bruised and troubled by great sickness that the body might not endure, for it was over much enfeebled, so that our Lord called her from this world, and ordained for her health perdurable. Then pope Innocent the fourth and the cardinals came with him for to visit the handmaid of God, of whom he had better proved the holy life than of any woman that was in his time. And therefore he knew certainly that it was reason that he should come and honour her with his presence.

And when he came into the house of the ladies, he went thither whereas this holy saint lay, and took to her his hand for to kiss. And the pope, which was courteous, stood upon a tree and took to her his foot to kiss by great humility. And she took it and kissed it much sweetly, and after inclined herself to the pope much humbly, and required him with a sweet cheer that he would assoil her of all her sins. To whom he said: Would God that we had no more need of absolution of sins that we have done than ye have. And then he assoiled her of all her sins and gave to her largely his benediction.

And when they were all departed, forasmuch as she had received that day, by the hands of the minister provincial, the very body of our Lord, she lift up her eyes to our Lord to heaven, and joined her hands together and said then: Ah! my right sweet and fair daughters, our Lord Jesu Christ by his debonairty hath done to me so great good, and given to me so great a gift that heaven ne earth may not know, for I have received this day a much high Lord and also have seen his vicar.

The good daughters were about the bed, which wept and abode for the orphans whereof they had great sorrow in their hearts, for the

death of their mother pierced their hearts like as it were a sword. Which daughters departed not from her ne for hunger, ne for thirst, ne for no sleep, ne they thought neither of bed ne of table. All the delights that they had was for to cry, to weep and to make sorrow. And among all the others her sister, which was a much devout virgin, wept many tears and said to St. Clare her sister: Fair and right sweet sister, depart not away from me and leave me not here alone.

And St. Clare answered to her much sweetly: Fair sweet sister, it pleaseth to God that I depart from this world, but weep no more, fair sister, for ye shall come hastily to our Lord after me. And also I say unto you that our Lord shall do to you great comfort and consolation tofore or ye die.

After, this holy and good Clare drew fast to her end. And the folk and people had to her great devotion and the prelates and cardinals came oft to see her, and honoured her as a very saint. But there was a marvellous thing to hear, for she was by the space of twelve days that never entered into her body no corporal meat, and she was so strong by the suffrance and grace of God that she comforted in the service of God all them that came tofore her, and desired and charged them to do well.

And when Friar Reynald, which was debonair, came for to see her and beheld the great sickness that she had long time suffered, he preached to her, and prayed her much to have patience. And anon she answered to him freely and debonairly: Sith that the holy man St. Francis, the servant of Jesu Christ hath showed to me the way of truth, and that I have felt and known the will and grace of Jesu Christ by the advertisement of St. Francis, know ye, right dear brother, that no pains displease me, ne no penance grieveth me, ne no sicknesses be to me hard ne displeasing.

And then answered she to the friar, when she felt our Lord knock at her gate for to take her soul out of this world, and required that good folk and spiritual should be with her, that she might hear of them the

holy words of God, and specially the words of the death and passion of Jesu Christ.

And among all others came a friar named Vinberes, which was one of the noblest preachers that was in earth, and that ofttimes spake and said noble and holy words, ardent and good. Of whose coming she was much glad, and prayed him that if he had made ready any new thing that he should say it. And then the friar opened his mouth and began to say so sweet words that they were like sparkles of fire and of ardent fervour, or heat, whereof the holy virgin had much great consolation.

Then she turned her and said to her daughters: Sweet daughters, I recommend to you the holy poverty of our Lord, and give ye to him thankings for that he hath done to you. Then she blessed all them that had devotion to her and to her order, and gave largely and wisely her blessing to all the poor ladies of her order that were tofore her there.

The two fellows of St. Francis that were there, of whom that one was named Angel, comforted them that were full of sorrow, and that other friar kissed devoutly and holily the bed of her that should pass to our Lord. The holy ladies sorrowed much the loss of their mother, and as much more as they cried and wept withoutforth, so much more were they ardently grieved within forth.

Then St. Clare began to speak to her soul all softly: Go, said she, go surely, for thou hast a good guide and conductor in the way whereas thou shalt go, which shall lead thee well the right way. Go, said she hardily, for he that made thee and sanctified thee shall keep thee, for he loveth thee also tenderly as the mother doth her child. Lord God, said she, blessed be thou that madest me.

And then one of her sisters demanded her to whom she spake. I have, said she, spoken to my blessed soul, and without fail her glorious conductor is not far from her.

Then she called one of her daughters and said to her: Fair daughter, seest thou the king of glory whom I see? But the daughter saw him not, for the will of God was that one should see that another saw not, for there was a happy widow and comfortable, which saw him with the eyes of her head among the tears that she wept, and yet nevertheless she was wounded to the heart with a dart full of sweetness and of sorrow.

Then she turned her sight toward the door of the house and saw a great company of virgins enter into the house all clad with white clothes, and each of them bare a crown of gold on her head. And among all other, there was one much more clear and fairer than the others which bare a crown of gold windowed, out whereof issued a right great clearness, that all the house was so clearly light, that it seemed the night to be clear day. And this lady that was so clear, approached to the bed whereas the spouse of her son lay, and she inclined upon her and embraced her much sweetly.

Then the virgins brought a mantle of right great beauty, and the virgins enforced them to serve and to cover the body of St. Clare and well to make ready the house. And on the morn was the feast of St. Laurence, and then died and departed out of this mortal life the holy lady and friend of our Lord, and anon the soul of her was crowned in everlasting joy. The spirit of her was much benignly and joyously loosed and delivered from the flesh, and when the body abode in the earth the soul went with God which was her life.

And blessed be the holy company of God that from the valley of this world conducted the holy soul of this lady into the mountain of heaven where the blessed life is. Now is the blessed virgin in the company of them that be in the court of heaven, now hath she changed her poor little life, which hath brought her for to sit at the table where the great delights be. Now hath she, for the little life of humility and of sharpness, the blessed reign of heaven, whereas she is clad and arrayed with the robe of perdurable glory.

Anon the tidings were spread abroad that the blessed virgin was

departed, and when the people of Assisi heard thereof, they came to the place, both men and women, by so great companies, that it seemed that in the city abode neither man ne woman. And all crying: O, dear lady, and friend of God, and therewith they praised her, and wept much tenderly.

The potestate and the provost of the city ran much hastily thither, and with them many companies of knights and of people armed, which all that day and all night kept the body of the holy virgin much honourably. For they would in no wise that the town should not have, by any adventure, damage or hurt in taking away the treasure that lay there. On the morn came the vicar of Jesu Christ and all the cardinals with him, with all the city of Assisi, unto the church of St. Damian.

And when it came there to that they should begin the mass for the blessed St. Clare, it happed that he that began would have begun the office of them that were dead. And anon the pope said that they ought better do the office of virgins than the office of dead folk, so that it seemed that he would canonise her tofore ere she was buried. Then answered the wise man, the bishop of Hostence, and said it was more accustomed to say of them that be dead in this case, and then they said the mass of requiem, and all the prelates and the bishop of Hostence began to preach, and took their matter how all the world is vanity, and began to praise much greatly this sweet saint, St. Clare, and how she had despised the world and all that was therein.

Then the cardinals that were there went first and did holily the service about the holy body, and the office, like as it is accustomed. And because that them seemed neither right ne reason that the precious body should not be far from the city, they bare it to St. George's with so right great feast, singing and praising God in hymns and lauds, and in so great melody, that there was honour enough. And in the same place was first buried the body of St. Francis.

And from this time forthon came much people every day to the tomb of St. Clare, and giving praisings and laud to our Lord God. And veritably this is a right very saint and glorious virgin, reigning with the company of angels to whom God hath given so much honour in earth. Ah! sweet virgin, pray thou to Jesu Christ for us, for thou wert the first flower of the holy poor ladies which hast drawn to penance without number, and that thou mayst conduct us to the life permanable. Amen.

THE DEATH OF AGNES

It was not long after greatly, that Agnes, sister of St. Clare, was summoned and called to wedding of the very lamb Jesu Christ, and also St. Clare led her sister unto the joy perdurable, full of delices. There be now the two daughters of Sion which were sisters germane of grace and of nature and be now heritors of the joy of heaven, there where they feel the sweetness of God and enjoy with him. Now is Agnes in the joy and in the consolation that Clare, her sister, had promised to her tofore that she died, for like as Clare brought her out of the world, so brought she herself in the cross of penance by which she is shining in heaven. Thus went Agnes after her sister right soon out of this mortal life full of weeping and of sorrow unto our Lord, which is lite of the soul in heaven, which reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

HERE FOLLOW MIRACLES WHICH WERE SHOWED AFTER HER DEATH.

The tokens and miracles of saints ought to be showed, praised, and honoured and also witnessed, when the works in the life were holy and full of perfection. We find not many signs ne miracles that St. John the Baptist did, nevertheless he is a much holy saint, and greater than such ones as have been showed for many miracles. And therefore I say that the right holy life and the great perfection of St. Clare, which she used and demened here in earth, ought well to suffice and witness that she is a very saint, if it were not for the people, which have the more great devotion and more greater faith unto the saints when they see the signs and miracles that God

showeth for them.

I know well that St. Clare was in the way full of merits, and that she was ravished in the profoundness of the great clearness and light of heaven, nevertheless though she were resplendissant, well savorous, and right full of great miracles as is well declared by the cardinals of Rome, mine oath of truth that I have made and my conscience, constraineth me that I write to my power the life truly and the miracles of her, how well I pass over many fair things.

Of one that was delivered of the fiend.

There was a child named Jaquemin of Perugia, which had in his body the devil, in such wise that this Jaquemin fell in the fire as he that could not keep him. Sometime he hurtled strongly against the ground, sometime he bit the stones so that he brake his teeth, and otherwhile brake his head, that all his body was bloody, and fouled his mouth and put out his tongue. And sometimes he lay and wallowed, and was round, so that oft he laid his thigh in his neck. And every day twice this malady came to him, and two persons might not keep him ne hold him but that he would despoil and unclothe him maugre them both.

There could no physician ne wise man that was in all the country find any remedy ne give counsel to ease him. But the father, which was named Quindelor, when he saw that he could find no counsel nor remedy for this malady, began to cry and call on St. Clare the holy virgin, and said: To thee that art worthy of all honours, I avow my child which is meschant and caitiff, and pray thee, right sweet saint, that thou wilt send to my child health.

And forthwith went to her tomb full of belief to have his request, and laid the child upon the tomb of the virgin and made his prayers. And anon he was delivered of the malady, ne never was sick after of that sickness, ne never hurt him after by reason of that malady.

Another miracle.

Alexandrine of Perugia had in her body a right felonous devil, which had so utterly power over her that he made her descend from a rock that stood upon a river of water, and made her to flee over the water as she had been a bird, and made her to light upon a little bough of a tree which hung over the river, and ceased not to play there. Also for her sin it happed that she lost her left side, and was lame of that one hand. And she assayed much if she might be healed by any medicine, but all the medicines that she took availed her not. And then she came to the tomb of St. Clare with great repentance of heart, and began to require St. Clare that she would help her, and anon she was healed and redressed in all health. And her side was whole, and hand also, and delivered of the possession of the devil which was in her, and of many other sicknesses and maladies tofore the sepulchre of St. Clare.

Of one being mad that she healed.

A man born in France came on a time from the court and fell in a malady, that he was out of his wit and might not speak, and so demeaned his body that he might have no rest, and was much over strange and hideous to look on. No man might so hold him but that he brake from them maugre them that held him, and broke asunder cords or any thing that they bound him with, and they of his country brought him to St. Clare and anon he was healed and well delivered of his malady.

Another Miracle.

There was a man named Valentine Despole, which had a horrible malady, that he fell of the foul evil well six times in a day. And therewith he was lame of one thigh so that he might not go, but was set upon an ass, which brought him whereas St. Clare lieth, and he was set tofore her tomb three nights and two days, and on the third day, without touching of anybody, his thigh began rumble, and made so great a noise that it seemed that the bone brake, and forthwith he was whole of both diseases

Of a blind man that had his sight again

Jacob, the son of Spoletine, had been two years blind, so that he must be led, for when he had no leader he went here and there. And on a time the child that led him let him go alone, and he fell so that he brake his arm, and a great wound in his head. And it happed on a night as he slept by the bridge of Margue, there appeared to him in his sleep a lady, and said to him: Jacobel, wherefore comest thou not to me for to be whole?

And on the morn he recounted his dream unto two other blind men, all trembling. And the blind men told to him that there was newly dead a lady, in the city of Assisi, for whom God showed many miracles to them that came to her tomb sick and diseased, and when they should depart were all whole. And anon as he heard that he was not slow, but hasted him and came first to Spoleto, and that night he saw the same vision that he had first seen that other night tofore. On a time he went and ran by the way, and for the desire to have his sight he went that night to Assisi.

And when he came thither he found so much people in the monastery, and lying tofore the tomb of the holy virgin, that he might not enter ne come into the monastery ne to the tomb where the virgin lay. And then he laid a stone under his head, and abode there with great devotion, sorrowing and angry that he might not enter. And the same night, as he slept, he heard a voice that said to him: Jacobel, if thou mayst come and enter herein, God shall do well to thee.

And on the morn, when he was awaked, he began to pray with great tears that the people would give and make to him way for the love of God, and besought the people, crying them mercy, that they would bring him in. And the people began to make him way. And anon he did off his hosen and shoon and despoiled him by great devotion, and he put his girdle about his neck, and so went to the tomb, and there being in great devotion, fell asleep a little. And St. Clare appeared to him and said to him: Arise up, for thou art all whole.

And anon he arose and saw clearly. And when he saw that he was

enlumined, and saw the clearness of the day by the merit of St. Clare, he praised and glorified our Lord that had done to him so much bounty, and prayed the good people to give praisings and thankings to God.

Of a man that was healed of his hand

There was a man of Perugia which was named Good John, the son of Martin, and went for to fight against them of Foligno, and that one part and that other began the strife, and began to cast stones so great and fast that this John had his one hand all to-frushed and broken of a stone. And because he had great desire to be healed, he dispensed much money on masters and surgeons, but he could find none that could heal him, but that he abode always lame on his hand, ne might do nothing ne work therewith, whereof he had so great sorrow that he hasted him for to have it smitten off many times. But when he heard the great marvels that our Lord had done for St. Clare, he avowed that he should visit her. And then came to the sepulchre of St. Clare, the holy virgin, and bare thither an image of wax in his hand, and laid him down upon the tomb, and anon he was perfectly healed of his hand.

Another miracle.

There was a man named Petrius of the castle of Byconne which had been three years sick, and was so enfeebled that by the strength of his malady that he was all dried up, and had so much pain in his reins that he was become so crooked that he went like a beast. For which cause his father led him to the best masters and medicines that he might find and know, and also to such as entremeted of broken bones, and the father would well have spent all his goods on the condition to have his son whole. And when he heard say of the masters that no physic nor no man might heal him of his malady, then he thought to go to St. Clare, and led his son thither. And so he did, and laid him tofore the sepulchre of the holy virgin. And he had not been long there, but by the grace of God, and by the merits of the holy virgin he was all whole, and arose up guerished of all his malady, and gave laud, thankings, and praisings to our Lord God,

and to St. Clare, and prayed the people to do in like wise because of his health.

Another miracle.

There was also a child of the age of two years in the town of St. Quirito in the bishopric of Assisi, which was born crooked in the back and lame, which his thighs and feet turned athwart, and went in such wise that it was all out of order, and when he was fallen he could not arise. His mother had ofttimes vowed him to St. Francis, and was not thereby holpen, and when she heard that God showed new miracles for St. Clare, she bare her child to her sepulchre and abode there certain days. But within a few days his legs began to grow, and his thighs within the skin were redressed naturally, and he went upright and was all guerished and made whole. And thus he that had been divers times at St. Francis was healed by the merits of his good disciple St. Clare, by the virtue of our Lord Jesu.

Of a lame child that never had gone.

A burgess of Augulum named Jacques de Franque had a child of five years of age which had no feet for to bear him, ne had never gone ne might go. Wherefore his father oft wept and sorrowed much at his heart for his deformity, and thought it a reproach to him to have such one disfigured born of his blood. For he lay on the earth and in the ashes, wallowing and addressing him against the wall, desiring by nature to help him, but might and power failed him. Then his father and mother vowed him to St. Clare that he should be her servant if by her prayers and merits he might be healed. And as soon as the father and mother had made their vow, the holy virgin healed her servant, so that he had his right limbs and went upright. And anon the father and mother led him to St. Clare, which went leaping and running, praising our Lord and thanking him, and then the father and mother offered him to our Lord.

Another miracle.

There was a woman of the castle of Bruane named Pleniere which had been long sick in her reins, in such wise that she might not go without help, ne address her but with great pain, and was all crooked. It happed that on a Friday she did her to be borne to the tomb of St. Clare and prayed her right devoutly that she would help her. And it happed as she prayed she was suddenly made all whole. And on the morn that was Saturday, she went upright all whole on her feet home to her house, whereas the day tofore she was borne for feebleness.

Of her that was healed of the escroceles

There was a maid of the land of Perugia which had her throat greatly swollen of a malady called escroceles, which she had long, and had about her neck and throat a twenty botches called glanders, so that her neck seemed greater than her head. And oft she had been led to St. Clare, and the father and mother of the maid had prayed her devoutly to heal their daughter. And it happed on a night as the maid lay tofore the tomb she began to sweat, and the escroceles and the malady began to mollify, and to remove, and anon after, the malady vanished away all clean, and so net that, by the merits of St. Clare there nas seen sign ne token thereof.

Of a sister of the order.

One of the sisters of the order of St. Clare, in the time that she lived, had such a malady in her throat, which sister was named Andrea, but it was of one thing marvel, how that among the sisters which were as precious stones, all full of the fervent love of the Holy Ghost, that such one that was so cold might dwell among them as was this Andrea, so foolish, that dishonoureth the other virgins.

Then it happed on a night that she distrained herself by the throat that she was almost estrangled, which thing St. Clare saw and knew by the Holy Ghost, and said to one of her sisters: Now go hastily and take a soft egg and bear it to sister Andrea of Ferrara for to rume her throat, and come again and bring her with thee hither to me.

And then she hasted her and found the same Andrea, that she might not speak, for she had almost strangled her with her own hands. And she relieved her as well as she might, and brought her to her good mother.

Then St. Clare said to her: Thou caitiff, go and confess thee of thine evil thoughts, and I wot well that our Lord will heal thee, but amend thy life that thou mayest die of some other malady than this which thou hast suffered so long. And anon as St. Clare had said these words she began to repent her with good heart, and amended her life marvellously, and was all healed of the escroceles, by the grace of God, but she died anon after of another malady.

Of a wolf that bare away a child

In the land of Assisi there was a wolf over sore cruel, which tormented the country and the people and ran upon them and slew and ate them. So there was a woman named Gallane of the Mount of Gallum which had children, and the wolf had ravished and borne away one of them, and had eaten him, wherefore she wept oft. And on a time the wolf came for his prey as he had done tofore for to devour some child. And it happed that this woman was busy in her work which she had in hand, and one of her sons went out, and anon, the wolf caught him by the head and ran with him towards the wood.

And a man that was among the vines labouring, heard the child bray otherwise than he had heard any, and came running to the mother of the child, and bade her see if she had all her children, for he said that he had heard the cry of a child otherwise than they be woned to cry.

And anon the mother looked and saw that the wolf had ravished her child, and went towards the wood with him like as he did with that other, and cried also high as she might cry: Ah! glorious virgin St. Clare, save my child and keep him, and if thou do not I shall go

drown myself.

And therewith the neighbours came out and ran after the wolf, and found the child, whom the wolf had left, and a hound beside him licking his wounds. For the wolf had first taken him by the head, and after took him by the reins, for the more easilier to bear him. and the biting of his teeth appeared both in the head and reins. And then the mother went with him to St. Clare that had so well holpen her, and brought with her her neighbours, and showed the wounds of the child to all them that would see them, and thanked God and St. Clare that she had her child again rendered to her.

The Maid of the Castle Convary

There was a maid of the castle Convary which sat on a time in a field, and another woman had laid her head in her lap. And in the mean while there came a wolf which was accustomed to run on the people, and came to this maid and swallowed the visage and all the mouth and so ran with her toward the wood. And the good woman that rested in her lap when she saw it, was much abashed and began to call on St. Clare and said: Help! help! St. Clare, and succour us, I recommend to thee at this time this maid.

And she whom the wolf bare, said unto the wolf: Art not thou afeard to bear me any farther that am recommended to so great and worthy lady? And with that word that the maid said, the wolf, all confused and shamed, set softly the maid down, and fled away like a thief, and so she was delivered.

Then let us pray unto this glorious virgin St. Clare to be our advocate in all our needs; and by the merits of her we may so amend our life in this world that we may come unto everlasting life and bliss in heaven. Amen

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OF THE CIRCUMCISION OF OUR LORD

Chapter 13 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes. Because of deficiencies in my source, some parts of the following are presented only in summary form.

The day of the circumcision of our Lord there be four things that make and show it to be holy and solemn. The first is that it is the utas of the Nativity. The second is the imposition of a new name bearing health. The third is the effusion of his precious blood. The fourth is the signs of the circumcision.

THE OCTAVE OF THE NATIVITY

As for the first it appeareth, for the utas of saints be solemn, by much more reason ought it to be of him that is the saint of all saints. Now it seemeth that the Nativity of our Lord ought not to have none utas. For the nativity tendeth to the death. And the decease of saints have their utas because they be born of the nativity that stretcheth to life perdurable, for to be after glorified in body. And by the same way it seemeth that the nativity of the glorious Virgin Mary and of St. John Baptist, and of the Resurrection of our Lord ought not to have utas, for the resurrection was then done. Hereto we ought to consider, like as saith a doctor, that, in this we should fulfil such things as we accomplished not in the principal day that our Lord was born in. Of which of ancient time men were wont to sing at the Mass: *Vultum tuum domine,* etc. to the honour of our Lady St. Mary. The other octaves or utases as of Paske, Whitsuntide, the nativity of our Lady and St. John Baptist be of devotion, as of other saints that men will honour for singular cause or affection. And they may be said the octaves of figuration, for they signify and figure the octave of the last resurrection perpetual, which is the eighth age.

A NEW NAME BEARING HEALTH

And as to the second, this day was his name imposed to him, and was named with the new name that the mouth of God named. This is the name of which there is none other under heaven by which we may be saved, that is Jesus. After St. Bernard, â□□This is the name which in the mouth is honey, in the ear melody, and in the heart joy; this is the name after that he saith, it lighteth and shineth like oil. When it is preached it feedeth the soul, when it is in the mind of the heart it is sweet, and it anointeth when it is called.â□□

The Three Names of Jesus

And as the evangelist saith, he had three names, that is to wit the Son of God, Jesus, and Christus. He is called the Son of God insomuch as he is God of God the Father; Christ insomuch as he is a man taken of a person divine and nature human, and Jesus inasmuch as he is God united to our humanity. And of this three manner of names, saith St. Bernard, â□□Ye that lie in dust and powder arise out of your sleep and awake ye and give praising to God. Lo here that our Lord shall come unto your health, he cometh with unction, he cometh with glory. Jesus cometh not without health, nor Christ cometh not without unction, nor the Son of God without glory. For he is our health, our unction and our joy.â□□

And as touching this treble name; before his passion, he was not perfectly known. As touching the first he was somewhat known by conjecting, as of his enemies, which said Jesu Christ to be the Son of God. And as to the second, of less or fewer he was known for Jesu Christ. And as to the third, vocally, for as much as by the voice he was called Jesus. But as to the reason of the name, he was not known. For â□□Jesusâ□□ is as much to say as â□□Saviour,â□□ and this understood not they.

After the resurrection, this treble was clarified and declared. The first to the certainty, the second to the publication, the third to the reason of the name.

The Name â□□Son of Godâ□□

The first name is Son of God. And that these names be appropriate to him, Saint Hilary in his book that he made of the Trinity saith thus: *Vere filium Dei unigenitum:* In divers manners this name, Son of God, is known, as it is witnessed of God. God the Father witnesseth it that he is his son. Apostles preach it, the religious believe it, the fiends our enemies confess it. And therefore we know our Lord Jesu Christ in his manners, by name, by nature, by nativity, by puissance, and by his passion.

The Name â□□Christusâ□□

The second name is Christus, which is interpreted â□□unction.â□□ For he was anointed with the oil of gladness before all them that to him were party. And by that he is said anointed, it is showed that he was a prophet, a champion, a priest and a king. These four persons sometime were wont to be anointed. Jesu Christ was a prophet teaching the doctrine divine, a champion in the battle against the devil whom he overcame, a priest in reconciling the human lineage to God the Father, and a king in distributing and rewarding every man.…

[The Legend continues with discussion of the name â□□Jesusâ□□ and then cites comments by Church Fathers on the significance of that name. Here in italics is a summary of the parts omitted from my source:]

THE EFFUSION OF OUR LORDÂ□□S PRECIOUS BLOOD

The Legend explains the third reason for solemnizing this day: it is the first of the five occasions when Christâ□□s blood was shed. The others are the agony in the garden, the courging, the crucifixion, and the piercing of his side.

THE SIGNS OF THE CIRCUMCISION

The fourth reason for solemnizing this day is for â□□the seal that Christ deigned to receive on this day.â□□ For his willingness to receive circumcision the Legend provides five reasons: To show that

his body was truly human, to show us that we should be circumcised in the spirit and thus redeemed, to leave the Jews no excuse for rejecting him, to keep the demons from learning of the mystery of the Incarnation, and to give us an example of humility.

WAYS TO UNDERSTAND WHY CIRCUMCISION OCCURS ON THE EIGHTH DAY

Literally

On the literal level of understanding scripture, according to the Legend, God did not want babies to be circumcised in their first week because the flesh is too soft at that time.

Anagogically

On the anagogical level of understanding scripture, according to the Legend, circumcision on the eighth day reminds us that we will be reedeemed â□□withing the octave of the resurrection,â□□ taking the eight days for the eight ages of the world. Also, the eight days remind of the eight things that will be ours in Heaven: life, health, food, plenty, glory, honor, peace, and every good. Also, man is composed of seven elements (the four physical elements plus three faculties of the soul) but upon redemption is circumcised of all sins and faults.

Tropologically

On the tropological level, the Legend continues, each of the eight days has a moral meaning to the individual Christian.

The first day involves knowledge of our sins.

The second day is the decision
…for to leave sin and take the good, the which is showed us by the son that dispended his good follily, and when he had perceived that he had done evil and foolishly, he advertised himself and said: I shall depart and return to my father, and shall pray that I may serve

him, and that he may receive me to mercy, and make me as one of his servants.

The third [day] is shame of sin, whereof saith St. Paul to them that for their sins be in pain and in torment: What fruit have ye founden in those sins in your life of which now ye be ashamed?

The fourth [day] is dread of the coming judgment and doom, whereof Job saith: I have feared and doubted God as men dread the waves of the sea in their great rage and tempest. And St. Jerome saith thus: *Sive comedam sive bibam, etc.* As oft as I eat or drink or that I do any other thing, alway me seemeth that I hear the sound and the voice crying: Arise, ye dead men, and come to the doom and the judgment.

The fifth is contrition, whereof St. Jerome saith: Give thy weeping and bitterness of that which thou hast angered thy God by thy sin.

The sixth is confession, whereof David saith: *Dixi confitebor, etc.:* I have said and purposed in my heart that I shall confess me to God and make knowledge of my sin.

The seventh is hope of pardon, for if Judas had had very repentance and hope, and had confessed his sin, he had had forgiveness and pardon.

The eighth is satisfaction and sacrifice, and then is the man verily circumcised, not only from the sin, but also from pain.

Where the two first days be for the sorrow of sin that hath been done and the will for to amend it, the third day we should confess the evil that we have done and the good deeds that we have left. The other four days be orison, effusion of tears, affliction of body, and alms given.

Allegorically

On the allegorical level of scriptural interpretation, the first five days correspond to the five books of Moses; the sixth and seventh, to the Prophets and the Psalms; and the eighth to the Gospel, which perfects circumcision.

REGARDING THE FLESH REMOVED BY THE CIRCUMCISION

The Legend says that the removed flesh is said by some to have been carried by an angel to Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, where it remains, while others say it is in Rome. The author doubts these claims, reasoning that all of Christâ□□s flesh was glorified at his Ascension into Heaven.

CONCLUSION

The Legend concludes with a final reason why the Church solemnized the first day of the year: to encourage Christians to abandon the pagan celebrations that were customary on that day.

By contrast, Caxtonâ□□s translation of this part of the Legend concludes as follows:

We find that Jesu Christ said by the mouth of his saints: *Non veni legem solvere sed adimplere,* â□□I came not,â□□ said Jesu Christ, â□□to break the law, but to fulfil it.â□□ And he was that day circumcised and named Jesus, which is as much to say as Saviour.

And at the circumcision must he cut a little of the skin at the end of the member or yard, and that is signified and shewed that we ought to be circumcised, and cut and taken away from us the sins and evil vices, that is to wit pride, wrath, envy, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, and all sins, and purge us by confession, by contrition, by satisfaction, by almsdeeds, and by prayers, and to give for God's sake of the goods that he hath lent us.

For we have nothing proper, but Jesu Christ hath lent to us all that we have. Then it is well reason that we do give for him to the poor of such goods as be his, for we be but servants, and we ought to give

to the hungry meat, to the thirsty drink, to the naked clothing, visit the sick, and tofore all things to love God, and after, our neighbour as ourself; and despoil ourself from sin, and clothe us with good works and virtues, and follow the commandment of Jesu Christ. And in this manner we shall fulfil the will of our father Jesu Christ, if we been so purged and thus circumcised.

Then let us pray unto the Lord of heaven that saith that he came not to break the law but to fulfil it, that he give us grace in such manner to fulfil the law and his will in this world, that we may come into his holy bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. CLEMENT, POPE AND MARTYR

Chapter 170 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

HOW ST. CLEMENT WAS LEFT AN APPARENT ORPHAN

Clement the bishop was born of the lineage of the Romans, and his father was named Faustinianus, and his mother Macidiana. He had two brethren, of whom that one was named Faustinus and that other Faustus, and Macidiana was of marvellous beauty. Her husband's brother burned in the love of her by the disordinate concupiscence of luxury, and daily he vexed her in desiring her to accord to his foul lust, but she in no wise would consent to him. And she doubted to show it to her husband because there should no debate ne enmity fall between the brethren.

Then she thought to absent her by some means from him so long that he should forget this disordinate love, for the sight of her presence set him afire. And because she might have licence of her husband, she feigned a dream subtly, which she told to her husband in this wise, saying: There is a vision come to me this night by which I am commanded to depart out of this city of Rome with my two sons Faustinus and Faustus, and that I should abide out so long till I were commanded to return, and if I did not I should die and my children also.

And when her husband heard this he was sore abashed and afeared, and sent his wife and his two sons to Athens with much other meiny, and that she should abide there and set her sons to school, and the father held Clement at home with him, which was the least, and was but five years old, for his solace. And as the

mother sailed on the sea with her sons, there rose a great tempest and brought the ship to wrack and was all to-broken, and the mother was thrown by the waves of the sea upon a rock and escaped, weeping that her two sons had been perished, and for sorrow and discomfort would have drowned herself in the sea if she had not had hope to find her sons.

And when she saw that she could not find them alive ne dead, she cried and brayed strongly, and bit her hands, and would not be comforted of nobody, and then came to her many women, which told to her the fortunes that they had had, but she was comforted by none. And among the other there came one that said she had lost her husband, a young man, in the sea, and that she would never after be married for the love of him, and she comforted her how it was, and dwelled with her, and gat daily their living with their hands.

But anon after, her hands that she had bitten became so sore and broken out that she might not work, and she that harboured her had the palsy and might not rise out of her bed. And thus was Macidiana constrained to beg and ask her living from door to door, and of such as she could get she fed herself and her hostess.

And when the year was passed that she was departed with her children, her husband sent messengers to Athens for to know how they did, but them that he sent returned not, and he sent other messengers after, which returned and said that they had found none. And then he left Clement his son under the keeping of certain tutors, and went for to seek his wife and his children, and took his shipping, but he came not again.

HE LEARNS OF CHRISTIANITY FROM ST. BARNABAS

And thus Clement was twenty years orphan, and never had tidings of father ne mother, ne of his brothers, and he went to study and became a sovereign philosopher, and desired and enquired diligently in what manner he might know the immortality of the soul, and therefore haunted he oft the schools of philosophy; and when

he heard that it was concluded in the disputation that the soul was immortal, he was glad and joyous; and when they said that it was mortal he went all heavy and confused.

And at the last when Barnabas came to Rome preaching the faith of Jesu Christ, the philosophers mocked him as he had been mad or out of his wits, and, as some say, Clement was the first philosopher that mocked him and despised his predication, and in scorn put to him this question, saying: What is the cause that culex, which is a little beast, hath six feet and two wings, and an elephant which is a great beast hath but four feet and no wings?

To whom Barnabas said: Fool, I might lightly answer to thy question if thou demandedst it to know the truth, but it should be a rude and a deaf thing to say to you anything of creatures, when ye know not the maker of the creatures, and because ye know not the creator of all, it is right that ye err in the creatures.

This word went much to the heart of Clement the philosopher, in such wise that he was informed of Barnabas in the faith of Jesu Christ, and went anon into Judea to St. Peter, which taught him the faith, and showed to him the immortality of the soul all clearly.

CLEMENT REDISCOVERS HIS MOTHER

And in that time Simon the enchanter had two disciples, that is to wit Aquila and Nicetas, and when they understood and knew his fallacies they forsook and left him and fled to St. Peter and were his disciples. Then St. Peter demanded of Clement of what lineage he was, and he told to him all by order what was happed to his father, and to his mother, and to his brethren, and said that he supposed that his mother with his brethren was drowned in the sea and that his father was dead for sorrow or drowned also in the sea. And when St. Peter heard this he might not keep him from weeping.

On a time Peter came into the isle where Macidiana, the mother of Clement dwelled, in which isle were pillars of glass of marvellous

length, and as St. Peter beheld these pillars he saw Macidiana begging, whom he blamed because she laboured not with her hands, and she answered and said: Sir, I have nothing but the form and likeness of my hands, for they be so feebled by my biting that I feel them not, and me repenteth that I drowned not myself in the sea that I should no longer have lived.

Then Peter said: What sayst thou, woman? Knowest thou not that the the souls of them that slay themselves be most grievously punished?

To whom she said: Would God that I were certain that souls should live after the death, for then would I slay myself to the end that I might but one hour see my sweet children.

And when Peter had demanded of her the cause, and that she had told to him all the order of the things done, then Peter said: There is a young man with us named Clement which saith like as thou sayest, that it so happed to his father and mother and to his brethren.

And when she heard that, she was smitten with so great wonder that she fell, and when she was come to herself, she said weeping to St. Peter: I am certainly mother of that young man, and kneeling down tofore St. Peter, she prayed him that he would hastily show to her her son,.

And Peter said to her: Abide a while till we be out of this isle.

And when they were out of the isle, Peter took her by the hand and brought her to the ship where Clement was in. And when Clement saw Peter holding the woman by the hand he began to laugh; and anon as this woman was nigh by Clement she might abstain her no longer, but embraced him about the neck and kissed him. And he put her aback like as she had been frantic, and was much angry against Peter.

And Peter said to him: Whatsomever thou doest, put thou not away thy mother.

And when Clement heard that, anon he began to weep, and advised him, and took up his mother which was fallen down aswoon and began to know her. And the hostess that lay sick of the palsy was brought forth by the commandment of Peter, and he healed her anon. And then the mother demanded Clement of his father, and he said to her that he went to seek her, and that he sith never saw him, and when she heard that, she sighed and comforted her other sorrows by the great joy that she had of her son.

HE REDISCOVERS HIS BROTHERS

In the meanwhile Nicetas and Aquila came, which were not there when she came, and when they saw this woman they enquired what she was. Then Clement said: She is my mother whom God hath given to me by my lord Peter.

Then Peter told to them all by order, and when Nicetas and Aquila heard that, they arose and were all abashed and said: Lord, maker of all things, is this true that we have heard, or is it a dream?

Then Peter said to them: If ye be not out of your mind these things be all true.

Then said they: We be Faustus and Faustinian, whom our mother had supposed had been perished in the sea.

And then the mother ran and embraced them about the neck and said: What may this be?

And Peter said: These be thy sons, Faustus and Faustinian, whom thou supposedst had been perished in the sea.

And when she heard that, she fell down aswoon for joy. And when she was come again to herself, she said to them: Say ye to me how

ye escaped.

And they said: When our ship was broken we were borne upon a table, and other mariners found us and took us into their ship, and changed our names, and sold us to a woman named Justine which hath holden us as her sons, and hath made us to learn the arts liberal, and after, we learned philosophy and sith we joined us unto Simon, an enchanter, which hath been nourished with us, and when we knew his fallacies, we left him all, and were made disciples of Peter.

HIS FATHER

And the next day following, Peter, with his three disciples, Clement, Nicetas, and Aquila went into a more secret place for to pray, and a much ancient and honourable man, but right poor, was there, and began to reason and say to them: I have pity on you, brethren, for under the likeness of pity I consider you greatly to err. For there is no God ne none worshipping here, ne no providence in the world, but fortune only, of engendrure and hap, doth all, like as I have found expertly of myself, which was informed in the discipline of mathesis more than many others. Then pray ye no more, for whether ye pray or pray not, that which is ordained to you by destiny shall fall.

And Clement beheld him, and his heart judged that he had seen him tofore time, and when Clement, Aquila, and Nicetas had long disputed with him by the commandment of Peter, and they had showed to him what providence was, by open reasons, and for reverence called him often father, Aquila said: What need have we to call him father when we have in commandment that we ought to call no man father upon earth?

And he beheld this ancient man and said: Thou holdest thee injured father, because I blamed my brother that called thee father. We have in commandment that we should call no man by such name.

And when he had said so, all they of the company laughed, and he asked them why they laughed, and Clement said: Thou dost that for which thou blamest others in calling this old man father.

And when they had enough disputed of providence, the old man said: I had well believed providence, but mine own conscience denieth me it, that I may not believe it. I know my destiny and my wife's, and that which fortune hath destined is ordained to each body. Now hearken ye what fortune happed to my wife.

"She had in her nativity, Mars with Venus upon the centre, and the moon waning in the house of Mars and ends of Saturn. And this adventure maketh the adulterers to break their wedlock, and to love their servants, and to go with them into strange countries, and to be drowned in waters, and so is it fallen by my wife. For she fell in the love of her servant and fled with him and perished in the sea, for as my brother hath recounted to me, she loved him first, and he would not consent to her, and then she turned her lecherous love in her servant, and it ought not to be laid any blame in her, for her destiny hath made her to do so. And then he told how she feigned a dream, and how in sailing towards Athens she perished."

And then his sons would have run to him and have discovered the matter. But Peter defended them and said: Suffer ye till it please me; and then Peter said to him: If I show to thee this day thy wife, right chaste, with thy three sons, wilt thou believe that destiny is nothing?

And he said: Like as it is a thing impossible to show that thou hast promised, so impossible is it to do anything above destiny. **

And then said Peter: This is Clement thy son, and these two be thy two sons, Faustus and Faustinian.

Then the old man fell down for joy as he had been without soul. Then his sons came unto him and kissed him, and were afeard that he should not have come to himself again, and when his swooning

was gone, he heard of them all by order, how all things had happened.

Then his wife came suddenly and began to cry and weep strongly, saying; O my husband and my lord, where is he? And this said she as she had been all from herself, and the old man, that hearing, ran to her and embraced her straining with great weeping.

ST. PETER FOILS THE PLOTTING OF SIMON MAGUS AGAINST CLEMENTÂ□□S FAMILY

And then as they thus were dwelling together, there came a messenger that told how Apion and Ambion, which were great friends unto this old man Faustinian, were lodged with Simon Magus, of whom this old man was much glad, and went to visit them.

And forthwith came a messenger which said that there was come a minister of the emperor's unto Antioch, and sought all the enchanters for to punish them to death. Then Simon Magus, because he hated the sons of Faustinian, because they forsook him, he imprinted his similitude and likeness in this old man Faustinian, in such wise that of every man he was supposed to be Simon Magus. And this did Simon Magus because he should be taken of the ministers of the emperor, and be slain instead of him, and Simon then departed from those parts.

And when this old Faustinian came again to St. Peter and to his sons, the sons were abashed, which saw in him the similitude and likeness of Simon Magus, and understood the voice of their father, but St. Peter saw the natural likeness of him. And his wife and his sons blamed and reproved him, and he said: Wherefore blame ye me and flee from me that am your father?

And they said: We flee from thee because the likeness of Simon Magus appeareth in thee.

Now this Simon had composed an ointment and anointed him withal, and had imprinted the form of himself by art magic in this old man, which wept and said: What mishap, alas, is fallen to me! I have but one day been known of my wife and of my children, and may not be joyful with them.

And his wife and his children wept sore, and tore their hair. And Simon Magus when he was in Antioch defamed strongly St. Peter, and said he was a cursed enchanter and a homicide, and had so moved the people against Peter that they purposed so slay him if they might once hold him. And then said St. Peter to this old Faustinian: Because thou art like and seemest Simon Magus, go forth into Antioch and excuse me tofore all the people of such things as Simon himself hath said of me, and after I shall come into Antioch and shall take from thee this strange likeness, and shall give to thee again thy proper and natural similitude tofore all the people.

But it is not to suppose that St. Peter bade him to lie, for God hath no need of leasings. And then should the book of Clement, called *Itinerarium* , not be apocryphum, as who saith, of none authority, in which these things be written, and ought not to be taken in such things, but as it pleaseth to some men. Nevertheless it may be said, if these words be diligently considered, that he should not say that he were Simon Magus, but that he should show to the people the semblance of Simon Magus' visage, showing St. Peter in the person of Simon, and should revoke the words that he had said, and if he said that he was Simon, that was not as touching the truth, but unto the appearance and likeness. Then Faustinian said: I am Simon, as who saith, I am like unto Simon, and was supposed to be Simon of the people.

Then this old man, Faustinian, went into Antioch, and assembled the people and said: I Simon show to you and confess that I have deceived you of all that I have said of Peter the apostle, for he is no traitor ne enchanter, but is sent for the health of the world. Wherefore if ever I hereafter shall say anything against him, that ye

take me as a traitor and wicked, and put me away from you, for I do now penance for that I acknowledge me to have said falsely and evil of him. I warn you therefore that ye believe in him that ye ne your city perish not.

And when he had said this that Peter had commanded him, and had stirred the people into love of Peter, St. Peter came to him and made his prayer, and after took away from him the likeness of Simon, and became in his natural likeness. Then all the people of Antioch received debonairly St. Peter, and with great honour enhanced him and set him in a chair as a bishop.

And when Simon Magus heard this he came and gathered the people together and said: I marvel when I have enseigned and taught you the commandments of health, and have warned you that ye should keep you from the traitor Peter, and ye have not only heard him but ye have enhanced him, and have set him in the chair of a bishop.

Then all the people arose in a great fury against him and said: Thou art nothing but a monster, thou saidest that other day that thou repentedst of that thou hadst said against St. Peter, and now thou wouldst overthrow us and thyself.

And all at once they rose against him and cast him out of the town. All these things St. Clement telleth of himself in his book, and hath set it in this history.

ST. CLEMENT AT ROME

After this when St. Peter came to Rome and saw that his passion approached, he ordained Clement to be bishop after him. And when St. Peter, prince of the apostles, was dead, Clement, which was a man purveyed , and took heed of the time to come, so that lest by his ensample every bishop would choose a successor after him in the church of our Lord, and so possess the see of God by heritage, he gave it over to Linus and afterwards to Cletus.

And after them Clement was chosen and compelled to take it upon him, wherein he shone by virtuous living and good manners that he pleased well unto the Jews, Christian men and paynims. He had the poor people written by name of every each religion for to give to them according to their necessity, he loved much poor people, and them that he sanctified by baptism he suffered them not to beg commonly.

THE CONVERSION OF THEODORA AND HER HUSBAND SISINNIUS

And when he had sacred a damoisel with a veil which was a virgin, and niece of Domitian the emperor, and had converted to the faith Theodora, wife of Sisinnius, friend of the emperor, and she had promised to be in purpose of chastity, Sisinnius had doubt of his wife, and entered after her into the church privily for to know what she used to do there

And when St. Clement had said the orison and the people had answered, Amen, Sisinnius was made deaf and blind and he said to his servants: Bring me hence and lead me out. 1

And they led him round about the church and could not come to the doors ne gates. And when Theodora saw them erring so, she went to the first door, weening that her husband had known her, and after, she asked of the servants what they did, and they said to her: Our master would hear and see that was not lawful, and therefore he is made both blind and deaf.

And then she gave herself to prayer, and prayed God that her husband might go out from thence, and after her prayers she said to the servants: Go ye hence and bring my lord home to his house, and they went and brought him thither.

And Theodora went unto St. Clement and told to him what was happened, and then this holy man came to him and found his eyes

open, but he saw ne heard nothing. Then St. Clement prayed for him, and anon he received his sight and his hearing, and when he saw Clement standing by his wife, he was wood, and supposed that he had been illuded by art magic, and commanded his servants to hold fast Clement, saying: He hath made me blind by art magic for to come to my wife.

And he commanded to his ministers that they should bind Clement and so draw him, and they bound the pillars and stones, weening to Sisinnius, that they had bound St. Clement and his clerks and drawn them forth. Then Clement said to Sisinnius: Because thou worshippest stones for gods and trees, therefore hast thou deserved to draw stones and trees.

And he which supposed him to be bound verily, said: I shall do slay thee.

And then Clement departed, and he prayed Theodora that she should not cease to pray till that our Lord had visited her husband. Then St. Peter appeared to Theodora praying, and said to her: Thy husband shall be saved by thee for to accomplish that that Paul my brother saith: The man miscreant shall be saved by his true wife.

And this saying, he vanished away; and anon Sisinnius called his wife to him and prayed her to pray for him, and that she should call to him St. Clement. And when he was come he was instructed in the faith, and was baptized with three hundred and thirteen of his meiny, and many noble men and friends of the emperor believed in our Lord by this Sisinnius.

ST. CLEMENT IS EXILED TO A PENAL COLONY

Then the earl of the sacrifices gave much money, and moved great treason and discord against St. Clement. Then Mamertin, provost of the city of Rome might not suffer might not suffer this discord, but made St. Clement to be brought tofore him, and as he reproved and essayed to draw him to his law, Clement said to him: I would well

rather that thou wouldst come to reason. For if many dogs have barked against us and have bitten us, yet they may not take from us but that we be men reasonable, and they be hounds disreasonable. This dissension which is moved, it showeth that it hath no certainty ne truth.

And then Mamertin wrote unto Trajan the emperor, of Clement, and he had answer that he should do sacrifice or to be exiled into the desert that was beyond the city over the sea. Then the provost said to him weeping: Thy God whom thou worshippest purely, may he help thee.

Then the provost delivered to him a ship and all things necessary to him, and many clerks and lay people followed him in exile. And the provost found in that isle more than two thousand people Christian, which had been long there condemned for to hew the marble in the rocks. And anon when they saw St. Clement they began to weep, and he comforted them and said: Our Lord hath not sent me hither by my merits, but he hath made me partner of your crown.

The Water Miracle

And when he understood of them that they fetched water six miles thence, and bare it upon their shoulders, he said to them: Let us all pray unto our Lord that he open to us, his confessors in this place here, the veins of a fountain or of a well, and that he that smote the stone in desert of Sinai and water flowed abundantly, he give to us running water so that we may be enjoyed of his benefits.

And when he had made his prayer, he looked here and there, and saw a lamb standing which lifted up his right foot and showed a place to the bishop, and he understanding that it was our Lord Jesu Christ, whom he only saw, went to the place and said: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, smite in this place.

And when he saw that no man would smite in the place where the

lamb stood, he took a little pickaxe, and smote one stroke lightly in the place under the foot of the lamb, and anon a well or a fountain sprang up and grew into a great flood. Then, unto all them joying, St. Clement said: The coming of the flood gladdeth the city of God. And for the fame of this miracle much people came thither, and five hundred and more received baptism of him in one day, and they destroyed the temples of the idols through all that province, and within one year they edified seventy-five churches to the honour of our Lord.

ST. CLEMENT IS MARTYRED

And three years after, Trajan the emperor, understanding this which was the year of our Lord one hundred and six, sent thither a duke, and when this duke saw that all they would gladly die for God's love, he left the multitude and took only Clement, and bound an anchor round his neck and threw him into the sea, and said: Now they may not worship him for a god.

And all that great multitude of the people went to the rivage of the sea and beheld the cruelty of the tyrant. And then Cornelius and Phoebus, disciples of St. Clement, commanded to all the others to pray to our Lord that he would show to them the body of his martyr; and anon the sea departed three miles away far, so that all they might go dry foot thither, and there they found a habitacle in a temple of marble which God had made and ordained, and found the body of St. Clement laid in an ark or a chest, and the anchor thereby, and it was showed to his disciples that they should not take away the body from thence.

THE LOST CHILD

Every year, in the time of his passion, the sea departed target by seven days during, four miles far, which gave dry way to them that came thither. In one of the solemnities there was a woman went thither with a little child, and when the solemnity of the feast was accomplished, the child slept, and the noise and sound of the water was heard which came and approached fast, and the woman was

abashed and forgat her child, and fled unto the rivage with the great multitude of people. And afterwards she remembered her son and began strongly to cry and weep, and ran hither and thither braying by the rivage for to know if by adventure the body of her son might be cast up on the rivage.

And when she saw no succour ne no hope, she returned home, and was all that year in weeping and in heaviness.

And the year after following, when the sea was departed and the way open, she ran tofore all the others and came to the place for to know if by adventure she might have any knowledge or find anything of her son, and when she kneeled down tofore the tomb of St. Clement and had made her prayers, she arose up and saw her son in the place where she had left him sleeping.

Then she supposed he had been dead, and went near for to have taken the body as it had been without life, but when she saw him sleeping, she awoke him and took him in her arms tofore all the people all whole and safe, and enquired of him where he had been all that year. And he said that he wist not, but that he had slept there but one night sweetly.

WHAT ST. AMBROSE SAYS

St. Ambrose saith in his preface in this wise: When the most wicked persecutor was constrained of the devil for to torment by pains the blessed Clement, he gave to him no pain, but victory. The martyr was cast into the flood for to be drowned, and therefore came he to a good reward by which Peter his master came into heaven. Christ approving the minds of them both in the floods, he called Clement from the bottom of the sea to the palm of victory, and he releved St. Peter in the same element, that he should not be drowned, unto the heavenly realm.

ST. CLEMENTÂ□□S RELICS

Leo, the bishop of Ostia, recounteth that in the time that Michael the emperor governed the Empire of Rome, a priest, named Philosophus, came to Tersona and demanded of them that dwelled in the country of the things that be rehearsed in the history of St. Clement, and because they had not been of that time, but were strange, they said that they knew nothing thereof. For, for the sin of them of the country that dwelled in that place, the water had long ceased for to withdraw as it was wont to do.

In the time of Martin the emperor the church had been destroyed of the barbarians, and the ark with the body of the martyr was wrapped in the floods of the sea for the sin of them that dwelled there, and then the priest was all amarvelled of these things and came unto a little city named Georgia, and went with the bishop and the clerks with the people for to seek the holy relics in the isle whereas they supposed that the body of the holy martyr had been.

And there they digged and sang hymns and canticles, and then by revelation divine they found the body of the holy saint and the anchor by it which was cast into the sea with him, and then they bare it to Tersona. And after, this same priest came to Rome with the body of St. Clement, and there showed God many miracles for this holy saint, and the body was laid in the church, which is now called St. Clement.

And it is read in a chronicle that the sea waxed dry in that place, and that the blessed Cyril, bishop of Morianne, brought the holy body unto Rome. Then let us devoutly pray unto this blessed saint, St. Clement, that by his merits we may deserve to come to the bliss of heaven. Amen.

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NOTE

1 The second part of the liturgy, which involves the consecration of the bread and wine and the communion of the faithful, was reserved

for baptized Christians only. It would have been thought sacrigelous for a pagan such as Sisinnius to stay during this part of the service.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE CONCEPTION OF OUR BLESSED LADY. OF THE FEAST OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR BLESSED LADY.

William Caxton's chapter on the Immaculate Conception in his translation of the Golden Legend (1483), drawn from material in accretions to Voragine's 1275 original. 1 translated by William Caxton,. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Maria invenisti graciam apud Dominum. Luca primo capitulo. 2

When the angel Gabriel had greeted our Lady for to show to her the blessed conception of our Lord, for to take from her all doubts and dreads, he comforted her in saying the words aforesaid: â□□Mary, thou hast found grace at the Lord.â□□

There be four manners of people, of which the two be good, and the two be evil. For some there be that seek not God nor his grace, as people out of the belief, of whom may be said as it is written: â□□Who that believeth not on his Lord God shall die perpetually.â□□ And other there be that seek God and his grace, but they find it not, for they seek it not as they ought to do, as covetous men that set all their love in havoir and in solace of the world. Such people be likened to them that seek flowers in winter: well seek they flowers in winter that seek God and his grace in the covetise of the world, which is so cold of all virtues that it quencheth all the devotion of the love of God.

And well is called the world winter in holy scripture; for its evils and vices make men sinners and cold to serve God. And therefore saith the Holy Ghost to the soul that is amorous (*Canticorum cap* . ii. 3), â□□Arise up thou my fair soul, the winter is past, *jam enim hiems transiit,* for thou hast vanquished the temptations of the world which

kele my love.â□□

And therof as is said (Judith, cap. xv.), *Tu gloria Jerusalem, tu laetitia Israel, tu honorificentia, etc* .), â□□Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art all the honour of our people.â□□

Cap. eodem *Confortatum est cor tuum, eo quod castitatem amaveris, et post virum tuum, alterum nescieris: ideo et manus Domini confortavit te. et ideo eris benedicta in aeternum:* â□□Thou hast kept chastity, and therefore thou shalt be blessed permanably.â□□

Judith viii. *Ora pro nobis, quoniam mulier sancta es, etc. Item cap. xiv. Benedicta es, etc.* It was said to Judith the widow this, that we may say to our Lady: â□□Pray for us, for ye be an holy woman, ye be a daughter that is blessed of the sovereign God above all the women that be on the earth.â□□

Thirdly, she is compared to the star, for she hath dwelled all her life stedfastly in all works of virtue, without doing any sin, like as the star holdeth him on the firmament without descending to the earth. For as St. Bernard saith: If it were demanded to all the saints that ever have been: have ye been without sin? Except the glorious Virgin Mary, they might answer this that is written Johannis, cap. i. *Si dixerimus quoniam non peccavimus, etc.:* â□□If we say that we have do no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us.â□□

This glorious virgin was, in the womb of her mother, sanctified more plainly and more specially than ever was any other, for as saith St. Thomas Aquinas in *Compendio* : There be three manners of sanctifications, the first is common, and given by the sacraments of the holy church, like as by baptism and other sacraments, and these give grace but to take away the inclination to sin deadly and venially, nay, and this was done in the Virgin Mary, for she was hallowed and confirmed in all goodness, more than ever was any

creature, like as saith St. Austin: She did never sin mortal nor venial. For she was so much enlumined by the Holy Ghost which descended in her, that through the conception of her blessed son Jesu Christ, which rested in her nine months, she was so confirmed in all virtues that there abode in her no inclination of sin.

MIRACLES OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

A Storm at Sea

And therefore the holy church doth her more reverence and honour in ordaining to hallow the feast of her conception, because this feast is common to the knowledge of holy church by some miracles, like as we find reading in this manner:

> Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and pastor of England, sendeth greeting and benediction in our Lord perpetual unto the bishops that be under me, and to all them that have remembrance of the blessed Virgin Mary mother of God.
>
> Right dear brethren, how the conception of the glorious Virgin Mary hath been showed sometime in England, in France, and in other countries by miracles, I shall rehearse to you.
>
> In the time that it pleased to God for to correct the people of England of their evils and sins, and to constrain them to his service, he gave victory in battle to William, the glorious Duke of Normandy, to win and conquer the realm of England. And after that he was king of the land, anon by the help of God, and of his prudence, he reformed the estates and dignities of holy church into better reformation than it had been. To which the devil, enemy unto all good works had envy, and pained him to empesh and let the good works, as well by falseness of his servants as by encumbering of his strangers.
>
> For when the Danes heard say that England was subject unto the Normans, anon they made them ready to withstand it. When king William understood this, anon he sent the Abbot of

Rumsey, which was named Helsinus, into Denmark for to know the truth. This Abbot after that he had done well and diligently the charge of his commission, and that he was returned a great part of the sea homeward, anon arose a great tempest on the sea, in such wise that the cords and other habiliments of the ship brake. And the masters and governors of the ship, and all they that were therein, lost the hope and trust to escape the peril of this tempest, and all cried devoutly to the glorious Virgin Mary, which is comfort to the discomforted, and hope to the despaired, and recommended themselves in the keeping of God.

And anon they saw coming tofore the ship, upon the water, an honourable person in habit of a bishop, which called the said abbot in the ship, and said to him: Wilt thou escape these perils of the sea, and go home whole and safe into thy country?

And the abbot answered, weeping, that he desired that above all other things.

Then said the angel to him: Know thou that I am sent hither by our Lady for to say to thee that if thou wilt hear me and do thereafter, thou shalt escape this peril of the sea.

The abbot promised that gladly he would obey to that he should say. Then said the angel: Make covenant to God, and to me, that thou shalt do hallow the feast of the Conception of our Lady, and of her creation, well and solemnly, and that thou shalt go and preach it.

And the abbot demanded in what time this feast should be kept. The angel answered to him, The eighth day of December. And the abbot demanded him what office and service he should take for the service in holy church.

And the angel answered: All the office of the nativity of our Lady, save where thou sayest nativity, thou shalt say,

conception.

And anon after the angel vanished away and the tempest ceased. And the abbot came home safely into his country with his company, and notified to all them that he might, that he had heard and seen. And, right dear sirs, if ye will arrive at the port of health, let us hallow devoutly the creation and the conception of the mother of our Lord, by whom we may receive the reward of her son in the glory of paradise celestial.

THE VIRGIN APPEARS TO A FIANCÃ©

It is also otherwise declared: In the time of Charlemagne, king of France, there was a clerk which was brother germain to the king of Hungary, which loved heartily the blessed Virgin Mary and was wont to say every day matins of her, and the Hours. It happed that by counsel of his friends he took in marriage a much fair damsel, and when he had wedded her, and the priest had given the benediction on them after the mass, anon he remembered that that day he had not said his Hours of our Lady, wherefore he sent home the bride, his wife, and the people, to his house, and he abode in the church beside an altar for to say his Hours; and when he came to this anthem – *Pulchra es et decora filia Jerusalem,* that is to say, â□□Thou art fair and gracious, daughter of Jerusalemâ□□ – anon appeared tofore him the glorious Virgin Mary with two angels on either side, and said to him: I am fair and gracious, wherefore leavest thou me and takest thou another wife? or where hast thou seen one more fair than I am?

And the clerk answered: Madam, thy beauty surmounteth all the beauty of the world, thou art lift up above the heavens and above the angels; what wilt thou that I do?

And she answered and said: If thou wilt leave thy wife fleshly, thou shalt have me thine espouse in the realm of heaven, and if thou wilt hallow the feast of my conception, the eighth day of December, and preach it about that it may be hallowed, thou shalt be crowned in the

realm of heaven.

And anon therewith our Blessed Lady vanished away.

Let us then pray to that glorious virgin our Lady Saint Mary, that we after this short and transitory life may be crowned in heaven in glory celestial, to which God bring us. Amen.

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OF THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL AND OF THE NAME OF CONVERSION

Chapter 28 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

The conversion of St. Paul was made the same year that Christ suffered his passion, and St. Stephen was stoned also, not in the year natural, but appearing. For our Lord suffered death the eighth calends of April, and St. Stephen suffered death the same year, the third day of August and was stoned. And St. Paul was converted the eighth calends of February.

And three reasons been assigned wherefore the conversion of St. Paul is hallowed more than of other saints. First for the ensample, because that no sinner, whatsomever he be, should despair of pardon when he seeth him that was in so great sin to be in so great joy. Secondly for the joy, for like as the church had great sorrow in this persecution, so had she great joy in his conversion. Thirdly, for the miracle that our Lord showed when of one so cruel a persecutor was made so true a preacher.

The conversion of him was marvellous by reason of him that made him, and of him that ordained him, and of the patient that suffered it.

MARVELLOUS BY REASON OF HIM THAT MADE HIM TO BE CONVERTED

By reason of him that made him to be converted, that was Jesu Christ, which showed there his marvellous puissance in that he said: "It is hard for thee to strive against the alle or pricks." And in that he changed him so suddenly, for anon as he was changed he said, "Lord what wilt thou that I do?" Upon this word saith St. Austin: The lambs slain of the wolves have made of a wolf a lamb, for he was ready for to obey, that tofore was wood to persecute.

Secondly, he showed his marvellous wisdom. His marvellous wisdom was in that he took from him the swelling of pride in offering to him the inward things of humility and not the height of majesty. For he said "I am Jesus of Nazareth," and he called not himself God ne the son of God, but he said to him, take thine infirmities of humanity and cast away the squames of pride.

Thirdly, he showed his pitiful debonairty and mercy, which is signified in that that he that was in deed and in will to persecute, he converted, how be it he had evil will, as he that desired all the menaces and threatenings, and had evil purpose; as he that went to the prince of priests; as he that had a joy in his evil works that he led the Christian men bound to Jerusalem. And therefore his journey and voyage was right evil, and yet nevertheless by the mercy of God was he converted.

MARVELLOUS OF HIM THAT ORDAINED IT

Secondly the conversion was marvellous of him that ordained it, that is of the light that he ordained in his conversion. And it is said that this light was dispositive, sudden, and celestial, and this light of heaven advironed him suddenly.

Paul had in him these vices. The first was hardiness, which is noted when it is said that he went to the prince of the priests, and as the gloss saith, not called, but by his own will and envy that enticed him. The second was pride, and that is signified by that he desired and sighed the menaces and threatenings. The third was the intent carnal, and the understanding that he had in the law, whereof the gloss saith upon that word: I am Jesus, etc. I God of heaven speak, the which thou supposest to be dead by the consent of the Jews.

And this light divine was sudden, it was great, and out of measure, for to throw down him that was high and proud, into the ditch or pit of humanity; it was celestial, because it turned and changed his fleshly understanding into celestial, or it may be said that this

ordinance or disposition was in three things; that is to wit in the voice crying, in the light shining, and in the virtue of puissance.

MARVELLOUS BY THE VIRTUE OF THE SUFFERING OF THE PATIENT

Thirdly, it was marvellous by the virtue of the suffering of the patient, that is of Paul in whom the conversion was made. For these three things were made in him withoutforth marvellously, that it is to wit, that he was beaten to the earth, he was blind and fasted three days, and was smitten down to the ground for to be raised. And St. Austin saith that he was smitten down for to be blind, for to be changed, and for to be sent; he was sent to suffer death for truth. And yet saith St. Austin, he that was out of the faith was hurt for to be made believe, the persecutor was hurt for to be made a preacher, the son of perdition was hurt for to be made the vessel of election, and was made blind for to be illumined, and this was as touching his dark understanding.

Then in the three days that he abode thus blind, he was learned and informed in the gospel, for he learned it never of man ne by man, as he himself witnesseth, but by the revelation of Jesu Christ. And St. Austin saith thus: I say that St. Paul was the very champion of Jesu Christ, taught of him, redressed of him, crucified with him, and glorious in him. He was made lean in his flesh that his flesh should be disposed to the effect of good operation, and from forthon his body was established and disposed to all good.

He could well suffer hunger and abundance, and was informed and instructed in all things, and all adversities he gladly suffered. Chrysostom saith: He overcame tormentors, tyrants, and people full of woodness, like as flies; and the death, the torments and all the pains that might be done to him, he counted them but as the play of children. All them he embraced with a good will, and he was ennobled in himself to be bound in a strong chain more than to be crowned with a crown, and received more gladly strokes and wounds than other gifts.

And it is read that in him were three things against the three that were in our foremost father Adam, for Adam erected and addressed him against God our Lord. and in St. Paul was contrary for he was thrown down to the earth. In Adam was the opening of his eyes, and Paul was on the contrary made blind, and Adam ate of the fruit defended, and St. Paul contrary was abstinent of convenable meat.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. CORNELIUS THE POPE AND MARTYR, AND OF ST. CYPRIAN

Chapter 132 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Cornelius succeeded to Fabian in the papacy, and was sent in exile of Decius CÃ¦sar, and his clerks with him. And there received letters of comfort from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. And at the last he was brought again from exile and presented to Decius. And when he saw him fast in the faith, he commanded that he should be beaten with plummets of lead, and that he should be brought to the temple of Mars for to do sacrifice, or else to have his head smitten off.

And as he was led, a knight prayed him that he would return to his house because of Sallustia his wife, which had lain sick five years of the palsy. And she was healed by his prayers, and one and twenty knights with her believed in God, and were all brought to the temple of Mars by the commandment of Decius. And all they spit against it and were all martyred with Cornelius. And they suffered death about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-three.

And Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was present in the same city and was brought tofore Patronus the consul, and when he could not turn him in no wise from the faith of Christ, he sent him in exile. And from thence he was called again of Angliricus proconsul, which came after Patronus, and received martyrdom by smiting off his head.

And when the sentence was given on him, he said: Graces and thankings be given to God. And when he came to the place of his martyrdom he commanded his servants to give to him that should smite off his head twenty-five pieces of gold. And then he took a linen cloth and bound his eyes with his own hands, and thus he

received the crown of martyrdom, the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-six.

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HERE FOLLOW THE LIVES OF SAINTS COSMO AND DAMIAN

Chapter 143 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Cosmo and Damian were brethren germane, that is of one father and of one mother, and were of the city Egea, and born of a religious mother named Theodora. They were learned in the art of medicine and of leechcraft, and received so great grace of God that they healed all maladies and languors, not only of men but also cured and healed beasts. And did all for the love of God without taking of any reward.

ST. DAMIAN ACCEPTS A GIFT

There was a lady which had spent all her goods in medicines, and came to these saints, and anon was healed of her sickness, and then she offered a little gift to St. Damian, but he would not receive it. And she sware and conjured him by horrible oaths that he granted to receive it, and not for covetise of the gift, but for to obey to the devotion of her that offered it, and that he would not be seen to despise the name of our Lord of which he had been conjured. And when St. Cosmo knew it, he commanded that his body should not be laid after his death with his brother's. And the night following our Lord appeared to St. Cosmo and excused his brother.

THEIR MARTYRDOM

And when Lysias heard their renomee he made them to be called tofore him, and demanded their names and their country. And then the holy martyrs said: Our names be Cosmo and Damian, and we have three other brethren which be named Antimas, Leontius, and Euprepius. Our country is Arabia, but Christian men know not fortune. 1

THEY ARE THROWN INTO THE SEA

Then the proconsul or judge commanded them that they should bring forth their brethren, and that they should all together do sacrifice to the idols. And when in no wise they would do sacrifice, but despised the idols, he commanded they should be sore tormented in the hands and feet. And when they despised his torments, he commanded them to be bound with a chain and thrown into the sea, but they were anon delivered by the angel of our Lord, and taken out of the sea, and came again tofore the judge.

And when the judge saw them, he said: Ye overcome our great gods by your enchantments; ye despise the torments and make the sea peaceable. Teach ye me your witchcraft, and in the name of the god Adrian, I shall follow you.

And anon as he had said this two devils came and beat him greatly in the visage, and he crying said: "O ye good men, I pray you that ye pray for me to our Lord." And they then prayed for him and anon the devils departed.

Then the judge said: Lo! ye may see how the gods had indignation against me, because I thought to have forsaken them, but I shall not suffer my gods to be blasphemed.

CAST INTO A GREAT FIRE

And then he commanded them to be cast into a great fire, but anon the flame sprang far from them and slew many of them that stood by. And then they were commanded to be put on a torment named eculee, but they were kept by the angel of our Lord, and the tormentors tormented them above all men, and yet were they taken off without hurt or grief, and so came all whole tofore the judge.

CRUCIFIED, STONED, SHOT WITH ARROWS, AND BEHEADED

Then the judge commanded the three to be put in prison, and made Cosmo and Damian to be crucified, and to be stoned of the people, but the stones returned to them that threw them, and hurt and wounded many of them. Then the judge, replenished with

woodness, made the three brethren to stand by the cross, and commanded that four knights should shoot arrows to Cosmo and Damian, but the arrows returned and hurt many, and did no harm to the martyrs. And when the judge saw that, he was confused in all things, he was anguishous unto the death, and did do behead all five brethren together.

BURIED TOGETHER WITH THEIR BROTHERS

Then the Christian men doubted of the word that St. Cosmo had said, that his brother should not be buried with him, and as they thought thereon there came a voice which cried and said: They be all of one substance, bury them all together in one place. And they suffered death under Diocletian about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty-seven.

MIRACLES OF SAINTS COSMAS AND DAMIAN

The Husbandman and the Snake

It happened that a husbandman after that he had laboured in the field about reaping of his corn, he slept with open mouth in the field, and a serpent entered by his mouth into his body. Then he awoke and felt nothing, and after returned into his house. And at even he began to be tormented and cried piteously, and called unto his help the holy saints of God, Cosmo and Damian, and when the pain and anguish increased he went to the church of the saints, and fell suddenly asleep, and then the serpent issued out of his mouth like as it had entered.

The Woman Attacked by the Devil

There was a man that should have gone a long voyage, and recommended his wife to Cosmo and Damian, and left a token with her that, if he sent for her by that token she should come to him. And the devil knew well the token, and transfigured himself in the form of a man, and brought to the woman the sign of her husband and said: Thine husband hath sent me from that city to thee for to

lead thee to him.

And yet she doubted for to go with him and said: I know well the token, but because he left me in the keeping of the saints Cosmo and Damian, swear to me upon their altar that thou shalt bring me to him surely, and then I shall go with thee.

And he sware like as she had said. Then she followed him. And when she came in a secret place the devil would have thrown her down off her horse for to have slain her. And when she felt that, she cried to God and to the saints Cosmo and Damian for help, and anon these saints were there with a great multitude clothed in white, and delivered her, and the devil vanished away. And they said to her: We be Cosmo and Damian, to whose oath thou believedest, therefore we have hied us to come to thine help.

The Man With the Cankered Thigh

Felix, the eighth pope after St. Gregory, did do make a noble church at Rome of the saints Cosmo and Damian, and there was a man which served devoutly the holy martyrs in that church, who a canker had consumed all his thigh. And as he slept, the holy martyrs Cosmo and Damian, appeared to him their devout servant, bringing with them an instrument and ointment of whom that one said to that other: Where shall we have flesh when we have cut away the rotten flesh to fill the void place?

Then that other said to him: There is an Ethiopian that this day is buried in the churchyard of St. Peter ad Vincula, which is yet fresh, let us bear this thither, and take we out of that morian's flesh and fill this place withal.

And so they fetched the thigh of the sick man and so changed that one for that other. And when the sick man awoke and felt no pain, he put forth his hand and felt his leg without hurt, and then took a candle, and saw well that it was not his thigh, but that it was another. And when he was well come to himself, he sprang out of

his bed for joy, and recounted to all the people how it was happed to him, and that which he had seen in his sleep, and how he was healed. And they sent hastily to the tomb of the dead man, and found the thigh of him cut off, and that other thigh in the tomb instead of his.

Then let us pray unto these holy martyrs to be our succour and help in all our hurts, blechures and sores, and that by their merits after this life we may come to everlasting bliss in heaven. Amen.

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THE HISTORY OF DAVID

William Caxton's life of David, included in his translation of the Golden Legend. It was not a part of Voragine's original; Caxton took it from additional material in an earlier English translation.

Here followeth how David reigned after Saul, and governed Israel. Shortly taken out of the Bible, the most historial matters and but little touched.

After the death of Saul David returned from the journey that he had against Amalek. For whilst David had been out with Achish the king, they of Amalek had been in Ziklag and taken all that was therein prisoners, and robbed and carried away with them the two wives of David. and had set fire and burnt the town. And when David came again home and saw the town burnt he pursued after, and by the conveying of one of them of Amalek that was left by the way sick, for to have his life he brought David upon the host of Amalek whereas they sat and ate and drank. And David smote on them with his meiny and slew down all that he found, and rescued his wives and all the good that they had taken, and took much more of them.

THE TIDINGS OF SAUL'S DEATH

And when he was come to Ziklag, the third day after there came one from the host of Saul, and told to David how that Israel had lost the battle, and how they were fled, and how Saul the king and Jonathan his son were slain.

David said to the young man that brought these tidings: How knowest thou that Saul and Jonathan be dead?

And he answered, "it was so by adventure that I came upon the mount of Gilboa, and Saul rested upon his spear, and the horsemen and the chariots of the Philistines approached to himward, and he looked behind him and saw me, and called me, and said to me:

"Who art thou?" And I said, "I am an Amalekite," and then he said: 'Stand upon me and slay me, for I am full of anguish, and yet my soul is in me.' And I then standing on him slew him, knowing well that he might not live after the ruin. And I took the diadem from his head, and the armylle from his arm, which I have brought hither to thee, my lord.

David took and rent his vestment, and all the men that were [with] him, and wailed and sorrowed much the death of Saul and Jonathan and of all the men of Israel, and fasted that day till even.

And David said to the young man: Of whence art thou?

And he said: I am the son of an Amalekite.

And David said to him: Why dreadedst thou not to put thy hand forth to slay him that is anointed of God?

David called one of his men, and bade him slay him. And he smote him and slew him. And David said: Thy blood be on thy head! thine own mouth hath spoken against thee, saying, "I have slain Saul which was king anointed of our Lord."

David sorrowed and bewailed much the death of Saul and of Jonathan. After this David counselled with our Lord and demanded if he should go in to one of the cities of Judah. And our Lord bade him go, and he ask and because God hath said thou shalt reign upon my people and be their governor, therefore we shall obey thee. And all the seniors of Israel came and did homage to David in Hebron, and anointed him king over them.

David was thirty years old when he began to reign and he reigned forty years. He reigned in Hebron upon Judah seven years and six months, and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty-three years upon all Israel and Judah. David then made him a dwelling-place in the hill of Sion in Jerusalem And after this the Philistines made war against him but he oft overthrew them, and slew many of them, and made

them tributary to him, and after brought the ark of God in Jerusalem, and set it in his house. After this yet the Philistines made war again unto him and other kings were aiding and helping them against David, whom David overcame and slew and put under.

DAVID AND URIAH

And on a time when Joab was out with his men of war lying at a siege tofore a city, David was at home, and walked in his chamber, and as he looked out at a window he saw a fair woman wash her and bain her in her chamber, which stood against his house, and demanded of his servants who she was, and they said she was Uriah's wife. He sent for her and lay by her and gat her with child.

And when David understood that she was with child, he sent letters to Joab and bade him to send home to him Uriah; and Joab sent Uriah to David, and David demanded how the host was ruled, and after bade him go home to his house and wash his feet. And Uriah went thence, and the king sent to him his dish with meat. Uriah would not go home, but lay before the gate of the king's house with other servants of the king's.

And it was told to the king that Uriah went not home, and then David said to Uriah: Thou comest from a far way, why goest thou not home?

And Uriah said to David: The ark of God and Israel and Judah be in the pavilions, and my lord Joab and the servants of thee, my lord, lie on the ground, and would ye that I should go to my house and eat and drink, and sleep with my wife? By thy health and by the health of my soul I shall not do so.

Then David said to Uriah, Abide here then this night, and to-morrow I shall deliver thee.

Uriah abode there that day and the next, and David made him eat tofore him and made him drunk, yet for all that he would not go

home, but lay with the servants of David. Then on the morn David wrote a letter to Joab, that he should set Uriah in the weakest place of the battle and where most jeopardy was, and that he should be left there that he might be slain. And Uriah bare this letter to Joab, and it was so done as David had written, and Uriah was slain in the battle. And Joab sent word to David how they had fought, and how Uriah was slain and dead. When Uriah's wife heard that her husband was dead, she mourned and wailed him; and after the mourning David sent for her and wedded her, and she bare him a son. And this that David had committed on Uriah displeased greatly our Lord.

Then our Lord sent Nathan the prophet unto David, which, when he came, said to him: There were two men dwelling in a city, that one rich and that other poor. The rich man had sheep and oxen right many, but the poor man had but one little sheep, which he bought and nourished and grew with his children, eating of his bread and drinking of his cup, and slept in his bosom. She was to him as a daughter. And on a time when a certain pilgrim came to the rich man, he, sparing his own sheep and oxen to make a feast to the pilgrim that was come to him, took the only sheep of the poor man and made meat thereof to his guest.

David was wroth and said to Nathan: By the living God, the man that hath so done is the child of death, the man that hath so done shall yield therefor four times double.

Then said Nathan to David: Thou art the same man that hath done this thing. This said the Lord God of Israel: "I have anointed thee king upon Israel, and I have kept thee from the hand of Saul, and I have given to thee an house to keep in thine household and wives in thy bosom. I have given to thee the house of Israel and the house of Judah, and if these be small things I shall add and give to thee much more and greater. Why hast thou therefore despised the word of God and hast done evil in the sight of our Lord? Thou hast slain Uriah with a sword, and his wife hast thou taken unto thy wife, and thou hast slain him with the sword of the sons of Ammon. Therefore

the sword shall not go from thy house, world without end, forasmuch as thou hast despised me and hast taken Uriah's wife unto thy wife." This said our Lord: "I shall raise evil against thee, and shall take thy wives in thy sight and give them to thy neighbour, and he shall lie with thy wives tofore thine eyes. Thou hast done it privily, but I shall make this to be done and open in the sight of all Israel."

And then said David to Nathan: Peccavi! I have sinned against our Lord. Nathan said: Our Lord hath taken away thy sin, thou shalt not die, but for as much as thou hast made the enemy to blaspheme the name of God, therefore the son that is born to thee shall die by death. And Nathan returned to his house. And for this sin David made this psalm: Miserere mei deus, which is a psalm of mercy, for David did great penance for these sins of adultery and also of homicide.

(For as I once was beyond the sea riding in the company of a noble knight named Sir John Capons, and was also doctor in both laws, and was born in Malyorke, and had been viceroy and governor of Arragon and Catalonia, and that time counsellor unto the Duke of Burgundy, Charles, it happed we communed of the history of David; and this said nobleman told me that he had read that David did this penance following for these said sins, that he dolved him in the ground standing naked unto the head, so long that the worms began to creep in his flesh, and made a verse of this psalm *Miserere* , and then came out, and when he was whole thereof he went in again and stood so again as long as afore is said and made the second verse, and so as many times he was dolven in the earth as be verses in the said psalm of *Miserere mei deus* , and every time was abiding therein till he felt the worms creep in his flesh. This was a great penance and a token of a great repentance, for there be in the psalm twenty-one verses, and twenty-one times he was dolven. Thus this nobleman told me, riding between the town of Ghent in Flanders and the town of Brussels in Brabant.)

Therefore God took away this sin, and forgave it him, but the son that she brought forth died. And after this Bathsheba, that had been

Uriah's wife, conceived and brought forth another son named Solomon, which was well-beloved of God, and after David, Solomon was king.

ABSALOM'S REVOLT

After this David had much war and trouble and anger, in so much that on a time Amnon, oldest son of David, loved Thamar his sister. This Thamar was Absalom's sister by the mother's side, and Amnon forced and lay by her, and when he had done his pleasure, he hated her, and threw her out of his chamber, and she complained unto Absalom. David knew hereof, and was right sorry for it, but he would not rebuke his son Amnon for it, for he loved him because he was his first begotten son. Absalom hated Amnon ever after, and when Absalom on a time did do shear his sheep he prayed all his brethren to come eat with him, and made them a feast like a king's feast. At which feast he did do slay his brother Amnon.

And anon it was told to the King David that Absalom had slain all the king's sons. Wherefore the king was in great heaviness and sorrow, but anon after it was told him that there was no more slain but Amnon, and the other sons came home. And Absalom fled into Geshur, and was there three years, and durst not come home. And after by the moyen of Joab he was sent for, and came into Jerusalem, but yet he might not come in his father the king's presence, and dwelled there two years, and might not see the King his father.

This Absalom was the fairest man that ever was, for from the sole of his foot unto his head there was not a spot; he had so much hair on his head that it grieved him to bear, wherefore it was shorn off once a year, it weighed two hundred shekels of good weight.

Then when he abode so long that he might not come to his father's presence he sent for Joab to come speak with him, and he would not come. He sent again for him and he came not. Then Absalom said to his servants: Know ye Joab's field that lieth by my field?

They said yea.

Go ye, said he, and set fire in the barley that is therein, and burn it.

And Joab's servants came and told to Joab that Absalom had set fire on his corn. Then Joab came to Absalom and said: Why hast thou set fire on my corn!

And he said, I have sent twice to thee, praying thee to come to me that I might send thee to the king, and that thou shouldst say to him why I came from Geshur; it had been better for me for to have abiden there. I pray thee that I may come to his presence and see his visage, and if he remember my wickedness let him slay me.

Joab went in to the King and told to him all these words. Then was Absalom called, and entered in to the king, and he fell down and worshipped the king, and the king kissed him. After this Absalom did do make for himself chariots and horsemen and fifty men for to go before him, and walked among the tribes of Israel; and greeted and saluted them, taking them by the hand, and kissed them, by which he gat to him the hearts of the people; and said to his father that he had avowed to make sacrifice to God in Hebron, and his father gave him leave.

And when he was there he gathered people to him, and made himself king, and did do cry that all men should obey and wait on him as king of Israel. When David heard this he was sore abashed and was fain to flee out of Jerusalem. And Absalom came with his people and entered into Jerusalem into his father's house, and lay by his father's concubines, and after pursued his father to depose him. And David ordained his people and battle against him, and sent Joab, prince of his host, against Absalom, and divided his host into three parts, and would have gone with them, but Joab counselled that he should not go to the battle whatsomever happed, and then David bade them to save his son Absalom.

And they went forth and fought, and Absalom with his host was overthrown and put to flight. And as Absalom fled upon his mule he came under an oak, and his hair flew about a bough of the tree and held so fast that Absalom hung by his hair, and the mule ran forth.

There came one to Joab and told him how that Absalom hung by his hair on a bough of an oak, and Joab said: Why hast thou not slain him?

The man said: God forbid that I should set hand on the king's son; I heard the king say: "keep my son Absalom alive and slay him not."

Then Joab went and took three spears, and fixed them in the heart of Absalom as he hung on the tree by his hair, and yet after this ten young men, squires of Joab, ran and slew him. Then Joab trumped and blew the retreat, and retained the people that they should not pursue the people flying. And they took the body of Absalom and cast it in a great pit, and laid on him a great stone.

And when David knew that his son was slain, he made great sorrow and said: O my son Absalom, my son Absalom, who shall grant to me that I may die for thee, my son Absalom, Absalom my son!

It was told to Joab that the king wept and sorrowed the death of his son Absalom, and all their victory was turned into sorrow and wailing, in so much that the people eschewed to enter into the city. Then Joab entered into the king and said: Thou hast this day discouraged the cheer of all thy servants because they have saved thy life, and the lives of thy sons and daughters, of thy wives and of thy concubines, thou lovest them that hate thee, and hatest them that love thee, and showest well this day that thou settest little by thy dukes and servants; and truly I know now well that if Absalom had lived and all we thy servants had been slain, thou haddest been pleased. Therefore, arise now and come forth and satisfy the people; or else I swear to thee by the good lord that there shall not one of thy servants abide with thee till tomorrow, and that shall be worse to thee than all the harms and evils that ever yet fell to thee.

Then David the king arose and sat in the gate, and anon it was shown to all the people that the king sat in the gate. And then all the people came in tofore the king, and they of Israel that had been with Absalom fled into their tabernacles, and after came again unto David when they knew that Absalom was dead.

DAVID AND GAD

And after, one Sheba, a cursed man, rebelled and gathered people against David. Against whom Joab with the host of David pursued, and drove him unto a city which he besieged, and by the means of a woman of the same city Sheba's head was smitten off and delivered to Joab over the wall, and so the city was saved, and Joab pleased.

After this David called Joab, and bade him number the people of Israel, and so Joab walked through all the tribes of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, and over Jordan and all the country, and there were founden in Israel eight hundred thousand strong men that were able to fight and to draw sword, and of the tribe of Judah fifty thousand fighting men. And after that the people was numbered, the heart of David was smitten by our Lord and was heavy, and said: I have sinned greatly in this deed, but I pray the Lord to take away the wickedness of thy servant, for I have done follily.

David rose on the morn early, and the word of our Lord came to Gad the prophet saying: that he should go to David and bid him choose one of three things that he should say to him. When Gad came to David he said that he should choose whether he would have seven years hunger in his land, or three months he should flee his adversaries and enemies, or to have three days pestilence. Of these three God biddeth thee choose which thou wilt; now advise thee and conclude what I shall answer to our Lord.

David said to Gad: I am constrained to a great thing, but it is better for me to put me in the hands of our Lord, for his mercy is much more than in men, and so he chose pestilence.

Then our Lord sent pestilence the time constitute, and there died of the people from Dan to Beersheba seventy thousand men. And when the angel extended his hand upon Jerusalem for to destroy it, our Lord was merciful upon the affliction, and said to the angel so smiting: It sufficeth now, withdraw thy hand. David said to our Lord when he saw the angel smiting the people: I am he that have sinned and done wickedly, what have these sheep done? I beseech thee that thy hand turn upon me and upon the house of my father.

Then came Gad to David and bade him make an altar in the same place where he saw the angel; and he bought the place, and made the altar, and offered sacrifices unto our Lord, and our Lord was merciful, and the plague ceased in Israel.

SOLOMON SUCCEEDS DAVID

David was old and feeble and saw that his death approached, and ordained that his son Solomon should reign and be king after him. Howbeit that Adonijah his son took on him to be king during David's life. For which cause Bathsheba and Nathan came to David, and tofore them he said that Solomon should be king, and ordained that he should be set on his mule by his prophets Nathan, Zadok the priest and Benaiah, and brought in to Sion. And there Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed him king upon Israel and blew in a trump and said: Live the King Solomon.

And from thence they brought him into Jerusalem and set him upon his father's seat in his father's throne, and David worshipped him in his bed, and said: Blessed be the Lord God of Israel that hath suffered me to see my son in my throne and seat.

And then Adonijah and all they that were with him were afeard, and dreading Solomon ran away, and so ceased Adonijah.

The days of David approached fast that he should die, and did do call Solomon before him, and there he commanded him to keep the

commandments of our Lord and walk in his ways, and to observe his ceremonies, his precepts and his judgments, as it is written in the law of Moses, and said: Our Lord confirm thee in thy reign, and send to thee wisdom to rule it well.

And when David had thus counselled and commanded him to do justice and keep God's law, he blessed him and died, and was buried with his fathers.

This David was an holy man and made the holy psalter, which is an holy book and is contained therein the old law and the new law. He was a great prophet, for he prophesied the coming of Christ, his nativity, his passion, and resurrection, and also his ascension, and was great with God, yet God would not suffer him to build a temple for him, for he had shed man's blood. But God said to him, his son that should reign after him should be a man peaceable, and he should build the temple to God. And when David had reigned forty years king of Jerusalem, over Judah and Israel, he died in good mind, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE DECOLLATION OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST

Chapter 125 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

It is read that the decollation of St. John Baptist was established for four causes, like as it is found in the Book of Office. First, for his decollation; secondly, for the burning and gathering together of his bones; thirdly, for the invention and finding of his head; and fourthly, for the translation of his finger and dedication of the Church. And after some people this feast is named diversely, that is to say, decollation, collection, invention, and dedication.

HOW THE DECOLLATION WAS MADE

First, this feast is hallowed for his decollation which was made in this manner. For, as it is had in *Historia Scholastica* , Herod Antipas, son of the great Herod, went to Rome and passed by the house of Philip his brother, and began to love the wife of his brother, which was named Herodias, wife of the same Philip, his brother. After that Josephus saith, she was sister of Herod Agrippa. And when he returned, he refused and repudiated his own wife, and secretly wedded her to his wife, the which thing his wife knew well, that he had wedded his brother's wife. And this first wife of Herod was daughter of Areth, king of Damascus, and therefore she abode not the coming home of her husband, but went to her father as soon as she might.

And when Herod returned, he took away the wife of Philip his brother, and wedded her, and left his own. And there moved against him therefore Herod Agrippa, and the king Areth and Philip became his enemies. And St. John said to him that he had not done well to do so, because after the law it appertained not to him to have and

hold the wife of his brother living. And Herod saw that John reproved him of this thing so cruelly, as Josephus saith, because he reproved him of blame. He assembled great people for to please his wife, and did do bind and put St. John in prison, but he would not slay him for doubt of the people, which much loved John, and followed him for his predication.

And Herod and Herodias, coveting occasion against St. John how they might make him die, ordained between them secretly that, when Herod should make the feast of his nativity the daughter of Herodias should demand a gift of Herod for dancing and springing at the feast tofore the principal princes of his realm, and he should swear to her by his oath that he shall grant it her. And she should ask the head of St. John, and he would give it to her for keeping of his oath, but he should feign as he were angry because of making of the oath.

And it is read in the *History Scholastic* that he had this treachery and great fantasy in him where it is said thus: It is to be believed that Herod treated first secretly with his wife of the death of St. John.

And under this occasion saith Jerome in the gloss: And therefore he sware for to find occasion to slay him, for if she had required the death of his father or mother, he had not given it to her ne consented it.

And when the feast was assembled, the maid was there springing and dancing tofore them all, in such wise that it pleased much to all. And then sware the king that he would give to her whatsomever she required, though she demanded half his kingdom. And then she, warned by her mother, demanded the head of St. John Baptist. Nevertheless, Herod by evil courage feigned that he was angry because of his oath, and as Rabanus saith: â□□That he had sworn follily, that he must needs do.â□□ But he made no sign of sorrow save in the visage, for he was joyous in his heart; he excused the felony of his oath, showing that he did it under the occasion of pity.

Then the hangman came and smote off his head and delivered it to the maid, the which she laid in a platter and presented it at the dinner to her mischievous mother. And then Herod was much abashed when he saw it.

And St. Austin rehearseth in a sermon that he made on the occasion of the decollation, by way of example, that there was an innocent man and a true which had lent certain money to another man which denied it him when he asked it. And the good man was moved, and constrained him by his oath to swear whether he owed him or no, and he sware that he owed him nought, and so the creditor lost that he had lent. And then he saith that, in the next day following the creditor was ravished and brought tofore the judgment, and it was asked him, â□□Why calledst thou that man for to be believed by his oath?â□□ And he said, â□□Because he denied my debt.â□□ And the judge said, â□□It had been better to thee to lose thy debt than he should lose his soul by making of a false oath as he did.â□□ And then this man was taken and grievously beaten, so that when he awoke the tokens of his wounds appeared on his back, but he was pardoned and forgiven.

And after this Austin saith that St. John was not beheaded on this day when the feast of his decollation is hallowed, but the year tofore, about the feast of Easter, and because of the passion of Jesu Christ and of the sacrament of our Lord it is deferred unto this day, 1 for the less ought to give place to the more and greater.

And of that, St. John Chrysostom saith: John the Baptist beheaded is become master of the school of virtues and of life, the form of holiness, the rule of justice, the mirror of virginity, the ensample of chastity, the way of penance, pardon of sin, and discipline of faith. John is greater than man, peer unto the angels, sovereign holiness of the law of the gospel, the voice of the apostles, the silence of the prophets, the lantern of the world, the foregoer of the Judge, and moyen of all the Trinity. And this so great a man was put to martyrdom, and gave his head to the adulterer, and was delivered to

the springing maid.

Herod then went not away all unpunished, but he was damned into exile. For as it is contained in the *History Scholastic* , Herod Agrippa was a noble man but he was poor, and for his overmuch poverty he was in despair, and entered into a certain tower for to suffer death there by famine and hunger. But when Herodias, his sister, heard thereof, she prayed Herod Tetrarch that he would bring him thence and minister to him. And when he had done so they dined together, and Herod Tetrarch began to chauffe him by the wine which he had drunk, and began to reprove Herod Agrippa of the benefits that he had done to him. And that other sorrowed sore, and went to Rome and was received into the grace of Gaius the emperor, and he gave to him two lordships, that is to say of Lisania and Abilina, and crowned him, and sent him king into the Jewry.

And when Herodias saw her brother have the name of a king, she prayed her husband with great weepings that he should go to Rome and buy him the name of a king. He abounded greatly in riches, and entended not to her desire, for he had liefer be idle in rest than to have honour laborious. But at the last he was overcome by her busy prayers and went to Rome with her.

And when Herod Agrippa knew it, he sent letters to the CÃ¦sar, that Herod Antipas, or the Tetrarch, had made friendship with the king of Persia and alliance, and that he would rebel against the empire of Rome. And in token of this thing he signified to him that he had in his garrisons armours enough for to garnish with seven thousand men. And when the emperor had read these letters he was much glad, and began to speak of other things first, afar from his purpose, and among other things he demanded him if he had in his cities great abundance of armours as he heard say, and he denied it not to him. Then the emperor believed well that which Herod had sent him in writing, and was angry toward him, and sent him into exile.

And because his wife was sister to Herod Agrippa, whom he much loved, he gave to her leave to return to her country, but she would

go with her husband into exile, and said that he that had been in great prosperity, she should not leave him in his adversity. And then were they brought to Lyons, and there ended their lives miserably. This is in the *History Scholastic* .

THE BURNING AND GATHERING TOGETHER OF HIS BONES

Secondly, this feast was established and hallowed for the burning of his bones and gathering together on this day, like as some say they were burnt, and were gathered up of good Christian men. And then suffered he the second martyrdom when his bones were burnt, and therefore the church halloweth this feast also as his second martyrdom, as it is read in the *History Scholastic* .

For when his disciples had borne his body in to the city Sebasten of Palestine, they buried it between ElisÃ¦um and Abdias, and at his tomb many miracles were showed. Then Julian the apostate commanded that his bones should be burnt, and [if] they ceased not to do their woodness then; they took them and burnt them into powder and winnowed them in the fields.

And Bede saith in his Chronicles that when they had gathered his bones they drew them afar that one from that other, and by this wise he suffered the second martyrdom. But they say that know it not, that the day of his nativity his bones were gathered all about and were burnt. And whiles they were ingathering, as it is said in *Scholastica Historia* , there came monks from Jerusalem which covertly put them among the gatherers, and took a great part of them and bare them to Philip, bishop of Jerusalem. And he sent them afterwards to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and long time after Theophilus, bishop of the same city, laid them in the temple of Serapis, when he had hallowed and purged it from filth, and sacred it a church in the honour of St. John Baptist, and this is that the *History Scholastic* saith. But now they be worshipped devoutly at Genoa, like as Alexander the third, and Innocent the fourth, witnesseth for truth, and approve it by their privileges. And like as Herod which beheaded him was punished for his trespass, so Julian

the apostate was smitten with divine vengeance of God, whose persecution is contained in the history of St. Julian tofore rehearsed after the Conversion of St. Paul. Of this Julian the apostate, of his nativity, of his empire, of his cruelty and of his death, is said plainly in *Historia Tripartita* . 2

THE FINDING OF JOHNÂ□□S HEAD

Thirdly, this feast is hallowed for the invention of his head or finding thereof. For, as some say, his head was found on this day. And, as it is read in the *History Scholastic:* John was bound and imprisoned, and had his head smitten off within the castle of Arabia that is named Macheronta. And Herodias did do bear the head in to Jerusalem, and did do bury it secretly thereby whereas Herod dwelled, for she doubted that the prophet should rise again if his head were buried with the body.

And as it is had in the *History Scholastic:* In the time of Marcian the prince, which was the year of our Lord three hundred and fifty-three, John showed his head to two monks that were come to Jerusalem. And then they went to the palace which was longing to Herod and found the head of St. John wrapped in an hair, and as I suppose, they were of the vestments that he ware in desert.

And then they went with the head toward their proper places. And as they went on their way a poor man which was of the city of Emissene came and fellowshipped with them, and they delivered him the bag in which was the holy head. Then this man was warned in the night that he should go his way and flee from them with the head, and so he went with the head, and brought it into the city of Emissene.

And there as long as he lived he worshipped the head in a cave, and had always good prosperity. And when he should die he told and showed it to his sister, charging her to tell it to nobody by her faith, and she kept it all her life, as he had done tofore long time.

After that, long time, the blessed John Baptist made revelation of his head to St. Marcellus, monk, that dwelled in that cave, in this manner. Him seemed, in his sleeping, that many companies singing went thither, and said: â□□Lo! here is St. John Baptist.â□□ Whom one led on the right side and another on the left side, and blessed all them that went with him. To whom when Marcellus came, he raised him up and took him by the chin, and kissed him. And Marcellus demanded him and said, â□□My lord, from whence art thou come to us?â□□ And he said, â□□I am come from Sebasten.â□□

And then when Marcell was awaked, he marvelled much of this vision. And the night following, as he slept, there came a man to him which awoke him, and when he was awaked he saw a right fair star which shone amidst of the cell through the house. And he arose and would have touched it, and it turned suddenly on that other side. And he began to run after it till that the star abode in the place where the head of St. John was, and there he dalf and found a pot, and the holy head therein.

And a monk that would not believe that it was the head of St. John, laid his hand upon the pot, and forthwith his hand burned and cleaved so to the pot, that he could not withdraw it there from in no manner, and his fellows prayed for him. And then he drew off his hand, but it was not whole. And St. John appeared to him and said: When my head shall be set in the church, touch thou then the pot and thou shalt be whole.

And so he did and received his health, and was whole as it was before.

Then Marcellus showed this to Julian, bishop of the same city, and they bare it reverently into the city and showed it honourably. And from that time forth the feast of his decollation was there hallowed, for it was found the same day.

And after this it was transported into the city of Constantinople. And

as it is said in the *History Tripartita* , that Valens the emperor commended that it should be laid in a chariot for to be brought to Constantinople. And when it came to Chalcedon, the chariot would go no farther, how well that they set in more beasts to draw it, wherefore they must leave it there. But afterwards Theodosius would bring it thence, and found a noble woman set for to keep it, and he prayed her that she would suffer him to bear away the head. And she consented because that she supposed that like as Valens might not have it thence, that in like wise he should not conne have it thence. Then the emperor took it and embraced in his arms much sweetly the holy head, and laid it within his purple, and bare it in to the city of Constantinople and edified there a right fair church and set it therein. This saith the *History Tripartita* .

After this, in the time that king Pepin reigned, it was transported in France in Poictou, and there by his merits many dead men were raised to life.

And in like wise as Herod was punished that beheaded St. John, and Julian the apostate that burnt his bones, so was Herodias which counselled her daughter to demand the head of St. John. And the maid that required it died right ungraciously and evil, and some say that Herodias was condemned in exile, but she was not, ne she died not there, but when she held the head between her hands she was much joyful, but by the will of God the head blew in her visage, and she died forthwith. This is said of some, but that which is said tofore, that she was sent in exile with Herod, and miserably ended her life, thus say saints in their chronicles and it is to be holden.

And as her daughter went upon the water she was drowned anon, and it is said in another chronicle that the earth swallowed her in, all quick, and may be understood as of the Egyptians that were drowned in the Red Sea, so the earth devoured her.

THE TRANSLATION OF HIS FINGER

Fourthly, this feast was hallowed for the translation of his finger and the dedication of his church. For his finger with which he showed our Lord, as it is said, might not be burnt. And this said finger was found of the said monks, which afterwards as it is had in *Historia Scholastica* , St. Thecla brought it over the mountains, and set it in the church of St. Martin, and this witnesseth Master John Beleth, saying that the said St. Thecla brought the same finger from beyond the sea into Normandy and there builded a church in the honour of St. John, which church, as it is said, was dedicated and hallowed this same day, wherefore it was stablished of our holy father the pope, that this day should be hallowed through the world.

And Gobert saith that a much devout lady towards St. John was in France, which much prayed to our Lord that he should give to her some relics of the said St. John, and when she saw that it profited not in praying to God, she began to take affiance in God, and avowed that she would fast and never eat meat till she had of him some relic. And when she had fasted certain days she saw upon the table tofore her a finger of marvellous whiteness, and she received with great joy that gift of God. Then after, came thither three bishops, and each of them would have part of the finger. Then by the grace of God the finger dropped three drops of blood upon a cloth by which they knew that each of them had deserved to have a drop. And then Theodolina, queen of the Lombards, founded at Modena, beside Milan, a noble church in the honour of St. John Baptist.

And like as Paul witnesseth in the history of Lombards: And the time passed unto Constance the emperor which would have taken Italy from the Lombards, and he demanded of a holy man which had a spirit of prophecy, how he should do with the battle which he had enterprised. And that man was all night in prayer and came to the emperor and answered to him and said: The queen hath do made a church of St. John Baptist and prayeth continually for the Lombards, and therefore thou mayst not surmount them, but the time shall come that that place shall be despised, and then they shall be overcome. Which was accomplished in the time of Charlemagne.

On a time came a man of great virtue, as St. Gregory saith in his dialogue, whose name was Sanctilus and had received in his keeping a deacon that was taken of the Lombards by such a condition that if he fled he should have his head smitten off. The said Sanctilus constrained the deacon to flee, and delivered him, and when the deacon was gone they took the same Sanctilus and led him forth to be beheaded. And they chose a strong tyrant to do it, and he had no doubt to smite off his head at one stroke. And then the said Sanctilus stretched forth his neck, and the strong butcher lifted up his arm with the sword, and Sanctilus cried, â□□St. John receive my soul,â□□ and then anon the arm of the butcher was so stiff that he could not bring it down again, ne bow it in no manner. And then that butcher made his oath that he would never after in his life smite no Christian man. And the good man Sanctilus prayed for him and anon the arm came down and was all whole.

Then let us pray unto this holy saint John Baptist, to be a moyen between God and us, that we may so live virtuously in this life that when we shall depart, we may come to everlasting life in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. DOMINIC

Chapter #113 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Dominic was duke [leader] of the order of the friars preachers, and a noble father of the parts of Spain, of a town called Calaroga, of the diocese of Osma, and his father was named Felix and his mother Joanna, of whom he came as of the flesh.

The Dream of the Dog

And his mother, tofore that he was born, saw in her sleep that she bare a little whelp in her belly which bare a burning brand in his mouth, and, when he was issued out of her womb, he burnt all the world.

The Star on His Forehead

And also it seemed to a woman that was godmother to him at the font and held him, that the child Dominic had a star right clear in his forehead, which enlumined all the world.

Childhood Piety

St. Dominic is normally pictured in the black and white habit of the Dominican order. His attributes include a lily stalk, a dog with a torch, a star on the forehead, and a rosary. Only rarely will an image have all four of these attributes. (See the description page for this image and the page explaining the iconography of images of this saint.)

VORAGINE'S ETYMOLOGY FOR THE NAME *DOMINIC*

Dominic is said as a keeper of our Lord, or else as kept of God. Or it is said of dominicus as to the etymology of this name, that is dominus. It is said keeper of our Lord in three manners, that is to wit, keeper of the honour of our Lord, as touching to God, keeper of the vineyard or the flock of our Lord, unto his neighbour, keeper of the will of our Lord, or of his commandments as touching himself. Secondly, he is said dominicus, as kept of our Lord. Our Lord kept him in his threefold state. Of whom the first is that he was a layman. In the second he was a

And as he was yet a child and in the keeping of his nourice, he was oft found leaving his bed and lying on the bare ground. And after, when he was sent to Palentia for to learn, he tasted ne drank never wine in ten years. And when he saw that great famine was there, he sold his books, and all his substance, and gave the price of them to poor people.

St. Dominic's Service in Osma

And when his good renown grew, he was made canon regular, of the bishop of Osma, in his church. And after, he was mirror of life unto the people and was ordained sub-prior of the canons. And day and night he entended to reading and in praying to God continually that he would give him grace that he might extend to the health of his neighbours.

In the book of collations of fathers he read curiously, and took the thirteenth great perfection.

A Conversion in Toulouse

He went with the said bishop to Toulouse, and there he canon regular, and the third as apostle. For in the first state he kept himself in making himself to begin laudably and well, in the second to perform well, and in the third to accomplish well. In the third he may be said Dominic by the etymology of this name Dominus. Dominus is said as giving menaces, giving a gift or giving less. So St. Dominic was giving, that is to understand, giving threatening by relieving of injuries, giving gifts by largess of franchise. For he gave not only to poor men, but he would oft sell himself for to relieve and buy poor men, and in giving less, that was by making his body lean, for he gave alway less to his body than it desired or appetited.

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reprehended his host of heresy, and converted him to the faith of Jesu Christ, and presented him to our Lord as an handful of the first fruit of the tocoming harvest.

Heretics Unable to Burn His Message

It is read in the gests of the Earl of Montfort, that one day as St. Dominic preached against the heresies, that he put in writing the authorities that he purposed, and delivered the schedule to a heretic for to argue against his objections. And that night the heretics assembled at the fire, and he showed to them that schedule, and they bade him to cast it in the fire, and if the schedule burned, their faith was not but treachery, and if it burned not, then he preached the very faith of the church of Rome.

And then was the schedule cast in the fire, and when it had been in the fire a while, it sprang out all safe. And then one of them that was more hard than the others said: Cast it in again, and ye shall prove better and more plainly the

truth.

Then it was thrown in again, and it issued out again without burning. Then said he: Let it be cast in the third time, and then shall we know without doubt the issue of this thing.

And it was cast in again, and it came out the third time without lesion or hurt. And yet the heretics, abiding in their hardness, sware among them firmly that none of them should publish this thing.

His Books Unburnable

Nevertheless, a knight that was there, which was somewhat according to our faith, disclosed this miracle, and it is said a semblable thing happed at the Mount Victorial in the temple Jupiter. That a disputation was ordained against the heretics, like as the malady of the heresy grew in the parties of Albigenses, that disputation solemn was at the temple of Jupiter, and were ordained judges on both parties. To whom the affrmation of the faith that every each should enseign, should be written in a book.

And the book of St. Dominic was chosen and presented among the others, upon the which the judges strove against them, howbeit, it was ordained that the books of one part and that other should be cast into the fire. And they that burned not should be holden without doubt for the very faith. And so the books were thrown into a great fire burning, and anon the book of the heresies was burnt, and the book of St. Dominic was saved and not burnt, but sprang out of the fire without hurting, and it was cast in the second time, and it leapt out without burning.

St. Dominic Rises Above the Scorn of Heretics

And after this, the other Christian men went home again to their proper places, and the bishop of Osma died, and St. Dominic abode there alone with a few Christian men and catholic, against the heretics, and denounced and preached the word of God firmly. And the adversaries of truth mocked him, and spit at him, and threw at him filth of the streets, and other right foul things, and bound behind him

wisps of straw in great despite. And when they threatened and menaced him, he answered, without fear or dread: I am not worthy to be martyred, ne I have not yet deserved that death by glory.

And therefore he passed hardily by the way where they despised him, and sang, and went joyously. And they marvelled and said to him: Hast thou no dread of death? What wouldst thou have done if we had taken thee?

I had prayed you, said he, that ye should not have slain me suddenly, but little and little ye should have hewn member from member, one after another, and then that ye had showed tofore mine eyes my members so detrenched, and then that ye had left my body so lying, and fouled in my blood, without to have slain me at your will.

He Sells Himself to Save a Man from Heresy

He found a man that for the great poverty that he suffered was joined to the heretics, and St. Dominic, seeing this,

ordained himself to be sold, and that the price of him should be given to the poor man to bring him out of his poverty. And this did he for to bring him of the foul error he was in. And so he would have been sold if the divine mercy had not otherwise purveyed.

He Tries to Redeem a Captive of the Saracens

Another time a woman came to complain to him that her brother was in the hands of the Saracens in great captivity, and that she knew no way how to deliver him. And he was moved of pity in his heart, and offered himself to be sold for the redemption of that other. But God, that knew him more necessary for the redemption spiritual of many captives, suffered it not, and yet he intended to be his pledge and to lie for him, his charity was so great.

His Example of Fasting Saves Certain Ladies from Heresy

In a time he was lodged with certain ladies which, by occasion of religion, they had to be deceived of the heretics,

and then he fasted and his fellow with him, all the Lent, with bread and water, so that by the shadow of religion he took from them that error, and in the night he woke, save when necessity was, he lay down under a table without other thing. And thus these women were brought to the knowledge of truth.

THE ORDER OF PREACHERS IS ESTABLISHED

And then began he to think of the establishment of his order, and of what office it might be for to go and preach through the world, and for to enhaunce the Christian faith against the heretics. And when he had dwelled ten years in the parts of Toulouse, after the death of the bishop of Osma, unto the time that the council should be solemnised at Lateran, then he went to Rome with Fulco, bishop of Toulouse, to the council general, for to get of Innocent the pope, that the order, which is said the order of the preachers, might be confirmed to him and to his successors, and the pope would not lightly accord to this

thing.

And then it happed on a night that the pope saw in a vision that the church of Lateran was suddenly menaced for to fall and overthrow, and as he beheld it, all afeard, he saw on that side St. Dominic running against it, and sustained and bare it up, and kept it from falling. And then awoke the pope, and understood the vision, and received joyously the petition of the man of God, and bade that he and his brethren should seek some rule approved, and he would confirm it at his will.

And then St. Dominic came to his brethren, and showed to them what the pope had said, and they were of number about sixteen or seventeen friars, which anon called counsel of the Holy Ghost, and chose the rule of St. Austin, preacher and holy doctor, and would of one will be in deed and name preachers. And established therewith some customs more straiter in their living, which they took above and promised to keep them truly.

In this time Innocent the pope

died, and Honorius was made pope and sovereign bishop of the church. And he gat of the same Honorius the confirmation of his order, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and sixteen.

St. Dominic's Vision of Peter and Paul

And on a time as he prayed at Rome in the church of St. Peter for the increasing of his order, he saw coming to him the glorious princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, and him seemed that Peter gave to him the staff first, and St. Paul delivered to him the book, and they said to him: Go and preach, for thou art chosen of God to do that occupation and ministry, and in a little moment him seemed that he saw his sons spread throughout the world, two and two, preaching to the people the word of God. For which cause he came again to Toulouse, and departed his brethren, some to Paris, some into Spain, and others to Bologna, and he returned again to Rome.

A Monk's Vision: St. Mary Pleading with her Son

There was a monk, before the establishment of this order, which was ravished in spirit and saw the Blessed Virgin our Lady St. Mary kneeling, with her hands joined, praying her son for the human lineage. And he oft withstood her request, and at the last he said to her that so busily required him: Mother, what may I do more for them? I have sent to them patriarchs and prophets, and little have they amended them. After, I came to them myself, and after that I have sent to them apostles, and they have slain them. I sent to them also martyrs, confessors, and doctors, and they accorded not to them, ne to their doctrine, but because it appertaineth not to me to withsay thy request, I shall give to them my preachers, by whom they may be enlumined and made clean, or else I shall come against them myself if they will not amend them.

A Similar Vision: The Merciful Christ Will Send Preachers to Mankind

And another saw a like vision that same time when the twelve abbots of the order of

Citeaux were sent to Toulouse against the heretics. For when the son had answered to his mother as is above said, the mother said to him: Fair son, thou oughtest not to do to them in accordance with their malice, but after thy mercy.

To whom the son, vanquished by her prayers, said: I shall yet do to them mercy at thy request, for I shall send to them my preachers that shall warn and inform them. And if then they correct them not, I shall spare them no more.

A Franciscan Has a Similar Vision

A friar minor, that long time had been fellow with St. Francis, recounted to many of the friars of the order of the preachers that when St. Dominic was at Rome for the confirmation of his order of the pope, he saw on a night Jesu Christ in the air, holding three spears in his hand, and brandishing them against the world, and his mother ran hastily against him, and demanded him what he would do.

And he said to her: All the

world is full of vices, of pride, of luxury, and of avarice, and therefore I will destroy them with these three spears.

Then the Blessed Virgin fell down at his feet and said: Dear son, have pity, and tarry thy justice by thy mercy.

And Jesu Christ said to her: Seest thou not how many wrongs and injuries they do to me?

And she answered: Son, attemper thy wrath and tarry a little, I have a true servant and a noble fighter against the vices, which shall run over all and vanquish the world, and subdue them under thy signory, and I shall give to them another servant into his help that shall fight as he doth.

And our Lord, her son, said: I am appeased and receive thy prayer, but I would see whom thou wouldst send in so great an office.

And then she presented to him St. Dominic, and Jesu Christ said: Truly this is a good and noble fighter, and shall do diligently that thou hast said.

And then she showed to him and offered to him St. Francis, and he praised him as he did the first.

And St. Dominic considered diligently his fellow in that vision, for he had never seen him before, and he found him on the morn in the church, and knew him by that he had seen him in the vision without other evidence, witness and began to kiss him, and said: Thou art my fellow, thou shalt run with me, and we shall be together, and none adversary shall surmount us.

And then he recounted to him all by order the said vision, and from then forthon they were one heart and one soul in our Lord, and commanded that this love should be kept to them that should come after perdurably.

STORIES FROM THE MINISTRY OF ST. DOMINIC

The Novice Who Wanted to Return to the World

And when on a time St. Dominic had received a novice

into the order, some that had been his fellows perverted him in such wise that he would return to the world, and demanded after his gown; and when St. Dominic heard that, he went to prayer, and as the young man had despoiled him of his religious clothing, and they had done on him his shirt, he began to cry with a high voice and say: "I chauffe, I burn, certainly I am all burnt! Do off, do off this cursed shirt which burneth all my body" and might not endure in no wise till he was despoiled of this shirt and clothed again with his religious clothes, and brought again into the cloister of the religious.

The Friar Who Went Drinking

And when St. Dominic was at Bologna, what time the friars were gone to sleep, a friar converse began to be tormented of the devil, and when friar Rainer of Lausanne knew it he said it to St. Dominic, and St. Dominic commanded that he should be brought into the church tofore the altar of our Lady, and ten friars might unnethe bring him.

And then said St. Dominic: I conjure thee, wicked spirit, that thou tell to me wherefore thou vexest thus the creature of God, and wherefore and how thou enteredst here?

And he answered: I vex him for he hath deserved it. He drank yesterday in the city without licence of the prior, and made not the sign of the cross thereon, and I entered then in sign of a bubble, to the end that he should drink me with the wine the sooner.

Then it was founden that he had drunk in the town. And in the meanwhile he made the sign of the cross, and they rung to matins, and when the devil heard that he said: I may no longer abide here, sith they with the great hoods arise. And thus he was constrained by the prayer of St. Dominic to issue and go his way, and the friar was delivered and whole, and was well ware ever after to do against the will of the prior.

St. Dominic's Books Fall in the River

And as St. Dominic on a time came to a river toward the

parts of Toulouse, his books, which had no custody, fell in the water, and he could not find them, but must leave them behind him. And the third day after a fisher cast his hook into the water, and supposed to have taken up some great fish, and drew up the books of St. Dominic without any wetting, like as they had been kept diligently in an almary.

He Enters Through Closed Doors

And on a time when he came to a monastery, and all the brethren were at rest, and he would not distrouble ne awake them, he put him to prayer, and entered in with his fellow, the gates being shut and closed; also in like wise in the conflict of the heretics, as he was with a converse of the Cistercians of an eventide, and came to a certain church, and found it shut and closed, he made his prayers and suddenly they were in the church, and abode there all that night in prayer. And when he had prayed, he had always a custom to stanch his thirst at some well or fountain, lest he should have

any desire to drink in the house of his host.

His Chaste Flesh

There was a scholar in the house of the friars at Bologna for to hear mass, and it happed that St. Dominic sang the mass, and when it came to the offering, the scholar went and kissed the hand of St. Dominic with great devotion, and when he had kissed it, he felt come out of his hand so great sweetness, and so sweet an odour as he ever had felt tofore in his life; and from then forthon the ardour and burning of lechery began to wax cold in him, so that he which tofore had been vain and lecherous, was after so continent that his flesh shone all of clearness and chastity, and the flesh of St. Dominic shone much of great chastity and purity, of whom the odour cured the filths of the thought.

The Acts of the Apostles Induces A Priest to Join the Order

There was a priest which saw St. Dominic so ardently in his predication with his fellows, and he concluded in himself

that he would join him to them if he might have a book of the New Testament necessary to him for to preach, and as he thought of this there came a young man bearing a book of the New Testament to sell under his vestment; and anon the priest bought it with great joy, but as he doubted yet a little he made his prayer to Almighty God and made the cross upon the book without forth, and sith opened the book and looked within forthwith, and the first chapter that he found was in the Acts of the Apostles, that which is said to Peter when he came first to his sight, which was this: Arise up, descend and go with them nothing doubting, for I have sent them. Then he went and joined him to them.

The Theologian's Vision of the Seven Stars

On a time when a noble master in science and in fame was regent in Toulouse in theology, on a morning, tofore the day, while he purveyed his lessons, he was surprised with sleep, and inclined him on his chair a little, and him seemed that seven stars stood tofore him;

and as he marvelled of the novelty of this, the said stars grew suddenly into so great light that they enlumined all the world; and when he awoke he was strongly amarvelled, and when he entered into the schools, and as he read, St. Dominic with six friars of the same habit entered and came amiably to him, and showed their purpose, and said that they coveted to haunt his schools. Then this master remembered his vision and doubted not but these were the seven stars that he had seen.

Our Lady Gives the Dominican Habit to Reynold of St. Amian

When St. Dominic was on a time at Rome, master Reynold of St. Amian, dean of Orleans, which was wise in the law canon, and had been five years doctor, was come with the bishop of Orleans to the sea for to pass to Rome, and had been long in purpose for to have left the world, and to entend to preaching, but he was not avised how he might accomplish it. And when he had heard the institution of the order of the preachers, of a

cardinal to whom he had told his will, he called St. Dominic and exposed to him his purpose. And then he had counsel to enter in to the order.

But without tarrying, he was taken with so grievous sickness that he was in despair of his health. And then St. Dominic prayed heartily to our Blessed Lady the Virgin, to whom he had committed all the order, that she would give to that dean health for a little time. And suddenly the queen of mercy came with three maidens, and Reynold waking, and abiding the death, saw her come to him, and our Lady said to him: Be of good cheer, require of me what thou wilt and I shall give it to thee.

And as he thought what he should require, one of the maidens said to him softly that he should require nothing but to commit him all to her will. And when he had so done, then she put forth her virginal hand and touched his ears, his nostrils, mouth, hands, feet, and reins, and anointed them with the ointment of health, which she had brought with her, in saying properly the form

of the words which appertain to the members.

And she said to the reins: These reins be restrained with the girdle of chastity.

And then she turned to the feet and said: I anoint these feet in preparation of the evangel of peace. And she said: I shall send to thee an ampul for to reestablish thee to full health.

And then she showed to him the habit of the order, and said to him: This is the habit of thine order.

And St. Dominic, being in prayer, saw all this vision. And on the morn St. Dominic came to him and found him all whole, and heard of him all the ordinance of the vision. And he took the habit that the virgin showed to him, for tofore the friars used surplices.

And the third day the mother of God was there, and anointed the body of Reynold, that she took not only away the heat of fevers, but also extincted and quenched the ardour of luxury, like as he confessed after, that one only moving of luxury was

not after in him.

And this vision saw again a religious man of the hospital with his own eyes, being present St. Dominic, and was astonished thereof: And this vision St. Dominic published to many brethren after his death. Then was Reynold sent to Bologna and entended much ardently to preaching, and increased the number of the friars. And after that, he was sent to Paris, and a while after he died in our Lord.

The Young Man Cured After a Fall

There was a young man [Napoleone Orsini], nephew of the cardinal Stephen [of Fossa Nova], fell with his horse into a ditch, and was drawn out thereof all dead, and offered to St. Dominic, and he made his prayers, and the young man reestablished to life.

A Mason Brought Back to Life

In the church of St. Sixtus a mason had been hired of the friars for to repair the broken walls, and a piece of the wall fell upon the man and slew

him, but St. Dominic commanded that the body should be brought to him, and anon, by the help of his prayers, he was reestablished to life and to health.

The Miracle of the Bread

In the same church at Rome one time there were forty friars, and they had but little bread. Then St. Dominic commanded to divide the bread in as many parts as there were friars, and as soon as each of them had broken a morsel of bread with joy, there came two young men of the same habit and form, which entered into the refectory or fraitour, and the laps of their mantles, that hung on their necks, were full of bread; and when they had given it all stilly to St. Dominic, they departed so suddenly that none of them wist whence they came, ne whither they went; and then St. Dominic gave forth with his hand here and there to the friars, and said: Now eat, my brethren.

Untroubled by Rain

When St. Dominic on a time was in his journey grievously troubled with great floods of

rain, he made the sign of the cross and chased away the rain from him and from his fellow like as he had a pavilion upon him, and the ground was all wet about him, and no drop came nigh him the space of three cubits.

A Penny from Heaven

On a time as he passed by ship towards the parts of Toulouse, the shipman demanded of him a penny for his passage, and the holy man of God promised to him the kingdom of heaven for his labour, saying that he was the disciple of Jesu Christ and that he bare neither gold, ne silver, ne money, and he drew him forcibly by the cope and said: Thou shalt leave here thy cope or thou shalt pay me a penny. The good man of God lift up his eyes to heaven and prayed a little, and as he had a little thought he looked upon the ground and saw a penny, which without doubt was procured by the will of God. Then said he: Lo! my brother, take it there and let me go in peace.

Conversation Without Words

It happed on a time that when this holy man St. Dominic was in his voyage, a religious man, which was of good conversation and holy, accompanied with him, but he was of a strange language, and they were sorry that they could not understand each other for to comfort each other. And they prayed and gat grace of our Lord that in three days that they went together, what by signs and what by words, each of them understood what the other meant.

St. Dominic Casts Out Devils

There was a man which was vexed with many devils and was offered and brought to him. And he took a stole and put it about his own neck, and after bound it about the neck of the demoniac, and commanded them that were in him that from thence forthon they should torment no more that man. And anon they were tormented within him, and began to cry: Let us go! wherefore constrainest thou for to be so tormented?

And he said: I shall not let ye go till ye have given to me

pledge that ye shall not return again.

And they said: What pledge may we give to you?

And he said: The holy martyrs that rest in yonder church.

And they said: We may not, for our merits require it not.

And he said: Ye must needs give them, or I shall not suffer you to go quit.

And they answered that they would do their pains. And a little while after they said: How be it that we be not worthy, we have gotten that the holy martyrs shall be our pledges.

And he required them to have a sign and token of this thing. And they said: Go to the shrine where the heads of the martyrs be, and ye shall find them reversed and turned. And then he went and found like as they had said.

The Ladies and the Cat

And as he preached on a time, some ladies that had been deceived of heretics, kneeled

at his feet and said to him: Servant of God, help us if it be true that thou preachest; the spirit of error hath blinded our minds.

And he said: Be ye firm and tarry a little, and ye shall see what Lord ye have served. And anon they saw spring out of the middle of them a cat right horrible, which was more than a great dog, and had great eyes and flaming, her tongue long, broad and bloody, and long unto the navel. He had the tail short and raised up on high, and showed the after end which way he turned him, out of which there issued a terrible stench. And when he had turned hither and thither among the ladies long, at the last he mounted up by the bell rope into the steeple, and vanished away, leaving a great stench after him. And the ladies thanked God and were converted to the faith catholic.

Friar Raymond

When he had overcome some heretics in the parts of Toulouse, and they were condemned to be burnt, he saw one among them which

was named Raymond. And he said to the ministers: Keep ye this man that he be not burnt in no manner with the others. And then he said to him, speaking sweetly to him: I know well, son, that thou shalt yet be a good man. And he was left, and abode twenty years in his evil heresy, and in the end he was converted and was a friar preacher in that order, and finished his life well and laudably.

St. Dominic's Vision of the Dragon

And as he was on a time in Spain accompanied with some friars, he saw in a vision a right great dragon which swallowed in to him the brethren that were with him. And when he understood this vision, he warned his brethren to resist strongly the fiend their enemy. And a little while after, all those friars except friar Adam and two converts departed from him. And he demanded one of them if he would go also. And he said: Nay, father, I shall not leave the head for to follow the feet. And anon he gave himself to prayer and converted almost all by his prayer.

The Four Deaths

He was at St. Sixtus, on a time, at Rome, and suddenly the Holy Ghost lighted on him. And he called his brethren into the chapter, and said apertly tofore them all, that four of his brethren should die shortly, two in body and twain in soul. And anon two friars died in our Lord, and twain departed out of the order.

Master Conrad

He was on a time at Bologna and a friar, an Almaine born, named Conrad with him, whom the friars desired much to have into the order. And as St. Dominic spake to the Prior of Cassamary of the Cistercians in the vigil of the assumption of our Lady, of certain matter, and he said to him by amiable affiance: I tell to thee, Prior, a thing which I never yet said to no man, ne thou shalt never tell it as long as I shall live, and that is this: I never yet required thing of God in this life, but that I had my desire.

And the said Prior said to him that peradventure he should die before. And St. Dominic by

the spirit of prophecy said to him that he should live long after him. And the prior said to him: Father, require master Conrad that he give himself into the order, for the friars desire him much.

And he said: Brother, thou requirest a much hard thing. Then when compline was said, the other friars went to rest, and he abode in the church, and did as he had been accustomed all the night to be, in orison and prayer. And when the friars assembled at prime, and the chanter began *Jam lucis orto* , Master Conrad came suddenly, which desired to be stirred with new light, and fell down at the feet of St. Dominic and required the habit of the order, and received it perseverantly.

And he was right religious, and a gracious lector oft in the order, which, as he lay in dying and had closed his eyes, the friars weened that he had been dead, and he opened his eyes, and looking about said: *Dominus vobiscum* , which is to say, "Our Lord be with you."

And they answered: Thy spirit

be with God.

And then said he: All Christian souls by the mercy of God may rest in peace. And forthwith he died, and rested in our Lord.

His Piety and Humility

St. Dominic was of much steadfast equality of thought, but if he had been moved by pity and by mercy, for he had a joyous heart, a peacable visage of a man within forth, the compunction appeared outward, and that showed debonairty. In the daytime there was none more common to his fellows and brethren in all honesty, and at hours in the night and in his prayers there was none more steadfast. The day he departed to his neighbours, and the night to God. His eyes were like a well of tears, and oft when our Lord's body was lifted up at the mass, he was so ravished in his mind, as he had seen Jesu Christ in his flesh, for which cause he would not much hear mass with the other.

He had a custom, right common, for to wake all the night in the church, in such

wise that seldom he rested in his bed for to sleep; and when he was weary and necessity of sleep constrained him, he rested him tofore an altar inclined, or had a stone under his head. He received with his proper hand, three times in the night, discipline with a chain of iron, that one for himself, that other for the sinners that be in the world, and the third for them that be tormented in purgatory.

He was on a time chosen to be bishop in Cotoranense, but he refused utterly, affirming to leave rather the earth than to consent to the election that was made to him.

It was asked of him on a time wherefore he dwelled not more gladly in the diocese of Toulouse than in the diocese of Carcassonne, and he said that in the diocese of Toulouse I find much people which honour me, and in Carcassonne it is all the contrary, for there all men assail me.

It was demanded of him by a man in what book he most studied, and he answered: In the book of charity.

The Devil Shows St. Dominic How He Operates in the Priory

On a time the holy man Dominic woke in the church of Bologna, and the devil appeared to him in the form of a friar, and St. Dominic supposed that he had been a friar, and made him a sign that he should go to rest with the other friars. And he made to him signs again in mocking him. Then St. Dominic would know what he was that so despised his commandment, and lighted a candle at the lamp, and beheld him in his face. And he confessed that he was the devil, and when he had blamed him strongly, anon the devil enjoyed him that he had made him break his silence, and St. Dominic said that he might well speak, as prior and master of the friars, and constrained him to say whereof he tempted the friars in the quire.

He said: I make them to come late, and to go out early. Then he brought him into the dortour, and asked him whereof he tempted the friars there, and he said: I make them sleep

long and arise late, and thus I keep them from divine service, and in the meanwhile to have unclean thoughts.

And after he led him in the refectory or fraitour, and demanded him whereof he tempted them there. And then the devil sprang upon the tables and said ofttimes: Now more, now less.

And when the saint asked him what he meant thereby, he said: I tempt some friars to take much meat by which they be let to do God's service, and some that they take less than they should do, for to make them over feeble to keep the observances of their order.

After, he brought him into the parlour or locutory, and demanded him whereof he tempted the brethren there. Then he put out his tongue oft, and made a marvellous sound of confusion. And the saint demanded him what he meant thereby. And he said: This place is all mine, for when the friars be assembled to speak, I tempt them that they speak confusedly, and that they meddle words without profit,

and that one tarry ne abide not till the other have spoken.

And at the last he brought him to the chapter. But when he was tofore the door of the chapter he would in no wise enter in, and said: I shall not come in there, never, for this is a cursed house and is hell to me, for whatsomever I win in other places I lose all here, for when I have made any friar to sin by any negligence he purgeth him anon of that negligence in this place of malediction, and accuseth him tofore all the brethren, for they be here warned, confessed, accused, beaten and assoiled, and I here lose all, whereof I sorrow for losing of that I joyed to have won in other places.

And when he had said all this he vanished away.

THE DEATH OF ST. DOMINIC

And in the end when the term of his pilgrimage approached, he was at Bologna, and began to languish by grievous infirmity of his body. And the dissolution of his body was shown to him by a vision, for he saw a right fair youngling

which called him and said thus: Come my friend, come to joys, come.

And then he assembled twelve friars of the convent of Bologna, and to the end that he would not leave them both disherited and orphans, he made his testament and said: These be the things that I leave to you, possessing by rightful heritage, as to my sons. First, to have charity, to keep humility, to possess voluntary poverty.

And [he] exhorted as much as he might straightly that there should be none temporal possessions in his order. And that he that should presume to touch and foul the order of friar-preachers with earthly riches, he prayed fearfully that he should have the malediction and curse of God Almighty and of him.

And the friars made much sorrow of his departing. And he in recomforting them sweetly said: My brethren, let not my departing trouble you, and doubt ye nothing, for ye shall have me more profitable dead than living.

And he came to his last hour in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twenty-one and so slept in our Lord Jesu Christ, whose departing out of this world was showed the same day and the same hour to the friar general, then prior of the preachers of Brescia, and afterward to the bishop of the same city in this manner.

The Friar General's Vision of Dominic in Heaven

For as he slept a light sleep, the head inclined to a wall, he saw the heaven open, and put down to the earth two white ladders, of which Jesu Christ and his mother held the end on high, and the angels descended and ascended by the ladders, singing. In the midst of the ladders there was a seat set, and upon the seat sat St. Dominic with his head covered like a friar. And Jesu Christ and his mother drew up the ladders into heaven so high, that he that sat was lifted up into heaven, and then the opening of heaven was shut and closed. And then the same friar came to Bologna, and

found tbat the same day and the same hour St. Dominic died.

Another Friar's Vision of the Same

There was a friar named Raoul, which was that time that he died at Tybur, and went to the altar to sing mass, and when he came to the canon, in which is remembered the living men, he thought to pray the health of St. Dominic, and suddenly he was ravished in his mind, and saw the holy man St. Dominic crowned with a crown of gold laureate, and going out of Bologna by the way royal. And then he marked the day and hour, and found that St. Dominic was then dead.

The Sweet Odor of St. Dominic's Corpse

And when the body of him had lain long under earth, and miracles showed without ceasing, and that his holiness might not be hid, there issued and came out the place where he lay a right great odour, the same time when his tomb was opened, which was bounden with iron bonds and

instruments and cement, and the stone taken away and the body translated to an higher place.

And the odour surmounted all aromatics, ne there was none odour like to that. And that was not only in the bones of the holy body, but in the powder and chest, and in all the earth about was like savour. In such wise as the earth was borne into far regions and retained long the same odour. And this odour also abode in the hands of the friars that had touched some things of the holy relics, that how well that they were washen and frotten yet retained they long and many days the sweet odour, and bare witness of the sweet flavour and air.

MIRACLES OF ST. DOMINIC

A Child Restored to Life

In the province of Hungary a nobleman, his wife and his son, went to visit in a church the relics of St. Dominic. And the son was sick and came to his last end and died, and the father laid the corpse of the child tofore the altar of St.

Dominic and began to weep and say: Blessed Dominic, I came to thee all glad and joyful, but alas I go home sorrowfully, I came with my son but I return without him, yield to me again my son, give to me again the gladness of my heart.

And about midnight the child revived and went about in the church.

The Drowned Serf is Revived

There was a young man which was serf and bond to a young lady, and went to fish in a water, and he fell therein, and was drowned, and he was a long while in the water and was drawn out all dead. And the lady prayed St. Dominic for the raising of him, and promised that she should go barefoot unto his relics, and if he were raised she would make him a friar and quit him his bondage, and he arose up tofore them all, and she accomplished her avow.

The Father's Son Restored to Life

In that same province of Hungary there was a man that

wept because that his son was dead, and prayed St. Dominic for his raising to life, and about the cock-crowing the dead body arose and opened his eyes, saying to his father: Wherefore, father, have ye your face so wet? And he said: Son, they be the tears of thy father for thou wert dead, and I remained alone and sorrowful. And he said: Father, ye wept much, but St. Dominic had pity of your weeping and gat by his merits to render me to you all whole.

Sight Restored to a Blind Man

A sick man there was which had been eighteen years blind, and desired to visit the relics of St. Dominic. As proving and assaying, he arose out of his bed and anon he felt so great virtue in himself that he began hastily to go, and the more he went, the more he was stronger to go and the more clearlier he saw, and when he came he received perfect health.

Three Candles

In that province a lady ordained to do sing a mass in

the honour of St. Dominic, and she found not the priest at the hour due. And she wrapped three candles, that she had made ready, in a towel, and laid them in a vessel, and then she turned her a little, and after came again and found her candles enlumined and burning apertly, and each body ran for to see this great marvel, and abode there so long till the candles were burnt without impairing of the towel.

The Scholar at Bologna

There was a scholar at Bologna which was named Nicholas, which suffered great pain in his reins and in his knees, so that he had none hope of health, and avowed to St. Dominic, and took a thread to make a candle of his length, and measured him in length and breadth, and when the thread attained to his knees he called at every measure the name of Jesu Christ and of St. Dominic, anon he felt allegeance and said: I am delivered: and anon he stood up and wept for joy and came to the church, without any aid, where the body of St. Dominic rested. And God showed for

him miracles without number in that city.

The Maiden Cured of the Stone

In Augusta, the city of Sicily, was a maid which was sick of the stone and should have been cut, and for this peril her mother commended her to St. Dominic, and the night following, St. Dominic came to the maid sleeping, and laid in her hand the stone with which she had been tormented. And then she awoke and found herself delivered of the pain, and delivered to her mother the stone and told her vision by order. And the mother bare the stone to the friars, and they hung it tofore the image in mind and remembrance of this fair miracle that St. Dominic had done.

The Mother's Son Cured of Scrofula

In Palatium in Sicily, there was a poor woman that had a son that was greatly tormented with scrofula, which children be wont to have in their neck, and could find no remedy. She avowed to God and to St. Dominic that, if he might be

delivered she would make him to labour in the works of the church of friars for no hire, but gladly for naught, and the night following a man appeared to her in the habit of a friar and said: Woman, knowest thou these things? and named to her four things, that was: araign, vert, pelletre, lapacium and the juice of porret.

And she said she knew them well, and he said: Go and take these things and confite them with the juice of porret, and lay them on the sore of the neck of thy son and he shall be all whole.

Then she awoke and did so, and he was all whole, and the mother accomplished her vow.

The Swollen Man of Piedmont

There was a man of Piedmont, swollen like a monster, avowed him to St. Dominic and he appeared to him in his sleep, and opened his belly without pain, and took out all the ordures, and anointed him with his holy hand and healed him perfectly.

In Augusta, a Doubter

In the city of Augusta, when in the feast of the translation of St. Dominic certain women were at the solemnities of the masses, and when they returned homeward to their houses, they saw without, a woman that spinned in the feast of so great a saint, and they took and reproved her charitably why she span at the feast of one so great a saint, and she was angry and answered: Ye that be women of the friars, keep ye their feasts.

And anon the eyes of that woman swelled and there came out rotten matter, and there issued worms, so that one of the neighbours took eighteen worms out of her eyes. And then she repented her and came to the church of the friars, and confessed her sins and avowed that from that forthon she would never missay to the servant of God, Dominic, but should devoutly hold his feast, and anon she was made whole.

The Nun Smitten in the Thigh

There was a nun named Mary which was sick at Tripolin, in the monastery of Mary Magdalene, and was smitten in the thigh so grievously that five months during they doubted that she would have died, and then she bethought her and prayed thus in herself: Lord God, I am not worthy to pray to thee ne to be heard of thee, but I pray my lord, St. Dominic, that he be mediator between thee and me, that he may get to me the benefit of health.

And when she had long prayed in tears she slept, and saw St. Dominic with two friars, that opened the curtain that hung afore her bed, and entered and said to her: Wherefore desirest thou so sore to be healed?

And she said: Sir, that I might more devoutly serve God.

And then he drew out his ointment, which was of sweet odour, from under his cope and anointed her thigh, and she was anon all whole and said: This ointment is much precious, sweet and light.

And when she demanded how it was made, he said to her:

This ointment is the ointment of love, and is so precious that it may not be bought for no price. For in the gifts of God is none better than love, for there is nothing more precious than charity, but it is soon lost if it be not well kept.

Then he appeared to her sister that night, that slept in the dortour, saying, "I have healed thy sister," which anon arose and ran thither and found her whole. And when she felt her anointed with sensible unction she wiped it with great reverence with a bundle of silk.

And when she had told all this to the abbess, to her sister, and to her confessor, and had showed the unction and bundle, they were smitten with the novelty of the savour, so sweet-smelling that it might not be compared to none other aromatic, and they kept that unction with great reverence.

How agreeable the place is unto God where the body of St. Dominic resteth, howbeit that many miracles be showed there. Yet one shall I say to you here and that shall suffice.

The Scholar's Vision of the Four Daughters of God

Master Alexander, bishop of Vendome, rehearseth in his postils upon this word: Mercy and truth have met together [Psalm 84:11], that a scholar dwelling at Bologna which was all given to wicked vanities of the world saw a vision. That him seemed he was in a great field, and that a great tempest of thunder and lightning descended from heaven upon him. And then he fled the tempest, and came tofore an house and found it shut, and knocked at the door for to enter in, and the hostess answered: I am Righteousness that am inhabited here, and this house is mine and thou art not righteous, therefore thou mayst not inhabit here.

And then he wept bitterly for these words, and went to another house that he saw beyond that, and knocked at the door for to come in, but the hostess which was within answered: I am Truth, and thou art not true, therefore I may not receive thee.

And from thence he went to the

third house beyond that, and required that he might come in for the tempest, and he that was within said: I am Peace that dwell here, and peace is not with felons but only with men of goodwill. And because I think the thoughts of peace, I shall give to thee good counsel. My sister dwelleth above me which always helpeth caitiffs; go to her and do that she shall counsel thee.

And then he went to that house, and she that was within said: I am Mercy that dwell here, if thou wilt be saved from this tempest, go to the house of the friars preachers at Bologna and there thou shalt find the stable of doctrine, the rack of scripture, the ass of simpleness, the ox of discretion, and Mary illumining, Joseph profiting, and the child Jesu saving.

And when this scholar awoke he came to the house of friars, and recounted his vision by order, and required to have the habit, and he received it and abode in the order.

CONCLUSION

St. Dominic, tofore the institution of the order, saw Jesu Christ holding three darts in his hand, and menaced the world. Then I, friar John of Vigny, translator of this book, will no more rehearse this vision, for in this present chapter it is rehearsed tofore, and was showed also to a monk, wherefore I here make an end. Then let us consider the holy life, the holy conversation, and the holy miracles, that God hath showed for this blessed man St. Dominic, and let us pray him to be mediator between God and us, that we may deserve to be anointed with the ointment of charity and of mercy, that after this short life we may come to everlasting life in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. DENIS

Chapter 153 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Denis Areopagite was converted to the faith of Jesu Christ of St. Paul the apostle. And he was called Areopagite of the street that he dwelled in. And in that street called Areopage was the temple of Mars, for they of Athens named every street of the gods that they worshipped in the same, and that street that they worshipped in the god Mars, they called Areopage, for Areo is to say Mars, and pagus is a street, and where they worshipped Pan, they named Panopage, and so of all other streets.

Areopage was the most excellent street, because that the noble men haunted it, and therein were the scholars of the arts liberal, and Denis dwelled in that street, which was a right great philosopher. And forasmuch as the plant of wisdom of the deity was in him he was called Theosophus, that is to say, knowing God. And one Apollophanes was his fellow in philosophy. There were also Epicureans, which said that all felicity of man was in only delight of the body. And Stoics, which held opinion that it was in the only virtue of courage.

THE DARKNESS OF GOOD FRIDAY

And then on the day of the passion of our Lord when darkness was upon the universal world, the philosophers that were at Athens could not find in causes natural the cause of that darkness. And it was no natural eclipse, for the moon was then from the sun, and was fifteen days old, and so was in a perfect distance from the sun, and nevertheless an eclipse taketh not away the light in the universal parts of the world, and it may not endure three hours long. And it appeareth that this eclipse took away all the light, by that which St. Luke saith that, our Lord suffered in all his members; and because that the eclipse was in Heliopolis, in Egypt, and Rome and

in Greece.

And Orosius saith that it was in Greece, and in the end of Asia the less, and saith that when our Lord was nailed to the cross there was a right great trembling and earthquave through the world. The rocks were cut asunder, and the mountains cloven, right great floods fell in many parts, more than they were wont to do, and that day, from the sixth hour unto the ninth hour, the sun lost his sight throughout all the lands of the universal world. And in that night there was no star seen in all Egypt.

And this remembereth Denis to Apollophanes, saying in his epistle: The world was dark commonly of obscurity of darkness, and after the only diameter returned purged, and when he had found that the sun might not suffer such heaviness, and that we may not have knowledge in our courage, ne understand yet the mystery of this thing by our conning and wisdom. 1 And, O Apollophanes, mirror of doctrine, what shall I say of these secrets and hid things? I attribute and put them to thee as to a mouth divine, and not as to understanding ne speech human.

To whom he said: O good Denis, these be the mutations of divine things, and in the end it is signified all along, the day and the year of the annunciation that Paul our Doctor said to our deaf ears, and by the signs that all men cried, which I remembered, I have found the very truth and am delivered from the leash of falseness.

These be the words of Denis that he wrote in his epistle to Polycarp, and to Apollophanes, saying: We were, we twain, at Heliopolis, and we saw the moon of heaven go disordinately, and the time was not convenable. And yet again from the ninth hour unto evensong time, at the diameter of the sun established above all natural ordinance, that eclipse we saw begin in the east and coming unto the term of the sun. After that returning again, and not purged of that default, but was made contrary after the diameter. Then Denis and Apollophanes went to Heliopolis in Egypt by desire to learn astronomy. And after, Denis returned again.

That the said eclipse took away the light from the universal parts of the world, it appeareth that Eusebius witnesseth in his chronicles, which saith that he hath read in the dictes of the Ethnicians that there was in Bithynia, which is a province of Asia the less, a great earth shaking, and also the greatest darkness that might be, and also saith that in Nicene, which is a city of Bithynia, that the earth trembling threw down houses. And it is read in Scholastica Historia that the philosophers were brought to this, that they said that: The God of nature suffered death, or else the ordinance of nature in this world was dissolved, or that the elements lived, or the God of nature suffered, and the elements had pity on him.

THE ALTAR OF THE UNKNOWN GOD

And it is said in another place, that Denis saith: This night signified that the new very light of the world should come. And they of Athens made unto this God an altar, and set this title thereupon: This is the altar of the God unknown. And on every altar of their gods the title was set above in showing to whom that altar was dedicated, and when the Athenians would make their sacrifice unto this unknown God, the philosophers said: This God hath no need of none of our gods, but let us kneel down tofore him and pray unto him devoutly, for he requireth not the oblations of beasts but the devotions of our courages.

And after, when the blessed St. Paul came to Athens, the Epicurean philosophers and Stoics disputed with him. Some of them said: What will this sower of words say? And others said that he seemed a shower of new gods that be devils. And then they brought him into the street of the philosophers, for to examine their new doctrine, and they said to him, "Bringest thou any new tidings? We would know what thou hast brought to us." For the Athenians entended to none other thing but to hear some new things.

And then when St. Paul had beholden all their altars he saw among them the altar of God unknown, and Paul said: Whom honour ye

that ye know not, him show I to you to be very God that made heaven and earth.

And after, he said to Denis, whom he saw best learned in divine things: Denis, what is he, that unknown God?

And Denis said: He is verily a God which among gods is not showed, but to us he is unknown, and to come into the world and to reign without end.

And Paul said: Is he a man only, or spirit?

And Denis said: He is God and man but he is unknown, because his conversation is in heaven.

Then said St. Paul: This is he that I preach, which descended from heaven, and took our nature human, and suffered death and arose again the third day.

ST. DENIS'S CONVERSION, PREACHING, AND MISSIONARY WORK

And as St. Denis disputed yet with St. Paul, there passed by adventure by that way a blind man tofore them, and anon Denis said to Paul: If thou say to this blind man in the name of thy God: "See," and then he seeth, I shall anon believe in him, but thou shalt use no words of enchantment, for thou mayst haply know some words that have such might and virtue.

And St. Paul said: "I shall write tofore the form of the words, which be these: 'In the name of Jesu Christ, born of the virgin, crucified and dead, which arose again and ascended into heaven, and from thence shall come for to judge the world: See.'" And because that all suspicion be taken away, Paul said to Denis that he himself should pronounce the words.

And when Denis had said those words in the same manner to the

blind man, anon the blind man recovered his sight. And then Denis was baptized and Damaris his wife and all his meiny, and was a true Christian man and was instructed and taught by St. Paul three years, and was ordained bishop of Athens, and there was in predication, and converted that city, and great part of the region, to Christian faith.

And it is said that St. Paul showed to him that he saw when he was ravished into the third heaven, like as St. Denis saith and showeth in divers places, whereof he speaketh so clearly of the hierarchies of angels, and of the orders and of the dispositions and offices of them, so that it is not supposed that he learned of any other, but only of him that was ravished into the third heaven, and had seen all things.

He flourished by the spirit of prophecy like as it appeareth in an epistle that he sent to John the Evangelist, in the isle of Patmos, to which he was sent in exile, whereas he prophesied that he should come again, saying thus: Enjoy thou verily beloved, very wonderful and to be desired, right well beloved, thou shalt be let out from the keeping that thou hast in Patmos, and shalt return unto the land of Asia, and thou shalt make there the following of thy good God, and the good works of him, and shalt deliver them to them that shall come after thee.

And, as it is seen and showed in the book of the names divine, he was at the dying of the blessed Virgin Mary. And when he heard that Peter and Paul were imprisoned at Rome under Nero, he ordained a bishop under him, and came for to visit them. And when they were martyred and passed to God, and Clement was set in the see of Rome, after a certain time he was sent of the said Clement into France, and he had in his company Rusticus and Eleutherius, and then he came with them to Paris and converted there much people to the faith, and did do make many churches, and set in them clerks of divers orders.

And then he shone by so great heavenly grace that, when the

bishops of the idols moved by strife the people against him, and the people came for to destroy him, anon as they had seen him they left all their cruelty, and kneeled down at his feet, where they had so great dread that they fled away from him for fear.

ST. DENIS'S MARTYRDOM UNDER DOMITIAN

But the devil which had envy, and saw every day his power minished and destroyed, and that the church increased and had victory of him, moved Domitian the emperor in so great cruelty that he made a commandment that whosomever might find any Christian man, that he should constrain them to do sacrifice or torment them by divers torments. And then he sent the provost Fescennius of Rome to Paris against the Christian men. And found there the blessed Denis preaching, and made him cruelly to be beaten, bespit and despised, and fast to be bounden with Rusticus and Eleutherius, and to be brought tofore him: And when he saw that the saints were constant and firm in the acknowledging of our Lord, he was much heavy and sorrowful.

Then came thither a noble matron, which said that her husband was foully deceived of these enchanters, and then anon the husband was sent for, and he abiding in the confession of our Lord, was anon put to death. And the saints were beaten cruelly of twelve knights, and were straightly bounden with chains of iron, and put in prison. The day following, Denis was laid upon a gridiron, and stretched all naked upon the coals of fire, and there he sang to our Lord saying: Lord thy word is vehemently fiery, and thy servant is embraced in the love thereof.

And after that he was put among cruel beasts, which were excited by great hunger and famine by long fasting, and as soon as they came running upon him he made the sign of the cross against them, and anon they were made most meek and tame. And after that he was cast into a furnace of fire, and the fire anon quenched, and he had neither pain ne harm. And after that he was put on the cross, and thereon he was long tormented, and after, he was taken down

and put into a dark prison with his fellows and many other Christian men. And as he sang there the mass and communed the people, our Lord appeared to him with great light, and delivered to him bread, saying: Take this, my dear friend, for thy reward is most great with me.

After this they were presented to the judge and were put again to new torments, and then he did do smite off the heads of the three fellows, that is to say, Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, in confessing the name of the holy Trinity. And this was done by the temple of Mercury, and they were beheaded with three axes. And anon the body of St. Denis raised himself up, and bare his head between his arms, as the angel led him two leagues from the place, which is said the hill of the martyrs, unto the place where he now resteth, by his election, and by the purveyance of God.

And there was heard so great and sweet a melody of angels that many of them that heard it believed in our Lord. And Laertia, wife of the foresaid provost Lubrius, said that she was Christian, and anon she was beheaded of the wicked felons, and was baptized in her blood, and so died. And Virbius his son, which was a knight at Rome under three emperors, came afterward to Paris and was baptized, and put himself in the number of the religious.

And the wicked paynims doubted that the good Christian men would bury the body of Rusticus and Eleutherius, and commanded that they should be cast into the river Seine. And a noble woman bade them to dine that bare them, and whilst they dined, this lady took away the bodies and buried them secretly in a field of hers, and after, when the persecution was ceased, she took them thence, and laid them honourably with the body of St. Denis. And they suffered death about the year of our Lord four score and sixteen, under Domitian. The years of the age of St. Denis four score and ten.

MIRACLES OF ST. DENIS

On a time when Regulus the holy bishop sang mass at Arles, and rehearsed the names of the apostles in the canon, he added and joined thereto the blessed martyrs Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, which so said, many supposed that they yet lived, and marvelled why he so rehearsed their names in the canon. And they so wondering, there appeared upon the cross of the altar three doves sitting, which had the names of the saints marked and written on their breasts with blood, which diligently beholding, they understood well that the saints were departed out of this world.

And Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, saith in an epistle which he sent to Charles that, this Denis that was sent into France was Denis Areopagite as afore is said, and the same saith Johannes Scotus in an epistle to Charles, lest by the reason of the counting of the time should be said against, as some would object.

About the year of our Lord eight hundred and thirty-two, in the time of Louis, king of France, the messengers of Michael, emperor of Constantinople, among other things, brought to Louis, son of Charles le Grand, the books of St. Denis of the hierarchy of the angels, translated out of Greek into Latin, and were received with great joy, and that same night were nineteen sick men healed in his church.

About the year of our Lord six hundred and forty-three, like as it is contained in a chronicle, Dagobert, king of France, which reigned long tofore Pepin, began to have from his childhood great reverence to St. Denis, for when he doubted in that time the ire of his father Clothair, he fled anon to the church of St. Denis. And when this holy king was dead, it was showed in a vision unto a holy man that, the soul of him was ravished to judgment, and that many saints accused him that he had despoiled their churches. And as the wicked angels would have had him to the pains, the blessed Denis came thither, and by him he was delivered at his coming, and escaped from the pains, and peradventure the soul returned to the body and did penance.

King Clovis discovered the body of St. Denis not duly, and brake the bone of his arm and ravished it away covetously, and anon he became out of his mind.

Then let us worship Almighty God in his saints, that we, by their merits, may amend ourselves in this wretched life, that we may after this life come into his sempiternal bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. DOROTHY

Caxton's life of St. Dorothy, included in his translation of the Golden Legend but not in Voragine's original. This "reader's edition" adds rubrics, paragraphing, and explanatory glosses.

The glorious virgin and martyr St. Dorothy was born of the noble lineage of the senators of Rome, her father hight Theodore. In that time the persecution of the Christian people was great about Rome, wherefore this holy virgin St. Dorothy, despising the worshipping of idols, counselled her father, her mother, and her two sisters, Christine and Celestine, to forsake their possessions, and so they did, and fled into the realm of Cappadocia, and came into the city of Caesarea wherein they set St. Dorothy to school, and soon after she was christened of the holy bishop St. Appollinarius, and he named her Dorothy. And she was fulfilled with the Holy Ghost, and in great beauty above all the maidens of that realm.

And she despised all worldly vanities, and burned in the love of Almighty God, and loved poverty, and was full of meekness and chastity, whereof the fiend having envy at her blessed living, provoked and set afire in her love the provost, so that he would have her to his wife, and anon sent for her in all haste, and when she came he desired to have her to his wife, and promised to her riches of worldly goods without number. And when this holy virgin understood his desire and request she

Dorothy's attribute is a basket of roses. She will also be pictured with a palm branch as a symbol of her status as a martyr.

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refused it, and denied it utterly, and all his riches setting at nought; and moreover she acknowledged herself to be Christian, and that she had vowed her virginity unto Jesu Christ, whom she had chosen to her spouse, and would never have other.

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DOROTHY IS TORTURED FOR HER FAITH

The Tun of Burning Oil

And when the provost Fabricius heard this he was nigh from himself for anger, and commanded that she should be put in a tun of burning oil, wherein she was preserved by the power of her spouse Jesu Christ that she felt none disease ne harm, but a precious ointment of balm. And when the paynims saw this great miracle, many of them were thereby converted to the faith of Jesu Christ.

The Prison

And the tyrant said that she did all this by enchantment, and did do put her in a deep prison nine days long without meat or drink, but she was that while fed by angels' food of our Lord, so that at the end of nine days she was nothing appaired.

Then the judge sent for her, supposing that she had been nigh dead and feeble, but when she came she was fairer and brighter to look on than ever she was before, whereof all the people marvelled greatly. Then the judge said to her: But if thou wilt worship and do sacrifice to the idols thou shalt not escape the torment of the gibbet.

Then she answered to the judge: I worship Almighty God that made all things, and despise thy gods that be fiends. And then she fell down pat to the earth and lifted up her eyes to Almighty God, beseeching him that he would show his power tofore the people that he was only Almighty God and none other.

The Idol on the Pillar

Then Fabricius the judge let set up a pillar on high, and thereon he set his god, an idol, and anon there came a multitude of angels from heaven and cast down this idol, and all to-brake it, and anon the people heard a great noise of fiends crying in the air, saying: O Dorothy, why dost thou destroy us and tormentest us so sore?

And for this great miracle many thousands of paynims were turned to the faith of Jesu Christ and were baptized, and after received the crown of martyrdom for the acknowledging of the name of Jesu Christ.

Hanged on the Gibbet

Then the judge commanded that this holy virgin should be hanged on the gibbet, her feet upward and the head downward, and then her body was all to-rent with hooks of iron, and beaten with rods and scourges, and burnt her breasts with hot fiery brands, and as half dead she was set again into prison, and after, when she was brought again, she was all whole and strong, without any disease or hurt. Whereof the judge had great marvel, and

said to her: O fair maid, forsake thy God and believe on our gods, for thou mayst see how merciful they be unto thee, and preserve thee, therefore have pity of thy tender body, for thou hast been tormented enough.

Her Two Sisters

And then the provost sent for her two sisters which were named Christine and Celestine, which for fear of death forsook the faith of Jesu Christ, and went to St. Dorothy and counselled her to obey to the provost's desire and forsake her faith. But this holy virgin rebuked her sisters. and after informed them by so fair and sweet language, that she withdrew them from their blind errors and established them in the faith of Jesu Christ; in such wise that when they were come to the judge they said they were Christian and believed on Jesu Christ.

And when Fabricius heard that, he was mad for anger, and commanded that the tormentor should bind their hands, and bind them both together back to back, and cast them in the fire so bound, and burnt them.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. DOROTHY

And then he said to the virgin Dorothy: How long wilt thou trouble us with thy witchcraft? Or do sacrifice to our gods or else anon thy head shall be smitten off.

And then said the holy virgin with a glad semblant: Do to me what torment thou wilt, for I am all ready to suffer it for the love of my

spouse Jesu Christ, in whose garden full of delices I have gathered roses, spices, and apples.

And when the tyrant heard that he trembled for anger, and commanded that her fair visage should be beaten with stones so that there should appear no beauty in her visage, but all disfigured, and so to be put in prison till the next day. And on the next day she came forth all so whole and sound as though she had suffered no disease, and was more fairer for to look on than ever she was tofore, by the grace of her blessed spouse Jesu Christ, for whose love she took on her these great and sharp torments.

"Send Me Some of Thy Roses"

And then this cursed judge commanded to smite off her head; and as she was led to the place assigned where it should be done, a scribe of the realm, named Theophilus, said to her in scorn: I pray thee to send me some of thy roses and apples that thou hast gathered in the garden of thy spouse that thou praisest so much. And she granted to him his desire.

St. Dorothy's Final Prayer

And this was in the cold winter time when there was both frost and snow. And when she came to the place where she should be beheaded, she kneeled down on her knees and made her prayers to our Lord Jesu Christ, beseeching him that all they that worship her passion that they might be kept steadfast in the faith, and to take their tribulation patiently,

and specially to be delivered from all shame, great poverty, and false slander, and at their last end to have very contrition, confession, and remission of all their sins. And also women with child that call to her for help to have good deliverance, the children to be christened and the mothers to be purified. Also she prayed to God that where her life was written or read in any house, that it should be kept from all peril of lightning and thunder, and from all perils of fire, from perils of thieves, and from sudden death, and to receive the sacraments of holy church at their last end for their most sovereign defence against their ghostly enemy the fiend.

"Come to Me, My Dear Spouse"

And when she had ended her prayer there was a voice heard from heaven that said: Come to me, my dear spouse and true virgin, for all thy love is granted to thee that hast prayed for, and also whom thou prayest for shall be saved; and when thou hast received the crown of martyrdom thou shalt come to the bliss of heaven without end, for thy labour.

And this holy virgin bowed down her head, and the cruel tyrant smote it off.

The Basket of Roses

But a little before this appeared before her a fair child barefoot, clothed in purple, with crisp hairs, whose garment was set full of bright stars, bearing in his hand a little basket shining as gold, with roses and apples, to whom the virgin said: I pray thee, bear this

basket to Theophilus the scribe.

And thus she suffered death and passed and Lord full of virtues, the sixth day of February, the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty-eight, by Fabricius, provost under Diocletian and Maximian, emperors of Rome.

And as this said Theophilus stood in the palace of the emperor, this child came to him and presented to him the basket, saying: These be the roses and apples that my sister Dorothy hath sent to thee from Paradise, the garden of her spouse.

And then this child vanished away. Then he, considering the marvellous work of God in this holy virgin, said anon with a stern voice, praising the God of Dorothy for that great miracle which was showed to him of roses and apples that time, that "he that sent to me these things is of great power, and therefore his name be blessed world without end, Amen." And then he was converted to the faith of Jesu Christ, and the most part of the people of the city.

And when Fabricius knew this, anon, with great malice, he tormented Theophilus the scribe with many divers torments, and at the last hewed him into small pieces, and the pieces were cast to birds and beasts to be devoured. But he was first baptized and received the holy sacrament, and followed the holy virgin Dorothy into the bliss of heaven.

Then let us devoutly pray to this blessed saint

Dorothy that she be our special protectress against all perils of fire, of lightning, of thundering, and all other perils, and that at our end we may receive the sacraments of the church, that after this short life may come unto bliss in heaven whereas is life and joy perdurable, world without end. Amen

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. EDMUND, KING AND MARTYR

Chapter 113 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

In the province of England of old time were divers kings, for the land was departed; among whom there was S. Edmund, king of Norfolk and Suffolk, which took his birth of the noble and ancient lineage of the Saxons, and was from the beginning of his first age a blessed man, soft, virtuous, and full of meekness, and kept truly the very religion of christian faith, and governed his kingdom full well to the pleasure of Almighty God.

THE DANISH KINGS INVADE

In his time it happed that two wicked tyrants, that one named Hingvar, and that other Hubba, came out of Denmark and arrived in the country of Northumberland, and robbed and destroyed the country and slew the people without mercy in every place where they came. Then the one of them named Hingvar came into the country where this most christian S. Edmund reigned, and understood that he was in his flowering age, strong and mighty in battle, and demanded of the people where their king was resident and dwelled, which that was most abiding in a town named then Eglesdon, and now is called Bury.

Now the Danes had always custom that they would never fight battle set ne appointed, but ever lie in wait how they might by sleight and deceit prevented, fall on good christian men, and so slay and destroy them, like as thieves lie in await to rob and slay good true men. Wherefore, when he knew where this holy king was, he addressed one of his knights to him for to espy what strength he had, and what people about him. And Hingvar himself followed with

all his host to the end that suddenly he should fall upon this king unadvised, and that he might subdue him unto his laws and commandments. Then this said knight came to this holy king S. Edmund, and made his legation and message in this wise:

> Our most dread lord by land and by sea, Hingvar, which hath subdued divers countries and lands in this province unto his seigniory by strength of arms, and purposeth with all his ships and army to winter him in these marches, sendeth to thee his commandment that thou incontinent come and make alliance and friendship with him. And that thou depart to him thy paternal treasures and riches in such wise that thou mayst reign under him, or certainly thou shalt die by cruel death.

And when the blessed king, S. Edmund, had heard this message, anon he sighed and called to him one of his bishops and demanded counsel of him, what and how he should answer upon this demand that was asked of him. Which bishop, sore dreading for the king's life, exhorted him by many examples for to consent and agree to this tyrant Hingvar, and the king a while said nothing but remembered him well, and after many devout words at the last, he answered to the messenger in this wise and said: "This shalt thou say to thy lord: know thou for truth, that for the love of temporal life, the christian king Edmund shall no subdue him to a paynim duke."

Then unnethe was the messenger gone out, but Hingvar met him and bade him use short words and tell him his answer, which message told unto Hingvar, anon the cruel tyrant commanded to slay all the people that were with S. Edmund and destroy them, but they should hold and keep only the king, whom he knew rebel unto his wicked laws.

THE DEATH OF KING EDMUND

Then this holy king was taken and bounden, his hands behind him, and is brought tofore the duke, and after many opprobrious words, at the last they led him forth unto a tree which was thereby. To which tree his adversaries bound him, and then shot arrows at him,

so thick and many that he was through wounded, and that one arrow smote out another, and always this blessed king ceased not, for all his wounds, to give laud and praising unto Almighty God. Then this wicked tyrant commanded that they should smite off his head, which they so did, he always praying, and saying his orisons to our Lord God. Then the Danes left the body there lying, and took the head and bare it into the thick of the wood, and hid it in the thickest place among thorns and briars, to the end that it should not be found of the christian men.

HIS BODY IS RESTORED

But by the purveyance of Almighty God there came a wolf which diligently kept the holy head from devouring of beasts and fowls. And after, when the Danes were departed, the christian men found the body, but they could not find the head, wherefore they sought it in the wood. And as one of them spake to another: Where art thou? Which were in the thick of the wood, and cried: Where art thou? the head answered and said: Here! here! here! and anon then all they came thither and saw it and also a great wolf sitting and embracing the head between his forelegs, keeping it from all other beasts. And then anon they took the head and brought it unto the body and set it to the place where it was smitten off, and anon they joined together, and then they bare this holy body unto the place where it is now buried. And the wolf followed humbly the body till it was buried, and then he, hurting no body, returned again to the wood.

And the blessed body and head be so joined together that there appeareth nothing that it had been smitten off, save as it were a red shining thread in the place of the departing where the head was smitten off. And in that place where he now lieth so buried is a noble monastery made, and therein monks of the order of S. Benet, which be richly endowed. In which place Almighty God hath showed many miracles for the holy king and martyr.

ST. EDMUND AND ST. JOHN

The following story is told in the Latin text of the Golden Legend, in the section on St. John the Evangelist (IX Â¶ 12, Graesse 62, Ryan I, 55):

> Saint Edmund, a King in England, never said no to anyone asking something in the name of St. John the Evangelist. So it happened that while the kingâ□□s chamberlain was absent a pilgrim asked the king for alms. The king gave him a costly ring, as he had nothing else to give. But after many days an English knight who had gone across the sea on the same pilgrimage brought the ring to him and said, â□□He who, and for whose love you gave this ring, returns it to you.â□□ Thus it was clear that blessed John had appeared to the king in the form of a pilgrim.

Caxton includes the story in his life of John but corrects "Saint Edmund" to "St. Edward." The episode does indeed belong to Edward, not Edmund.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. ELIZABETH

Chapter 168 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Elizabeth was daughter of the noble king of Hungary, and was of noble lineage, but she was more noble by her faith and religion than by her right noble lineage. She was right noble by example, she shone by miracle, and she was fair by grace of holiness, for the author of nature enhanced her in a manner above nature.

HER CHILDHOOD

When this holy maid was nourished in delices royal she renounced all childishness, and set herself all in the service of God. Then it appeared clearly as her tender infancy enforced in simpless, and began to use good customs from then forthon, and to despise the plays of the world, and of vanities, and flee the prosperities of the world, and always to profit in the honour of God.

For when she was yet but five years old she abode so ententively in the church for to pray, that her fellows or her chamberers might unnethe bring her thence, and when she met any of her chamberers or fellows, she would follow them toward the chapel as it were for to play, for to have cause to enter into the church. And when she was entered, anon she kneeled down and lay down to the earth, howbeit that she knew not yet any letters; and she opened oft the psalter tofore her in the church for to feign that she read, because she should not be let, and that she should be seen occupied.

And when she was with other maidens for to play, she considered well the manner of the game for to give always honour to God under occasion, and in play of rings and other games she set all her hope in God. And of all that she won and had of any part profit when she was a young maid, she gave the tenth to poor maidens, and led

them ofttimes with her for to say paternoster or for to salute our Lady.

And like as she grew in age by time so grew she by devotion, for she choose the blessed Virgin to be her lady and her advocate, and St. John the Evangelist to be warden of her virginity. And on a time there were schedules laid on the altar, and in every schedule was written the name of an apostle, and each of the other maidens took, at all adventure, such a schedule as happed to her. And she made her orison, and thrice she took the same that she desired, in which was written the name of St. Peter, to whom she had so great devotion that she never warned thing to them that warned thing demanded it in his name.

And because that the good adventures of the world should not flatter her over much, she withdrew every day something of her prosperities, and when she took in any game any pleasure, anon she left it, and said she would play no more, but she would say: I leave you the remnant for God's sake.

She went not gladly to karols, but withdrew other maidens from them. She doubted always to wear jolly clothing, but she used always to have them honest. She had ordained to say every day a certain number of orisons and prayers, and if she were occupied in any manner that she might not perform them, but that she was constrained of her chamberers to go to her bed, she would there say them, waking.

This holy virgin honoured all the solemn feasts of the year with so great reverence that she would not suffer her sleeves to be laced till the solemnity of the mass was accomplished, and she heard the office of the mass with so great reverence that when the gospel was read or the sacrament was lifted up, she would take off the brooches of gold and the adornments of her head, as circles or chaplets, and lay them down.

HER MARRIAGE

And when she had kept in innocence the degree of virginity, she was constrained to enter into the degree of marriage, for her father constrained her thereto, because she should bring forth fruit. And howbeit that she would not have been married, yet she durst not gainsay the commandment of her father. Then she avowed in the hands of Master Conrad, which was a good man and her confessor, and promised that if her husband died and she overlived him, that she would keep perpetual continence. Then was she married to the landgrave of Thuringia, like as the divine purveyance had ordained because she should bring much people to the love of our Lord, and teach the rude people.

HER GREAT HUMILITY

And howbeit she changed her estate, yet she changed not her will in her thought, and she was of great humility and of great devotion to God, and was towards herself of great abstinence and of great mercy. She was of so right ardent desire of prayer that she oft went sooner to the church than her meiny, to the end that by her prayers secret she might impetre and get grace of God.

She arose oft by night for to make her prayers, and her husband would pray her that she would lie and rest her a little. She had ordained that one of her women, which was more familiar with her than another, that if peradventure she were overtaken with sleep, that she should take her by the foot, for to awake her, and on a time she supposed to have taken her lady by the foot, and took her husband's foot, which suddenly awoke, and would know wherefore she did so, and then she told to him all the case, and when he knew it, he let it pass and suffered it peaceably.

And because she would render good sacrifice to God of her prayers, she wetted oft her body with abundance of tears, and let them flow out of her eyes gladly without changing of semblance, so that oft she wept with great sorrow, and she yet enjoyed in God.

She was of so great humility that, for the love of God, she laid in her

lap a man horribly sick, which had his visage stinking like carrion, and she share off the ordure and filth of his head, and washed it, whereof her chamberers loathed and laughed her to scorn.

And she would in rogation time follow the procession barefoot and without linen smock, and at the preaching she would sit among the poor people.

She would not array her with precious stones, as others, on the day of Purification of our Lady, ne wear rich vesture of gold, but after the ensample of the Blessed Virgin Mary, she bare her son in her arms and a lamb and a candle, and offered it up humbly. And by that she showed that the pomp and bobance of the world should be eschewed, and that she conformed her unto the Virgin Mary; and when she came home she gave to some poor women the clothes in which she went to church.

She was of so great humility that by the consenting of her husband she submitted herself in the obedience of Master Conrad, a poor man and a small, but he was of noble science and perfect religion, and she did with joy and reverence that which he commanded, for to have the merit of obedience, like as God was obedient unto the death.

On a time it happed that she was called for to go to his preaching, and the marquis of Messence came upon her by whom she was encumbered let, and might not go thither. Wherefore he held him evil apaid, and would not release her obedience till that she was despoiled to her smock, with some of her chamberers which were culpable, and that he had strongly beaten them.

HER GREAT ABSTINENCE

She did so great abstinence, that at the table of her husband, among the divers meats that were there, she would not eat but bread. She took so great rigour on herself that she waxed lean. For Master Conrad defended her that she should not touch the meats of

her husband of which she should not have a whole conscience. And she kept this commandment with so great diligence, that when others abounded in delices she ate with her chamberers gross meats.

On a time when she had sore travelled in going, there were brought to her and to her husband divers meats, and were supposed not well gotten of good and just labour, wherefore she refused them and took her refection of a hard brown loaf tempered with water, and for this cause her husband assigned a pension to her, by which she and her chamberers consented for to live by, and her husband suffered all in patience, and said he would gladly do so if he doubted not to anger his meiny.

And she, that was in sovereign glory, desired the estate of sovereign poverty, to the end that the world should have nothing in her, and that she should be poor like as Jesu Christ had been. And when she was alone with her chamberers, she would clothe her with poor vestments and vile, and set a poor veil upon her head and said: Thus shall I go when I shall come to the estate of poverty.

HER GENEROSITY TO THE POOR

And though she did abstinence, yet was she liberal to the poor, so that she might not suffer that any had misease, but gave to them all largely. She entended with all her power to the seven works of mercy.

She gave on a time to a poor woman a right good vesture, and when this poor woman saw that she had so noble a gift, she had so great joy that she fell down as dead, and when the blessed Elizabeth saw that, she was sorry that she had given to her so noble a gift, and doubted that she was the cause of her death, and prayed for her, and anon she arose all whole.

And she span oft wool with her chamberers and made thereof cloth, so that of her proper labour that she gave to the church, she

received glorious fruit, and gave good ensample unto others.

On a time when her husband the landgrave was gone to the court of the emperor, which was then at Cremona, she assembled in a garner all the wheat of the year, and administered part to every each that came from all parts, and that time was great dearth in the country, and oft when she lacked money she sold off her adornments for to give to the poor people, but for all that she gave, the garners minished not ne lessed. She did do make a great house under the castle, where she received and nourished great multitude of poor people, and visited them every day, and she left not to visit them for any sickness ne malady that they had, but she washed and wiped them with her own hands, howbeit that her chamberers would not suffer it. And yet moreover then she did do nourish in her house poor women's children so sweetly, that they all called her mother. She did do make sepultures for poor people, and went devoutly unto the death of them, and would bury them with her own hands in the clothes that she had made, and ofttimes brought the sheet wherein she lay for to wind the dead bodies therein, and was at the death of them much devoutly.

THE NOBLE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND

And among these things the devotion of her husband was much to be praised, for how well he was occupied in his other things, nevertheless he was devout in the service of God, and because he might not himself entend personally unto his things, he gave full power to his wife in all that should be to the honour or to the health of their souls.

And the blessed St. Elizabeth had great desire that her husband should employ his puissance to defend the faith of God, and advised him, by debonair admonishments, that he should go visit the holy land and thither he went, and when he was there, this devout and noble prince, full of faith and of devotion rendered his spirit unto Almighty God, and so died, receiving the glorious fruit of

his works, and then she received with devotion the state of widowhood.

THE VASSALS DRIVE HER INTO EXILE

And when the death of her husband was published and known through all Thuringia, some of the vassals of her husband held her for a fool and wastrels of her goods, and threw her out of her heritage. And because her patience were more clear and that she had the poverty that she long desired, she went then by night into the house of a taverner in the place where the pots lay, and gave great thankings to God. And at the hour of matins she came into the house of the friars minor, and prayed them that they would give laud and thankings to God for her tribulation.

And the day following, she came with her little children to a place and into the house of one her enemy, and then was delivered to her a strait place for to dwell in. And when she saw that she was much grieved of the host and hostess, then she saluted the walls and said: I should gladly salute the men, but I find them not.

And thus she being constrained by necessity, she sent her small children here and there for to be nourished in divers places, and returned herself into the first place. And as she went, there was a strait way upon stones and a deep mire under, and full of filth; and as she passed she met an old woman to whom she had done much good tofore, and this old woman would give her no way, so that she fell in the deep mire and filth, and then she arose and scraped her vesture and laughed.

THE BISHOP OF BAMBERG TRIES TO MAKE HER MARRY

And after this, one, her aunt, had great pity of her, and sent her wisely to her uncle, bishop of Bamberg, which received her much honestly, and retained her in entent to marry her again. And when her chamberers heard thereof; which had vowed continence with her, they were passing wrath and wept, and she comforted them and said: I trust in our Lord, for the love of whom I have vowed

continence perdurable, that he shall keep me in my purpose and shall take away all violence and shall corrupt all counsel human; and if mine uncle would marry me to any man I shall withstand it to my power and shall gainsay it with words. And if I may not so escape I shall cut off my nose so that every man shall hate me for my loathliness.

And then the bishop did do lead her in a castle against her will, for to abide there till that some man should demand to have her in marriage. And she commended to our Lord her chastity, all weeping. And then our Lord ordained that the bones of her husband should be brought from over sea, and then the bishop made her to come and go devoutly to meet the bones of her husband. And then the bones were received of the bishop with right great honour, and of her with great devotion, and weepings of tears. And then she said to our Lord: Sire, I render to thee graces and thankings of this, that I may receive the bones of my sweet husband, and that thou hast vouchsaufed to comfort me, poor caitiff. Sire, I loved him much which loved thee, and Lord, for the love of thee I suffered well his presence. And I sent him unto the help of the holy land, and I call thee to witness that howbeit that it were a delectable thing to me to live yet with him, so that he were poor and I also a poor beggar through the world; but that against thy will I would not buy him again with a hair, and I would not return again to temporal life. Lord, I commend me and him into thy grace.

SHE UNDERTAKES VOLUNTARY POVERTY

And then she clad her with habit religious and kept perpetual continence after the death of her husband, and obedience performed. She took wilful poverty, and her clothing was coarse and vile. She wore a russet mantle, her gown of another foul colour, the sleeves of her coat were broken, and amended with pieces of other colour.

Her father, king of Hungary, when he heard that his daughter was come to the estate of poverty, he sent an earl to her for to bring her

to her father, and when the earl saw her sit in such a habit and spinning, he cried for sorrow, and said there was never king's daughter that ware such a habit ne seen spinning wool. And when he had done his message and desired to have brought her to her father, she in no wise would accord to it, but had liefer to be needy among the poor people than to abound in great riches with rich people, to the end that she should not be empeshed, but that her will and mind should be always in our Lord.

And she prayed our Lord that he would give to her grace to despise all earthly things and take away from her heart the love of her children, and to be firm and constant against the persecutions. And when she had accomplished her prayer she heard our Lord saying: Thy prayer is heard.

And said she to her chamberers: Our Lord hath heard my voice, for I repute all earthly things as dung and filth, and set no more by mine own children than I do by other men's and my neighbours, ne I love none other thing but our Lord.

MASTER CONRAD BREAKS HER WILL

Master Conrad did to her oft things contrary and grievous, and such things as he saw that she loved, that removed he and took away from her company. And took from her two maidens, her chamberers, beloved among all others, and had been nourished with her from her childhood. And this holy man did this for to break her will, so that she should set all love in our Lord, and to the end that she should not remember her first glory.

In all these things she was hasty for to obey, and constant to suffer, that by patience she might possess her soul, and by obedience to be made fair and ennobled. She said: If I, only for God's sake, dread so much a man mortal, how much more ought I to dread and doubt the heavenly judge. Therefore I make obedience to Master Conrad, a poor man and a beggar, and not to a rich bishop, because I would put away from me all occasion of temporal comfort.

On a time because she went into a cloister of nuns, which prayed her diligently for to visit them, without licence of her master, he beat her so sore therefor that the strokes appeared in her three weeks after, by which she showed to our Lord that her obedience was more pleasing than the offering of a thousand hosties. Better is obedience than sacrifice.

She was of so great humility that she would suffer in no wise that her chamberers should call her lady, but that they should speak and say to her as to the lowest and least of them. She washed otherwhile the dishes and the vessel of the kitchen, and she hid her otherwhile that the chamberers should not let her, and she would say: If I could find another life more despised I would have taken it; she chose the best. She had a special grace to weep abundantly tears, for to see celestial visions, and for to inflame the hearts of others to the love of God.

HER VISIONS OF JESUS

On a day of the holy Lent she was in the church and she beheld ententively the altar like as she had been in the presence divine, and there she was comforted by revelation divine. And then she returned to her house and prophesied of herself that she should see Jesu Christ in heaven: and anon as she lay down for feebleness in the lap of her chamberer, she began to look up into heaven, and she was so glad that she began debonairly to laugh, and when she had been long joyful she was suddenly turned into weeping, and then she looked up to heavenward again, and anon she returned into her first joy; and when she closed her eyes she began to weep, and in this manner she abode till compline, and had divine visions, and then she was still a while, and said thus after: Lord, wilt thou be with me, and I with thee, ne I will not depart from thee.

After these things the chamberers desired her to tell to them why she had so laughed and wept, and she said: I have seen heaven open and Jesu Christ which inclined him debonairly to me, and I

was glad of the vision and wept for to depart from it, and he said to me: If thou wilt be with me, I shall be with thee, and I answered like as ye heard. Her prayer was of so great ardour that she drew others to good living.

SHE PRAYS FOR A DISSOLUTE YOUNG MAN

On a time she saw a young man, and she called him to her, and said to him: Thou livest dissolutely, and thou oughtest to serve God, wilt thou that I pray for thee?

He said: I will well and require it of you desirously.

And then she prayed for him, and the young man also prayed for himself, and anon the young man began to cry: Cease ye, lady, and leave off.

But she prayed always more ententively, and he began to cry: â□□Cease! lady, cease! for I begin to fail and am all burnt.

And he was esprised with so great heat that he sweat and fled, as he had been from himself, so that many ran, which despoiled him for his great heat, and they themselves might unnethe suffer the heat of him.

And when she had accomplished her prayer the young man left his heat, and came again to himself, and by the grace that was given to him he entered into the order of the friars minor, and when he had taken the habit of religion she prayed for him so affectuously that by her fervent prayers she made him that so burned to be cold, and left his dissolute life and took upon him a ghostly and spiritual life.

SHE FOUNDS A HOSPITAL

And then this blessed Elizabeth received the habit of religion and put herself diligently to the works of mercy, for she received for her dower two hundred marks, whereof she gave a part to poor people, and of that other part she made a hospital, and therefore she was

called a wasteress and a fool, which all she suffered joyously.

And when she had made this hospital she became herself as an humble chamberer in the service of the poor people, and she bare her so humbly in that service, that by night she bare the sick men between her arms for to let them do their necessities, and brought them again, and made clean their clothes and sheets that were foul. She brought the mesels abed, and washed their sores and did all that longed to a hospitaller.

And when she had no poor man she would spin wool which was sent to her from an abbey, and such as she gat whereof she gave to the poor people.

THE SHEARING OF RADEGONDE

And when she had been in much poverty she received five hundred marks of her dowry, which she gave unto the poor much ordinately. And then she made an ordinance that whosomever removed his place in prejudice of another when she gave her alms, should have his hair cut off or shorn. Then came a maid named Radegonde, which shone by the beauty of her hair, and passed by, not for to have alms, but for to visit her sister which was sick, and she commanded anon that her hair should be cut off, and she wept and gainsaid it. And there was a man which said that she was innocent. Then St. Elizabeth said: Then at the least, said she, she shall swear that she shall no more, because of her hair, go to dances ne karols, ne haunt such vanities.

And St. Elizabeth demanded of her if ever she was disposed or were in purpose to use the way of health, and she answered that if she had not had that fair hair, she had long since taken the habit of religion. And she said: I had liefer that thou shouldest lose thine hair than my son were made emperor. And then anon the maid took habit of religion with St. Elizabeth, and finished her life laudably.

HER DEATH

When the time approached that God had ordained, that she which had despised the reign mortal should have the reign of angels, she lay sick of the fevers and turned her to the wall, and they that were there heard her put out a sweet melody; and when one of the chamberers had enquired of her what it was, she answered and said: A bird came between me and the wall and sang so sweetly that it provoked me to sing with it.

She was always in her malady glad and jocund, and ne ceased of prayer. The last day tofore her departing, she said to her chamberers: What will ye do if the devil come to you?

And after a little while she cried with a high voice: Flee! flee! flee! like as she had chased away the devil.

And after, she said: The midnight approacheth in which Jesu Christ was born; it is now time that God call his friends to his heavenly weddings.

And thus, the year of our Lord twelve hundred and thirty-one, she gave up her spirit and slept in our Lord, and though the body lay four days unburied, yet came there no stench from it, but a sweet odour aromatic came, which refreshed all them that were there.

Then there was heard and seen a multitude of birds, so many that there hath not been seen the like tofore, over the church, and began a song of right great melody, like as it had been the obsequies of her, and their song was *Regnum mundi,* which is sung in the praising of virgins.

There was a great cry of poor people for her and much devotion of people, so that some took a hair of her head, and some a part of her clothes, which they kept for great relics. And then her body was put in a monument, which after was found to redound in oil, and many fair miracles were showed at her tomb after her death.

It was well showed in the dying of St. Elizabeth of what holiness she

was, as well in the modulation of the bird as in the expulsion of the devil. That bird that was between her and the wall, and provoked her to sing, is supposed to be her good angel, which was deputed to her, and brought her tidings that she should go to the everlasting joy, and in like wise is showed to cursed men otherwhile their everlasting damnation.

MIRACLES OF ST. ELIZABETH

The Sick Monk's Vow

In the parts of Saxony there was a monk that hight Henry, which was fallen in so great a sickness that he cried and would suffer no creature to have rest about him in the house. On a night appeared to him an honourable lady clad in white, which advised him that he should vow him to St. Elizabeth if he would have his health, and the next night she appeared to him in like wise, and then by the counsel of his abbot he made the vow. The third night she appeared to him again and made the sign of the cross upon him, and he then received anon full health and was perfectly whole.

And when the abbot and the prior came to him, they were greatly amarvelled and doubted much the accomplishment of the avow, and the prior said that ofttimes under the likeness of good cometh illusion of the fiend and counselled him to be confessed of his avow.

And the night following the same person appeared unto him and said: Thou shalt be always sick till thou hast accomplished and fulfilled thine avow, and anon his infirmity took him again and would not leave him. And afterwards, by the licence given of his abbot, he accomplished his avow and was made all whole.

The Demoniac Made Whole

There was a maid demanded drink of a servant of her father's, and she gave her drink and said: The devil mayst thou drink, and she drank, and her seemed that fire entered into her body. Then began she to cry and her belly to swell like to a barrel, so that each man

saw that she was demoniac, and she was two years in that estate, and after was brought into the tomb of St. Elizabeth, and was made perfectly whole and was delivered of the fiend.

The Hanged Man Raised from Death

There was one Herman, a man of the diocese of Cologne, which was holden in prison, and he called with great devotion St. Elizabeth unto his help, and the night following she appeared to him and comforted him. And on the morn sentence was given against him that he should be hanged, and the judge gave licence to his friends to take him down off the gallows, and they bare him away all dead and began to pray St. Elizabeth for him, and anon he arose from death to life tofore them all.

The Child Fallen into a Pit

A child of four years old was fallen into a pit and drowned, and a man came for to take water and espied the dead child, and he was drawn out, and then they vowed him to St. Elizabeth, and he was anon re-established to his first life and health.

The Drowned Swimmer

There was one Frederick, a mariner, which was conning in swimming, and on a time baigned him in a water, and he mocked a poor man which St. Elizabeth had enlumined, and given again to him his sight. And the poor man said: This holy lady which hath healed me will avenge me on thee, so that thou shalt never come out of the water but dead, and anon the swimmer lost all his strength and might not help himself but sank down to the bottom like a stone, and was drowned, and then was drawn out of the water, and forthwith some of his friends avowed him to St. Elizabeth and she gave to him his life again.

The Cripple

There was a man named Dietrich which was grievously vexed in his knees and in his thighs, so that he might not go, and he avowed that he should go to the tomb of St. Elizabeth, and was eight days on going thither, and abode there a month, and had no remedy, and went again to his house. And then he saw in his sleep a woman spring water on him, and awoke withal and was angry, and said to her: Wherefore hast thou awaked me and cast water on me?

And then she said: I have wet thee, and this wetting shall do to thee profit and ease.

And then anon he arose all whole and gave thankings to God and to St. Elizabeth.

Then let us pray to her that she pray for us, for such things as shall be for the most profit of our souls. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. EUSTACE

Chapter 161 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Eustace, which first was named Placidus, was master of the chivalry of Trajan, the emperor, and was right busy in the works of mercy, but he was a worshipper of idols. And he had a wife of the same rite, and also of the deeds of mercy, of whom he had two sons, which he did do nourish after his estate. And because he was ententive to the works of mercy, he deserved to be enlumined to the way of truth.

THE HART APPEARS TO PLACIDUS

So on a day, as he was on hunting, he found an herd of harts, among whom he saw one more fair and greater than the other, which departed from the company and sprang into the thickest of the forest. And the other knights ran after the other harts, but Placidus siewed him with all his might, and enforced to take him. And when the hart saw that he followed with all his power, at the last he went up on a high rock.

And Placidus, approaching nigh, thought in his mind how he might take him. And as he beheld and considered the hart diligently, he saw between his horns the form of the holy cross shining more clear than the sun, and the image of Christ, which by the mouth of the hart, like as sometime Balaam by the ass, spake to him, saying: Placidus, wherefore followest me hither? I am appeared to thee in this beast for the grace of thee. I am Jesu Christ, whom thou honourest ignorantly, thy alms be ascended up tofore me, and therefore I come hither so that by this hart that thou huntest I may hunt thee.

And some other say that this image of Jesu Christ which appeared between the horns of the hart said these words. And when Placidus heard that, he had great dread, and descended from his horse to the ground. And an hour after he came to himself, and arose from the ground, and said: Rehearse again this that thou hast said, and I shall believe thee.

And then our Lord said: I am Jesu Christ that formed heaven and earth, which made the light to increase, and divided it from darkness, and established time, days, and hours. Which formed men of the slime of the earth, which appeared on earth in flesh for the health of the lineage human, which was crucified, dead, buried, and arose the third day.

And when Placidus heard this, he fell down again to the earth, and said: I believe, Lord, that thou art he that made all things, and convertest them that err.

And our Lord said to him: If thou believest, go to the bishop of the city and do thee be baptized.

And Placidus said to him: Lord, wilt thou that I hide this thing from my wife and my sons?

And our Lord said to him: Tell to them that they also make them clean with thee. And see that thou come again to-morrow hither that I appear again to thee, and may show to thee that which shall come hereafter to thee.

And when he was come home to his house, and had told this thing to his wife in their bed, she cried: My Lord! and said: And I saw him this night that is passed, and he said to me: "To-morn thou, thy husband, and thy sons, shall come to me." And now I know that it was Christ.

Then they went to the bishop of Rome at midnight, which baptized

them with great joy, and named Placidus, Eustace, and his wife, Theospis.

EUSTACEÂ□□S SECOND VISION OF THE HART

And on the morn Eustace went to hunt as he did tofore, and when he came nigh to the place he departed his knights as for to find venison. And anon he saw in the place the form of the first vision, and anon he fell to the ground tofore the figure, and said: Lord, I pray thee to show to me that which thou hast promised to me thy servant.

To whom our Lord said: Eustace, thou that art blessed, which hast taken the washing of grace, for now thou hast surmounted the devil, which had deceived thee, and trodden him under foot, now thy faith shall appear. The devil now, because thou hast forsaken him, is armed cruelly against thee, and it behoveth thee to suffer many things and pains. For to have the crown of victory thou must suffer much, because to humble thee from the high vanity of the world, and shalt afterward be enhanced in spiritual riches, thou therefore fail not, ne look not unto thy first glory. For thee behoveth that by temptations thou be another Job, and when thou shalt so be humbled, I shall come to thee, and shall restore thee unto thy first joy. Say to me now whether thou wilt now suffer and take temptations, or in the end of thy life?

And Eustace said to him: Lord, if it so behoveth command that temptation to come now, but I beseech thee to grant to me the virtue of patience. To whom our Lord said: Be thou constant, for my grace shall keep your souls. Then our Lord ascended into heaven, and Eustace returned home and showed all this to his wife.

EUSTACE IS TESTED BY CALAMITIES

He Loses His Estates to Pestilence and Rapine

After this, a few days, the pestilence assailed his servants and his knights, and slew them all, and in a little while after, all his horses

and his beasts died suddenly, and after this, some that had been his fellows, seeing his depredation, entered into his house by night and robbed him, and bare away gold and silver, and despoiled him of all other things. And he, his wife, and children thanked God, and fled away by night all naked, and because they doubted shame, they fled into Egypt. And all his great possessions came to nought by ravin of wicked people. Then the king and all the senators sorrowed much for the master of the chivalry, which was so noble, because they might hear no tidings of him.

His Wife Is Seized by the Master of a Ship

And as they went they approached the sea, and found a ship, and entered into it for to pass, and the master of the ship saw the wife of Eustace was right fair, and desired much for to have her. And when they were passed over, he demanded his reward for their freight, and they had not whereof to pay, so that the master of the ship commanded that the wife should be holden and retained for his hire, and would have her with him. And when Eustace heard that, he gainsaid it long. Then the master of the ship commanded his mariners to cast him in the sea, so that he might have his wife, and when Eustace saw that, he left his wife much sorrowfully, and took his two children and went weeping, and said: Alas! woe am I for you, for your mother is delivered to a strange husband.

His Children Are Taken from Him

And thus sorrowing he and his children came to a river, and for the great abundance of water he durst not pass that river with his both sons at once, which were then young. But at the last he left one of them on the brink of the river, and bare over that other on his shoulders, and when he had passed the river, he set down on the ground the child that he had borne over, and hasted him for to fetch that other that he had left on that other side of the river. And when he was in the midst of the water, there came a wolf and took the child that he had borne over, and fled withal to the woods.

And he then, all despaired of him, went for to fetch that other, and

as he went, there came a great lion and bare away that other child, so that he might not retain him, for he was in the middle of the river.

And then he began to weep and draw his hair, and would have drowned himself in the water if the divine purveyance had not letted him.

And the herdmen and ploughmen saw the lion bearing the child all alive, and they followed him with their dogs, so that by divine grace the lion left the child all safe without hurt. And other ploughmen cried and followed the wolf, and with their staves and falchions delivered the child whole and sound from his teeth without hurt. And so both the herdmen and ploughmen were of one village, and nourished these children among them.

And Eustace knew nothing thereof, but weeping and sorrowing, saying to himself: Alas! woe is me! for tofore this mishap I shone in great wealth like a tree, but now I am naked of all things. Alas! I was accustomed to be accompanied with a great multitude of knights, and I am now alone, and am not suffered to have my sons. O Lord, I remember me that thou saidest to me: "Thee behoveth to be tempted as Job was," but I see that in me is more done to than was to Job. For he lost all his possessions, but he had a dunghill to sit on, but to me is nothing left, he had friends which had pity on him, and I have none but wild beasts, which have borne away my sons. To him was his wife left, and my wife is taken from me and delivered to another. O good Lord, give thou rest to my tribulations, and keep thou so my mouth that mine heart decline not into words of malice, and be cast from thy visage.

And thus saying and wailing, in great weeping, went into a street of the town, and there was hired for to keep the fields of the men of that town, and so kept them fifteen years. His sons were nourished in another town, and knew not that they were brethren; and our Lord kept the wife of Eustace, so that the strange man had not to do with her ne touched her, but died and ended his life.

He Is Brought Back into the Emperorâ□□s Service

In that time the emperor and the people were much tormented of their enemies, and then they remembered of Placidus, how he many times had fought nobly against them, for whom the emperor was much sorrowful, and sent out, into divers parts, many knights to seek him, and promised to them that found him much riches and great honour. And two knights, which had been under him in chivalry, came into the same street where he dwelled, and anon as Placidus saw them, he knew them, and then he remembered his first dignity and began to be heavy, and said: Lord, I beseech thee to grant to me that I may sometime see my wife, for as for my sons I know well that they be devoured of wild beasts.

And then a voice came to him and said: Eustace, have thou good affiance, for anon thou shalt recover thine honour, and shalt have thy wife and thy children.

And anon he met with these knights, and they knew him not, but anon demanded of him if he knew any strange man named Placidus, and had a wife and two children. And he said nay, yet he had these home to his hostel, and he served them.

And when he remembered of his first estate he might not hold him from weeping. Then he went out and washed his face and returned for to serve them. And they considered and said that one to that other, how that this man resembleth much unto him that we seek.

And that other answered: Certainly he is like unto him; now let us see if he have a wound in his head that he gat in a battle.

Then they beheld, and saw the sign of the wound, and then they wist well it was he that they sought. Then they arose and kissed him and demanded of his wife and children, and he said that his sons were dead, and his wife was taken away from him. And then the neighbours ran for to hear this thing, because the knights told and recounted his first glory and his virtue. And they said to him the

commandment of the emperor, and clad him with noble vestments. Then after the journey of fifteen days they brought him to the emperor. And when he heard of his coming he ran anon against him, and when he saw him he kissed him. Then Eustace recounted tofore them all by order that which had happened to him. And he was re-established unto the office to be again master of the chivalry, and was constrained to do the office as he did tofore.

He Is Reunited with His Family

And then he counted how many knights there were, and saw there were but few as to the regard of their enemies, and commanded that all the young men should be gathered in the cities and towns, and it happed that the country where his sons were nourished should make and send two men of arms. Then all the inhabitants of that country ordained these two young men, his sons, most convenable above all others for to go with the master of the chivalry; and then when the master saw these young men of noble form and adorned honestly with good manners, they pleased him much and ordained that they should be with the first of his table.

Then he went thus to the battle, and when he had subdued his enemies to him, he made his host to rest three days in a town, where his wife dwelt and kept a poor hostelry. And these two young men, by the purveyance of God were lodged in the habitation of their mother, without knowing what she was.

And on a time about midday, as they spake that one to that other of their infancy, and their mother, which was there, hearkened what they said much attentively, so that the greater said to the less: When I was a child, I remember none other thing, save that my father which was master of the knights, and my mother, which was right fair, had two sons, that is to say, me and another, younger than I, and was much fair. And they took us and went out of their house by night, and entered into a ship for to go I wot not whither. And when we went out of the ship our mother was left in the ship, I wot not in what manner, but my father bare me and my brother, and sore

weeping. And when he came to a water he passed over with my younger brother, and left me on the bank of the water, and when he returned a wolf came and bare away my brother. And ere my father might come to me, a great lion issued out of the forest, and took me up and bare me, to the wood, but the herdmen that saw him took me from the mouth of the lion, and was nourished in such a town as ye know well, ne I could never know what happened to my brother, nor where he is.

And when the younger heard this he began to weep and say: Forsooth, like as I hear, I am thy brother, for they that nourished me said that they had taken me from a wolf. And then they began to embrace and kiss each other, and weep.

And when their mother had heard all this tbing, she considered long in herself if they were her two sons, because they had said by order what was befallen them. And the next day following she went to the master of the chivalry and required him, saying: Sir, I pray thee command that I may be brought again to my country, for I am of the country of the Romans, and here I am a stranger.

And in saying these words she saw in him signs, and knew by them that he was her husband, and then she might no longer forbear, but fell down at his feet and said to him: Sir, I pray thee to tell of thy first estate, for I ween that thou art Placidus, master of the knights, which otherwise art called Eustace, whom the Saviour of the world hath converted, and hast suffered such temptation and such, and I that am thy wife was taken from thee in the sea, which nevertheless have been kept from all corruption, and haddest of me two sons Agapitus and Theospitus.

And Eustace hearing this, and diligently considered and beheld her, anon knew that she was his wife, and wept for joy and kissed her; and glorified much our Lord God, which comforteth the discomforted. And then said his wife: Sir, where be our sons? And he said that they were slain of wild beasts, and recounted to her how he had lost them.

And she said: Let us give thankings to God, for I suppose that like as God hath given to us grace each to find other, so shall he give us grace to recover our sons.

And he said: I have told thee that they be devoured of wild beasts.

And she then said: I sat yesterday in a garden and heard two younglings thus and thus expounding their infancy, and I believe that they be our sons, demand them and they shall tell to thee the truth.

Then Eustace called them, and heard their infancy and knew that they were his sons. Then he embraced them and the mother also, and kissed them also. Then all the host enjoyed strongly of the finding of his wife and children, and for the victory of the barbarians.

MARTYRDOM

And when he was returned, Trajan was then dead, and Adrian succeeded in the empire, which was worst in all felonies. And as well for the victory as for the finding of his wife and children, he received them much honourably and did do make a great dinner and feast. And on the next day after, he went to the temple of the idols, for to sacrifice for the victory of the barbarians. And then the emperor seeing that Eustace would not do sacrifice, neither for the victory, ne for that he had found his wife and children, warned and commanded him that he should do sacrifice.

To whom Eustace said: I adore and do sacrifice to our Lord Jesu Christ, and only serve him.

And then the emperor, replenished with ire, put him his wife and his sons in a certain place, and did to go to them a right cruel lion, and the lion ran to them and inclined his head to them, like as he had worshipped them, and departed.

Then the emperor did do make a fire under an ox of brass or copper, and when it was fire-hot he commanded that they should be put therein all quick and alive. And then the saints prayed and commended them unto our Lord, and entered into the ox, and there yielded up their spirits unto Jesu Christ.

And the third day after, they were drawn out tofore the emperor, and were found all whole and not touched of the fire, ne as much as an hair of them was burnt, ne none other thing on them. And then the Christian men took the bodies of them, and laid them in a right noble place honourably, and made over them an oratory. And they suffered death under Adrian the emperor, which began about the year one hundred and twenty in the calends of November.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE EXALTATION OF THE HOLY CROSS

Chapter 137 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

The exaltation of the Holy Cross is said, because that on this day the Holy Cross and faith were greatly enhanced. And it is to be understood that, tofore the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, the tree of the cross was a tree of filth, for the crosses were made of vile trees and of trees without fruit, for all that was planted on the mount of Calvary bare no fruit. It was a foul place, for it was the place of the torment of thieves, it was dark, for it was in a dark place and without any beauty. It was the tree of death, for men were put there to death, It was also the tree of stench, for it was planted among the carrions. And after the passion the cross was much enhanced, for the vilety was transported into preciousness.

Of the which the blessed S. Andrew saith: O precious Holy Cross, God saw thee. His barrenness was turned into fruit, as it is said in the Canticles: I shall ascend up into palm tree, et cetera. His ignobility or unworthiness was turned into sublimity and height.

The cross, that was torment of thieves, is now borne in front of the emperors, his darkness is turned into light and clearness; whereof Chrysostom saith: The cross and the wounds shall be more shining than the rays of the sun at the judgment. His death is converted into perdurability of life, whereof it is said in the preface that, from whence that the death grew, from thence the life resourded, and the stench is turned into sweetness, Canticorum I.

EMPEROR ERACLIUS' DEFEAT OF KING COSDROE OF PERSIA

This exaltation of the Holy Cross is solemnised and hallowed solemnly of the church, for the faith is in it much enhanced. For the

year of our Lord six hundred and fifteen, our Lord suffered his people much to be tormented by the cruelty of the paynims. And Cosdroe, king of the Persians, subdued to his empire all the realms of the world; and he came into Jerusalem and was afeard and adrad of the sepulchre of our Lord, and returned, but he bare with him the part of the Holy Cross that S. Helena had left there. And then he would be worshipped of all the people as a god, and did do make a tower of gold and of silver, wherein precious stones shone, and made therein the images of the sun and of the moon and of the stars, and made that by subtle conduits water to be hid, and to come down in manner of rain. And in the last stage he made horses to draw chariots round about, like as they had moved the tower, and made it to seem as it had thundered. And thus this cursed man abode in this temple, and delivered his realm to his son, and did do set the cross of our Lord by him, and commanded that he should be called god, of all the people. And as it is read in *libro de mitrali officio:* The said Cosdroe, resident in his throne as a father, set the tree of the cross on his right side instead of the sun, and a cock on the left side instead of the Holy Ghost, and commanded that he should be called father.

And then Eraclius the emperor assembled a great host and came for to fight with the son of Cosdroe by the river of Danube; and then it pleased to either prince that each of them should fight one against that other upon the bridge, and he that should vanquish and overcome his adversary should be prince of the empire without hurting either of both hosts, and so it was ordained and sworn, and that whosomever should help his prince should have forthwith his legs and arms cut off and to be plunged and cast into the river. And then Eraclius commended him all to God and to the Holy Cross with all the devotion that he might, and then they fought long. And at the last our Lord gave the victory to Eraclius and subdued to him his empire. The host that was contrary, and all the people of Cosdroe, obeyed them to the christian faith, and received the holy baptism.

And Cosdroe knew not the end of the battle, for he was adored and worshipped of all the people as a god, so that no man durst say nay

to him. And then Eraclius came to him, and found him sitting in his siege of gold, and said to him: For as much as after the manner thou hast honoured the tree of the cross, if thou wilt receive baptism and the faith of Jesu Christ, I shall get it to thee, and yet shalt thou hold thy crown and realm with little hostages, and I shall let thee have thy life. And if thou wilt not, I shall slay thee with my sword, and shall smite off thy head.

And when he would not accord thereto, he did anon do smite off his head, and commanded that he should be buried because he had been a king. And he found with him one, his son, of the age of ten years, whom he did do baptize, and lifted him from the font, and left to him the realm of his father; and then did do break that tower, and gave the silver to them of his host, and gave the gold and precious stones for to repair the churches that the tyrant had destroyed, and took the Holy Cross and brought it again to Jerusalem.

And as he descended from the Mount of Olives and would have entered by the gate by which our Saviour went to his passion, on horseback, adorned as a king, suddenly the stones of the gates descended and joined them together in the gate like a wall, and all the people was abashed. And then the angel of our Lord appeared upon the gate, holding the sign of the cross in his hand, and said: When the king of heaven went to his passion by this gate, he was not arrayed like a king, ne on horseback, but came humbly upon an ass, in showing the example of humility, which he left to them that honour him.

And when this was said, he departed and vanished away. Then the emperor took off his hosen and shoes himself, in weeping, and despoiled him of all his clothes in to his shirt, and took the cross of our Lord and bare it much humbly unto the gate. And anon the hardness of the stones felt the celestial commandment and removed anon, and opened and gave entry unto them that entered.

Then the sweet odour that was felt that day when the Holy Cross was taken from the tower of Cosdroe and was brought again to

Jerusalem from so far country and so great space of land, returned in to Jerusalem in that moment and replenished it with all sweetness. Then the right devout king began to say the praisings of the cross in this wise: *O crux splendidior* , et cetera. O cross more shining than all the stars, honoured of the world, right holy and much amiable to all men, which only wert worthy to bear the ransom of the world, sweet tree, sweet nails, sweet iron, sweet spear, bearing the sweet burdens, save thou this present company that is this day assembled in thy laud and praisings.

And thus was the precious tree of the cross re-established in his place, and the ancient miracles renewed. For a dead man was raised to life, and four men taken with the palsy were cured and healed, ten lepers were made clean, and fifteen blind received their sight again. Devils were put out of men, and much people and many were delivered of divers sickness and maladies. Then the emperor did do repair the churches, and gave to them great gifts, and after returned home to his empire.

An Alternative Narrative of the Above

And it is said in the Chronicles that this was done otherwise. For they say that when Cosdroe had taken many realms, he took Jerusalem and Zacharias the patriarch, and bare away the tree of the cross. And as Eraclius would make peace with him, the king Cosdroe sware a great oath that he would never make peace with christian men and Romans if they renied not him that was crucified, and adored the sun. And then Eraclius, which was armed with faith, brought his host against him, and destroyed and wasted the Persians with many battles that he made to them, and made Cosdroe to flee unto the city of Ctesiphont. And at the last Cosdroe had the flux in his belly, and would therefore crown his son king, which was named Medasan, and when Syrois, his oldest son, heard hereof he made alliance with Eraclius, and pursued his father with his noble people, and set him in bonds, and sustained him with bread of tribulation and with water of anguish, and at last he made to shoot arrows at him because he would not believe in God, and so

died. And after this thing he sent to Eraclius, the patriarch, the tree of the cross, and all the prisoners. And Eraclius bare into Jerusalem the precious tree of the cross, and thus it is read in many chronicles; also Siby saith thus of the tree of the cross: That the blessed tree of the cross was three times with the paynims, as it is said in the History Tripartite: O thrice blessed tree on which God was stretched. This peradventure is said for the life of nature, of grace, and of glory, which came of the cross.

MIRACLES OF THE CROSS

The Jew who Smote the Image of Jesus

At Constantinople a Jew entered into the church of S. Sophia and considered that he was there alone, and saw an image of Jesu Christ, and took his sword and smote the image in the throat, and anon the blood gushed out and sprang in the face and on the head of the Jew. And he then was afeard, and took the image and cast it into a pit, and anon fled away. And it happed that a Christian man met him and saw him all bloody, and said to him: From whence comest thou? Thou hast slain some man. And he said: I have not. The Christian man said: Verily, thou hast committed some homicide, for thou art all besprongen with the blood. And the Jew said: Verily, the God of Christian men is great, and the faith of him is firm and approved in all things; I have smitten no man, but I have smitten the image of Jesu Christ, and anon issued blood of his throat; and then the Jew brought the Christian man to the pit and there they drew out that holy image. And yet is seen on this day the wound in the throat of the image; and the Jew anon became a good Christian man and was baptized.

The Tortured Crucifix that Bled

In Syria, in the city of Beirout, there was a Christian man which had hired an house for a year and he had set the image of the crucifix by his bed, to which he made daily his prayers, and said his devotions, and at the year's end he removed and took an other house, and forgat and left the image behind him. And it happed that a Jew hired

that same house, and on a day he bade another Jew, one of his neighbours, to dinner, and as they were at meat, it happed to him that was bidden, in looking on the wall, to espy this image which was fixed to the wall, and began to grin at it for despite, and against him that bade him, and also threatened and menaced him because he durst keep in his house the image of Jesus of Nazareth; and that other Jew sware as much as he might that he had never seen it, ne knew not that it was there, and then the Jew feigned as he had been appeased, and after, went straight to the prince of the Jews and accused that Jew of that which he had seen in his house. Then the Jews assembled and came to the house of him and saw the image of Jesu Christ, and they took that Jew and beat him and did to him many injuries, and cast him out half dead of their synagogue; and anon they defiled the image with their feet, and renewed in it all the torments of the passion of our Lord, and when they pierced his side with the spear, blood and water issued abundantly, insomuch that they filled a vessel which they set thereunder. And then the Jews were abashed and bare this blood into their synagogue, and all the sick men and malades that were guerished and made whole. And then the Jews told and recounted things by order to the bishop of the country, and all they with one will received baptism in the faith of Jesu Christ.

And the bishop put this blood in ampuls of crystal and of glass for to be kept, and then he called the Christian man that had left it in the house, and enquired of him who had so fair an image. And he said that Nicodemus had made it, and when he died he left it to Gamaliel, and Gamaliel to Zaccheus, and Zaccheus to James, and James to Simon, and had been thus in Jerusalem unto the destruction of the city. And from thence it was borne into the realm of Agrippa, of Christian men, and from thence it was brought again into my country, and it was left to me by my parents by rightful heritage. And this was done in the year of our Lord seven hundred and fifty. And then all the Jews hallowed their synagogues into churches, and thereof cometh the custom that churches be hallowed, for tofore that time the altars were but hallowed only. And for this miracle the church hath ordained that the fifth kalends of

December, or as it is read in another place the fifth ides of November, should be the memory of the passion of our Lord, wherefore at Rome the church is hallowed in the honour of our Saviour, whereas is kept an ampul with the same blood. And there a solemn feast is kept and done, and there is proved the right great virtue of the cross, unto the paynims, and to the misbehaved men in all things.

The Jew's Vision of Satan's Court

And S. Gregory recordeth in the third book of his dialogues that when Andrew, bishop of the city of Fundana, suffered a holy nun to dwell with him, the fiend the enemy began to imprint in his heart the beauty of her in such wise that he thought in his bed wicked and cursed things. And on a day a Jew came to Rome, and when he saw that the day failed and he might find no lodging, he went that night and abode in the temple of Apollo. And because he doubted of the sacrilege of the place, howbeit that he had no faith in the cross, yet he marked and garnished him with the sign of the cross. Then at midnight when he awoke, he saw a company of evil spirits, which went tofore one like as he had some authority of puissance above the others by subjection, and then he saw him sit in the midst among the others, and began to enquire the causes and deeds of every each of these evil spirits which obeyed him, and he would know what evil every each had done.

But Gregory passeth the manner of this vision because of shortness, but we find semblably in the lives of Fathers that as a man entered in a temple of the idols, he saw the devil sitting and all his meiny about him. And one of these wicked spirits came and adored him, and he demanded of him: From whence comest thou? And he said: I have been in such a province, and have moved great wars, and made many tribulations, and have shed much blood, and am come to tell it to thee. And Satan said to him: In what time hast thou done this? And he said: In thirty days. And Satan said: Why hast thou been so long thereabout? and said to them that stood by him: Go ye and beat him all to-lash him.

Then came the second and worshipped him, and said: Sire, I have been in the sea, and have moved great winds and torments, and drowned many ships and slain many men. And Satan said: How long hast thou been about this? And he said: Twenty-two days. And Satan said: How! hast thou done no more in this time? And he commanded that he should be beaten.

And the third came and said: I have been in a city, and have moved strifes and debates in a wedding, and have shed much blood, and have slain the husband, and am come to tell thee. And Satan asked: In what time hast thou done this? And he said: In ten days. And he said: Hast thou done no more in that time? And commanded them that were about him to beat him also.

Then came the fourth and said: I have been in the wilderness forty years, and have laboured about a monk, and unnethe at the last I have thriven, and made him fall in the sin of the flesh. And when Satan heard that, he arose from his seat and kissed him, and took his crown off his head and set it on his head, and made him to sit with him, and said: Thou hast done a great thing, and hast laboured more than all the others.

And this may be the manner of the vision that S. Gregory leaveth. When each had said, one started up in the middle of them all, and said he had moved Andrew against the nun, and had moved the fourth part of his flesh against her in temptation, and thereto that yesterday he drew so much his mind on her that, in the hour of evensong he gave to her in japing a buff, and said plainly, that she might hear it, that he would sin with her. Then the master commanded him that he should perform that he had begun, and for to make him to sin he should have a singular victory and reward among all the others.

And then commanded he that they should go look who that was that lay in the temple; and they went and looked, and anon they were ware that he was marked with the sign of the cross. And they being

afeard, cried and said: Verily, this is an empty vessel, alas! alas! he is marked. And with this voice all the company of the wicked spirits vanished away. And then the Jew, all amoved, came to the bishop and told to him all by order what was happened. And when the bishop heard this he wept strongly, and made to void all the women out of his house. And then he baptized the Jew.

The Nun and the Lettuce

S. Gregory rehearseth in his dialogues that a nun entered into a garden and saw a lettuce, and coveted that, and forgat to make the sign of the cross, and bit it gluttonously, and anon fell down and was ravished of a devil. And there came to her S. Equicius, and the devil began to cry and to say: What have I done? I sat upon a lettuce and she came and bit me. And anon the devil issued out by the commandment of the holy man of God.

The Cross Replaces the Arms of Serapis

It is read in the History Scholastic that the paynims had painted on a wall the arms of Serapis, and Theodosius did do put them out, and made to be painted in the same place the sign of the cross. And when the paynims and priests of the idols saw that, anon they did them to be baptized, saying that it was given them to understand of their elders that, those arms should endure till that such a sign were made there in which were life. And they have a letter of which they use that they call holy, and had a form that they said it exposed, and signified life perdurable.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS, FIRST BEGINNER OF THE FRIARS MINOR

Chapter 149 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Francis, servant and friend of Almighty God, was born in the city of Assisi, and was made a merchant unto the twenty-fifth year of his age, and wasted his time by living vainly, whom our Lord corrected by the scourge of sickness, and suddenly changed him into another man, so that he began to shine by the spirit of prophecy. For on a time he with other men of Perugia was taken prisoner, and were put in a cruel prison, where all the others wailed and sorrowed, and he only was glad and enjoyed. And when they had reproved him thereof, he answered: Know ye, said he, that I am joyful, for I shall be worshipped as a saint through all the world.

With the Beggars in Rome

On a time he went to Rome because of devotion, and he took off all his clothes and clad him with the clothes of a beggar, and sat among the poor men tofore the church of St. Peter, and as one of them, begged and ate eagerly with them, and much oftener would have done, but the shame of being known of people letted him.

Threatened by the Old Enemy

The old enemy the devil enforced him to let him of his holy purpose, and showed to him a woman monstrous and horribly disfigured, crookbacked and lame, which was in that city, and he said to him if he left not that he had enterprised, he would make him semblable and like unto her. But he was comforted of our Lord, which heard a voice saying to him: Francis, take these bitter things for the sweet, and despise thyself if thou desire to know me.

Among the Lepers

On a time he met a leper whom naturally men abhor, but he remembered him of the word that was said of God, and ran to him and kissed him, and anon the lazar vanished away, wherefore he went to the habitation of the lazars and kissed devoutly their hands, and gave to them money, and let them have no need of such as he might do.

"Repair My House"

On a time he entered into the church of St. Damian for to make his prayers, and the image of Jesu Christ spake unto him and said: Francis, go and repair my house which is all destroyed as thou seest.

And from that hour the soul of him liquefied, and the passion of Jesu Christ was marvellously infixed in his heart. And then he did great pain, and was busy in repairing the church, and sold all that he had, and gave the money thereof to a priest, and he [the priest] durst not receive it for fear of his [St. Francis's] parents and kin. Then he, casting it away tofore the priest as dust, setting not thereby.

The Break with His Father

Wherefore he was taken of his father and bound, and he [Francis] restored to him his money, and resigned also his clothes, and so naked he fled to our Lord, and clad him with hair And then the blessed Francis went unto a simple man, whom he took instead of his father, and prayed him that like as his father doubled on him his curses, that in contrary he should bless him.

Mocked by His Brother

His own brother germane seeing him in a winter time have on him but foul and few clothes, and that he trembled for cold and was entending to his prayers, said to his fellow: Go to Francis and say to him that he sell to thee a pennyworth of his sweat. And when he

heard it he answered with a glad cheer: I will sell it unto my Lord God.

Apostolic Poverty

On a day he heard in the church that which our Lord said to his disciples when he sent them to preach, and anon he addressed him with all his might to do and keep all those things; he did off his hosen and shoon from his feet and clad him with a foul coat, and took a cord for his girdle.

Villain Messenger of God

He went on a time in a snow by a wood, and was taken by thieves, and they demanded him what he was, and he said that he was the messenger of God, and anon they took him and cast him in the snow, saying to him: Lie there, thou villain messenger of God.

FORMATION OF THE FRIARS MINOR

Many noble and unnoble clerks and laymen had despised the world and begun to follow him, and the holy father enseigned and taught them the perfection of the gospel, which was for to be in poverty, and that they should go by the way of simpleness. He wrote then a rule, after the gospel, to himself and his brethren, had and to be had, which Pope Innocent confirmed. And from then forthon he began to spread more ardently the seeds of the Word of God, and went about cities and castles by a fervent and marvellous desire.

The Friar Who Kept Silence

There was a friar which seemed outward of marvellous holiness, and kept silence so straitly that he would not be shriven by words but by signs, and every man praised him as a saint. This holy man Francis came thither and said: Leave ye brethren to praise him, for I shall not yet praise him lest it be by feigntise of the devil, let him be warned to be shriven twice in the week by word and speaking, and if he do it not, this is but temptation of the devil and fraudulous deceit.

And then the friars warned him so to do, and he put his finger to his mouth, and shook his head, and showed that in no wise he would confess him. And anon after he returned again to worldly life as a hound to his vomit, and went out of his order, and finished his life in sinful acts and works.

St. Francis and Leonard

On a time St. Francis was weary of going, and rode upon an ass, and his fellow, one Leonard of Assisi, was also weary of going, and St. Francis began to think thus and to say in himself: His kin and my kin were not like, and incontinent he alighted down, and said to the friar: It appertaineth not to me to ride and thee to go afoot, for thou art more noble than I am. And the friar was abashed, and kneeled down and required pardon.

The Woman Whose Husband Was a Hindrance to Virtue

On a time, as he passed by a place, a noble lady ran so hastily against him that she might not speak for weariness, and he asked of her what she would. And she said: Pray for me, father, for I may not perform the purpose of health which I have begun, for my husband, which letteth me, doth to me many adversities in the service of God.

And he said to her: Go thy way, daughter, for thou shalt have anon comfort of him, and say to thine husband, in God's name and mine, that now is the time of health, and hereafter shall be time of equity and right.

And when she had said so to her husband, the man was suddenly changed and avowed to God continence and chastity.

Prayer for a Fountain

On a time a poor labourer was almost lost in a wood for thirst. and this holy saint impetred a fountain by his prayers.

No Famines During His Lifetime

He said on a time to a friar, that was familiar with him, this secret which was showed to him by the Holy Ghost. There is a servant of God living in the world on this day, for whose sake, as long as he shall live, our Lord shall suffer no famine among the people. But without doubt it is said that, when he was dead all that condition was changed to the contrary, for after his blessed death he appeared to the same friar and said to him: Lo! now is the famine come, which as long as I lived upon earth, our Lord would not suffer to come.

The Table Arrayed and Adorned

On an Easter day the friars Greek that were in desert had laid their table more curiously than in another time, and had made ready the glasses and set them on the board. And when St. Francis saw that he anon withdrew him, and set on his head the hat of a poor man which was there, and bare his staff in his hand, and went out and abode at the gate. And when the friars ate at dinner, he cried at the door that they should give for the love of God an alms to a poor sick man. Then the poor man was called in and entered and sat down alone upon the earth, and set his dish in the dust, which when the friars saw they were ashamed, embarrassed abashed and were sore aghast. And he said to them: I see the table arrayed and adorned, and I know well that it is not for poor men that seek their meat from door to door.

The Riches of Poverty

He loved poverty in himself and in all others, so that he always called poverty his lady, but when he saw one more poor than himself he had thereof envy, and doubted to be overcome of him. On a day he saw a poor woman and he showed her to his fellow and said: The poverty of this woman doth to us shame, and reproveth strongly our poverty, for, for my riches I have chosen my lady poverty, and she shineth more in this woman than in me.

A Sin Against the Poor

When on a time a poor man passed tofore him, and the holy man was moved with inward compassion, his fellow said to him: Though this man be poor, peradventure there is not a richer of his will in all the province.

Then St. Francis said to him anon: Despoil thee of thy coat and give it to the poor man, and knowledge thyself culpable and kneel down to his feet, to whom anon he obeyed and did so.

Three Like Women

On a time three women like of visage and all things, and of habit, entered and met him, and saluted in this manner: Welcome my lady poverty, and anon they vanished away and were no more seen.

A Mortal Battle in Arezzo

On a time as he came to the city of Arezzo, and a mortal battle was moved in the city, this holy man saw within the burgh, on the ground, the devils making joy and were glad. Then he called his fellow named Silvester, and said to him: Go to the gate of the city and command to these devils in God's name, that is Almighty, that they go out of the city.

Then he went hastily and cried strongly: All ye devils depart from hence in the name of God and by the commandment of Francis our Father.

And they went away, and then the citizens anon became to accord.

Sylvester's Vision of the Golden Cross

The foresaid Sylvester when he was yet a secular priest saw in his sleep a golden cross issue out of the mouth of St. Francis, of the which the over end touched heaven and the arms of the cross stretched forth from that one to that other part of the world. Then this priest had compunction and left the world, and followed perfectly this holy man Francis.

Francis is Tempted by the Devil

And on a time as this holy man was in prayer, the devil called him thrice by his own name. And when the holy man had answered him, he said: None in this world is so great a sinner, but if he convert him our Lord would pardon him, but who that slayeth himself by hard penance shall never find mercy.

And anon this holy man knew by the revelation the fallacy and deceit of the fiend, how he would have withdrawn him for to do well.

And when the devil saw that he might not prevail against him, he tempted him by grievous temptation of the flesh, and when this holy servant of God felt that, he despoiled him of his clothes and beat himself right hard with a hard cord, saying: Thus, brother ass, it behoveth thee to remain and to be beaten.

And when the temptation departed not, he went out and plunged himself in the snow all naked, and made seven great balls of snow and purposed to have taken them into his body and said: This greatest is thy wife, and of these four, two be thy daughters, and two thy sons, and the other twain, that one thy chamberer, and that other thy varlet or yeoman; haste thee and clothe them, for they all die for cold, and if thy business that thou hast about them grieve thee sore, then serve our Lord perfectly.

And anon the devil departed from them all confused, and St. Francis returned again into his cell glorifying God.

An Interrupted Visit with a Cardinal

And as he dwelled on a time with Leo the cardinal of St. Cross, in a night the devils came to him and beat him right grievously. Then he called his fellow and said to him: These be devils, jailers of our Lord, whom he sendeth to punish the excesses, but I can remember me of none offences that I have done, but by the mercy of God I have washed them away by satisfaction. But peradventure he hath sent

me them because he will not suffer me to fall, because I dwell in the courts of great lords, which thing peradventure engendereth not good suspection to my right poor brethren, which suppose I abound in delices. And early in the morning he arose and departed thence.

Devils on the Roof

On a time, as he was in his prayers, he saw upon the covering of the house assemblies and companies of devils which ran hither and thither with great noise, and he went out, and signed him with the sign of the cross, and said: I say to you in the name of Almighty God that ye devils do to my body all that is suffered to you to do, and I shall suffer it patiently. For I have no greater enemy than my body, and ye shall avenge me of mine adversary, whiles ye take on it vengeance by my life. Then they vanished away all confused.

The Humility of St. Francis

There was a friar which was fellow of St. Francis was on a time ravished, and saw in spirit the glorious place in heaven, wherein he saw, among other seats, a right noble seat, shining of more noble glory than all the others. And as he marvelled for whom this noble seat was kept, he heard that it was said that this seat belonged sometime to one of the princes that fell, and is now made ready to the meek and humble Francis.

And when St. Francis issued from his prayers, that friar demanded him: Father, what weenest thou of thyself? And he said: I ween that I am greatest of all sinners. And anon the spirit came into the heart of the friar and said: Behold what was the vision that thou sawest, for humility shall lift up the most meek man unto the seat lost by pride.

He Receives the Stigmata

This holy man St. Francis saw in a vision above him, Seraphin crucified, the which emprinted in him the signs of his crucifying, that him seemed that he was crucified, and that in his hands, his feet,

and in his side, him seemed were the sign of the wounds of the crucifying, but he did hide these tokens as much as he might, that no man should see them. And yet nevertheless some saw them in his life, and at his death they were seen of many, and were showed by many miracles that those signs were true.

Of which miracles twain shall suffice for to be set here.

There was a man named Rogier, and was in Apulia tofore the image of St. Francis, and began to think and say: May this be true that this man was so ennobled by such miracle, or was this an illusion or an invention dissimuled of his brethren the friars? And as he thought this, he heard suddenly a sound like as a quarel had been shot out of an arbalaste or a crossbow, and he felt him grievously hurt in his left hand, but there appeared no hurt in his glove, and then he took off his glove, and saw in the palm of his hand a wound as it had been of an arrow, out of which wound there issued so great pain of ache and burning, that almost he died for sorrow and pain.

And then he repented him, and said that he believed right verily the signs and tokens of St. Francis; and when he had prayed by two days St. Francis by his holy signs and stigmata, he was anon delivered of his pain and made all whole.

In the realm of Castile there was a man devout to St. Francis which went on a time to compline to the church of St. Francis. And men lay in await for to slay him, and instead of another man he was taken by error and ignorance, and was wounded and left as half dead; and after, the cruel murderer stuck his sword in his throat, and left it therein, and might not draw it out, but went his way.

And then men cried and ran hither and thither, and the man was bewailed like as he had been dead. And when they rang to matins at midnight at the church of the friars, the wife of the man began to cry: Arise up, sire, and go to matins, for the bell calleth thee.

And anon he lifted up his hand to show that some man should take

away the sword from his throat, and anon in the sight of them all the sword sprang out afar as it had been thrown of a strong champion, and anon the man arose perfectly whole, and said that St. Francis came to him and "joined his stigmatas to my wounds, and anointed them with the sweetness of his signs and sewed them together marvellously by his touching. And when he would have gone, I showed him that he should take away the sword for else I should not con speak, and anon he took it out, and threw it away far from him, and healed me with touching my throat with his signs.â□□

No Friars To Be Bishops or Prelates

The two clerks, great luminaries of the world, that is to say St. Dominic and St. Francis, were in the city of Rome tofore the Lord Hostience, which afterward was pope of Rome. And this bishop said to them: Wherefore make ye not of your friars bishops and prelates, which should prevail more by teaching and example giving? And there was long contention between them who should first answer, and humility overcame Francis that he would not speak tofore that other, and then St. Dominic humbly obeyed and said: Sire, our brethren be lifted up in good degree if they know it, and I shall never suffer to my power that ever they shall hope to have any higher dignity.

After that answered St. Francis: Sire, my brethren be called minors, because they would not be made greater.

He Called All Beasts His Brethren

And the blessed St. Francis full of right great simplicity admonished and warned all creatures to love their creator. He preached to birds and was heard of them, they suffered him to touch them, and without licence they would not return ne flee from him. And on a time when he preached, the swallows chittered and sang, and anon by his commandment they were still.

There was also, on a time, a bird on a fig-tree beside his cell which sang oft full sweetly. And St. Francis put forth his hand and called

that bird, and anon the bird obeyed and came upon his hand. And he said to her, Sing my sister and praise thy Lord, and then anon she sang, and departed not till she had licence.

He spared to touch lights, lamps, and candles, because he would not defile them with his hands. He went honourably upon the stones for the worship of him that was called Stone. He gathered the small worms out of the way because they should not be trodden with the feet of them that passed by. He commanded in winter to give honey unto bees, that they should not perish for hunger. He called all beasts his brethren. He was replenished of marvellous joy for the love of his Creator. He beheld the sun, the moon, and the stars, and summoned them to the love of their Maker. He defended for to make him a great crown, saying: I will that my simple brethren have part in my head.

The Secular Man's Vision of St. Francis

There was a secular man which saw St. Francis, the servant of God, preaching at St. Severin's, and saw by revelation of God, that St. Francis was stretched on a cross made of two clear swords, of which that one came from his head to his feet, and that other stretched from that one hand to that other, so that he never had seen such a demonstrance. Then he was moved in his heart, and entered into the order, and finished goodly his life.

His Eyes

On a time, as St. Francis was sick on his eyes for continual weeping, his brethren said to him that he should refrain him from weeping, and he answered: The visitation of the light perdurable is not to be put away for the light that we have here with the flies. And when his brethren constrained him to take a medicine for his eyes, and the surgeon held a burning iron in his hand, the blessed Francis said: My brother fire, be thou to me in this hour debonair and curable: I pray to our Lord that made thee, that thou attemper my heat.

And then he made the sign of the cross against the fire, and the fiery iron was put in his tender flesh from his ear unto his eyelids, and he felt no pain.

He Changes Water into Wine

He was strongly sick in the desert of St. Urban, and when he felt that nature failed in him he asked for to drink wine, and there was none. And they brought to him water, and he blessed it and made the sign of the cross thereon, and it was converted and turned into right good wine. And the holy man gat of our Lord that which the poverty of the desert might not get. And as soon as he had tasted it, he became strong and was all whole.

True Words

He had liefer hear blame of himself than praising, and for because that the people praised in him anything of merit of holiness, he commanded to some brother to say to him in his ear some villainy in blaming him and defouling. And when such a brother, so constrained against his will, called him villain merchant, and unprofitable fool, then was he glad and blessed him, and said: God bless thee, for thou sayest right very true words, and this thing appertaineth to me for to hear.

His Refusal to Wield Authority

And this holy St. Francis would never be more master ne governor, but he would be more subject, ne so willingly command as obey. And therefore he left for to be general, and demanded to be under the warden, to whose will he always submitted himself in all things. He promised always obedience to the friar with whom he went, and kept it.

Dealing with the Disobedient

When a friar had done something against the rule of obedience, and had sign of penance, yet this holy St. Francis, for to fear others,

commanded to cast the hood of him into the fire, and when it had been a while in the fire, he commanded to take it out and give it again to the friar, and the hood was taken out of the fire without hurt.

Singing with the Birds

He went on a time by the morass of Venice and found there a great multitude of birds singing and he said to his fellows: Our sisters, these birds, give laud to their Maker, let us go in the middle of them, and sing we our hours canonical to our Lord.

And they entered in among them and they moved not, but because they might not hear each other for the chittering and noise of birds he said: My sister birds, cease your songs till we have yielded unto our Lord due praisings. And then they held them still, and when they had finished their lauds, he gave to them licence to sing again, and anon they reprised their song after their custom.

The Knight's Last Confession

He was on a time harboured with a knight, and St. Francis said to him: Brother, fair host, agree to that I shall say to thee, confess thy sins, for thou shalt soon eat in another place. And anon he granted that to him, and ordained for his meiny, and took penance of health. And also soon as they went to the table the host died suddenly.

He Preaches to the Birds

On a time he found a great multitude of birds, and then he said to them: My brethren, ye ought strongly to praise and give laud to your Maker which hath clad you with feathers and hath given to you pens for to fly and hath granted you the purity of the air and governed you without charge or business.

And the birds turned their beaks or bills to him and spread their wings, and stretched their necks and addressed their heads and beheld him intently. And he passed forth by the middle of them so

nigh that he touched them with his coat, and none of them arose out from his place till he gave to them leave that they flew together.

The Swallows Let Him Speak

On a time when he preached at the castle Almarye, and he might not be heard for the swallows which made their nests, to whom he said: My sister swallows, it is time that I speak, for ye have said enough, be ye now still till the word of God be accomplished. And they obeyed and were still anon.

The Purse and the Serpent

And as this holy man St. Francis passed through Apulia, he found in his way a purse full of money, and when his fellow saw it, they would have taken it for to have given it to the poor people, but he would not suffer him in no manner, and said to him: Son, it appertaineth not to thee to take the goods of others.

And when his fellow hasted to take it St. Francis prayed a little, and after, commanded him to take the purse, which then found therein a great adder, instead of money. And when the friar saw that he began to doubt, but he would obey and took the purse in his hands, and there sprang out anon a serpent venomous. And then St. Francis said to him: Money is none other thing to the servant of God but the devil, which is a serpent venomous.

A Friar Grievously Tempted

There was a friar grievously tempted, and he began to think that if he had anything written with the hand of their father St. Francis, that that temptation should be chased away anon, but he durst in no wise discover this thing. On a time St. Francis called him and said: "Son, bring to me parchment and ink, for I will write something praising to God." And when he had written he said: "Take this charter and keep it unto the day of thy death diligently." And anon all his temptation went away.

And the same friar, when St. Francis lay sick, began to think: Our Father approacheth the death, and if I might have, after his death, his coat I should be greatly comforted. And after this the saint called him and said: I give to thee this my coat; if thou have thereto, after my death, plain right.

The Capon and the Fish

He was lodged on a time in Alexandria, in Lombardy, with an honest man, which demanded him, if for the observance of the gospel he should eat of all that which was set tofore him, and he consented to the devotion of the host; and then the host did do make ready a capon of seven years old. And as they ate there came an untrue man which demanded alms for the love of God, and anon when this blessed man heard that blessed name, he sent to him a member of the capon, and the cursed man kept it. And on the morn when the holy man preached, he showed that piece of the capon, and said, Lo! see here what flesh this friar eateth whom ye honour as a saint, for he gave it to me yester even.

But this piece of the capon was seen of all the people as it were fish, and that man was blamed of all the people, and said that he was mad, and when he understood it, he was ashamed and demanded pardon; and when this man came again to his good thought, the flesh returned again to his own kind and form.

Eating on the Floor

On a time as he sat at the table, and collation was made of the poverty of the Blessed Virgin our Lady, anon St. Francis arose and began to weep and sob sorrowfully, so that his visage was all wet of tears, and began to eat the remnant of his bread upon the ground.

Reverence for the Priesthood

He would also that right great reverence should be done to the hands of priests, to whom was given power to sacre the blessed sacrament of our Lord. And then he said oft: If it happed me to meet

any saint coming from heaven, and also a poor priest, I would first go kiss the priest's hands, and would say to the saint: Holy saint, abide a while, for the hands of this priest have handled the son of life, and hath performed a thing above humanity.

HIS DEATH

He was ennobled in his life by many miracles, for the bread that was brought to him to bless gave health to many sick men. He converted the water into wine, of which a sick man anon tasted and received anon health, and also did many other miracles.

And when his last days approached, and he was grieved by long infirmity; then he made himself to be laid upon the bare ground, and did do call all the friars that were there, and when they were all present he blessed them. And like as our Lord fed his disciples at supper on Shere-thursday, he gave to each of them a morsel of bread, and warned them, as he was wont to do, to give laud to their Maker.

And the very death which is to all men horrible and hateful, he admonished them to praise it, and also he warned and admonished death to come to him, and said: Death, my sister, welcome be thou; and when he came at the last hour, he slept in our Lord. Of whom a friar saw the soul in the manner of a star, like to the moon in quantity, and to the sun in clearness.

MIRACLES OF ST. FRANCIS

A Vision of St. Francis

There was a friar named Augustin, which was minister and servant in the labour of the earth, and as he was in his last end, and had lost his speech, he escried suddenly and said: Abide me, father, abide, I shall go with thee. Then the friars demanded him what he said, and he said: See ye not our father Francis that goeth unto heaven, and anon he slept in peace, and followed his holy father.

The Lady Saved From Hell's Cruel Prison

A lady which had been devout to the blessed Francis died, and the clerks and priests were at the bier for to sing the exequies of her. She arose up suddenly off the bier, and called one of the priests that were there and said: Father, I would confess me; I was dead, and should have been put in a cruel prison, because I had not shriven me of a sin that I shall say, but St. Francis prayed for me, that this confessed and showed I shall have forgiveness, and anon as I shall have said and confessed it to thee I shall rest in peace tofore you all. And then she was confessed and assoiled, and rested anon in our Lord.

The Man Who Would Not Lend His Cart

The friars of Viterbo would have borrowed a cart of a man, and he answered in despite: I had liefer see two of you flayed with St. Francis than I should lend you my cart, but he came again to himself and reproved himself, and repented him of the blame that he had said, and doubted the ire of God.

And anon his son was sick and died, and when he saw his son dead he slept on the earth weeping, and called St. Francis and said: I am he that sinned, thou shouldest have beaten me, give again to me, holy saint, praying devoutly to thee, whom thou hast taken away from me, blaming thee and blaspheming wickedly.

And anon his son revived and said: When I was dead St. Francis led me by a long way and dark, and at the last he brought me unto a right fair green, and after said to me: Return to thy father, I will no longer hold thee.

The Poor Man in Debtor's Prison

There was a poor man which owed unto a certain rich man a quantity of money, and prayed him, for the love of St. Francis, he would prolong the term of payment. To whom he answered proudly: I shall set thee in such a place that neither Francis ne none other

shall help thee. And anon he took and bound him, and set him in a dark prison, and anon after, St. Francis came thither and brake up the prison, and loosed his bonds and brought the man all safely to his own house.

The Knight Who Doubted

There was a knight which detracted the works and miracles of St. Francis, and on a time as he played at the dice, he being all enraged, and full of woodness and cruelness, said to them that stood by him: if St. Francis be a saint, let come eighteen on the dice.

And anon came in three dice in each of them six, and so it appeared nine times, at every time three sixes at each cast, and then he adjousting woodness to woodness, he said: If it be true that Francis be a saint, let a sword rive me through my body this day, and if he be no saint, that it escape safely.

And when the playing at dice was ended, because he had made that prayer in sin, he said injury to his nephew, and he took his sword and stack it through his belly and slew him anon.

The Sign of the Tau [ᴛ]

There was a man that had lost his thigh that he could not move it, and cried to St. Francis thus, saying: Help me, St. Francis, remember thee of the devotion and of the service that I have done to thee, for I carried thee upon mine ass, and kissed thy feet, and thy hands, and now I die for pain of this right hard torment.

Then the holy man appeared to him with a little staff that he held, which had the sign of Thau, and touched therewith the place of his pain, and the postume brake, and he received anon full health, but the sign of Thau abode alway in the same place. With that sign St. Francis was wont always to sign his letters.

A Maid of Apulia Recalled to Life

There was a maid which dwelled in the mountains of Apulia in a castle, and her father and mother ne had but only this daughter, and she died, and her mother was much devout toward St. Francis, but then she was full of heaviness, and St. Francis appeared to her and said: Weep no more, for the light of thy lantern is quenched, and it appertaineth not that I yield her again to thee by thy prayer.

But yet the mother had affiance and trust in the saint, and would not suffer to bear away the body, but in calling St. Francis, she took her daughter that was dead and raised her up alive and whole.

The Child Who Fell From a Window

There was a little child in Rome fallen out of a window to the ground and died forthwith, and they called to St. Francis for help, and he was anon restored to life.

The Child of Suessa

In the city of Suessa, it happed that a house fell and slew a child, and when they had put the corpse in a chest for to bury, the mother called on St. Francis with all her devotion, and about midnight the child coughed and arose all whole, and began to praise God.

The Friar Who Fell in the River

Friar James of Reaten had passed a flood in a vessel with other friars which were set aland, and he hasted so sore after to go out because he was last, and the ship recoiled backward into the water, so that he fell down into the deepest of the flood, and then all the friars prayed St. Francis for him. And he himself, as he might, with like devotion, called the holy saint unto his aid and help, in his heart.

And that same friar began to go in the bottom of the water, as dry as he had gone on the earth, and caught the boat, which was drowned, and brought it to the bank, and came up without wetting of his clothes that he ware, ne never drop of water touched his coat ne wet nothing on him.

Then let us devoutly pray this holy father, St. Francis, to be our succour and aid in our adversities and perils, and help, that by his merits we may after this short life come into everlasting life in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. GENEVIEVE

William Caxton's French source added the life of St. Genevieve to its translation of the Golden Legend, and Caxton followed suit in his own 1483 translation. It was not a part of Voragineâ□□s original. This "reader's version" of his text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

The noble St. Genevieve was born at Nanterre, beside Paris, in the time of the emperor Honorius and Theodosius the less, and was with her father and mother unto the time of the emperor Valentinian. Anon after her nativity, the Holy Ghost showed unto St. Germain of Auxerre how she should serve God holily and virginly, the which thing he told to many.

After, she was sacred of the bishop of Chartres, Viliques, and came to dwell at Paris full of virtues and of miracles, in the time of St. Nicasius the martyr (whom the Hungarians martyred); and after, in the time of St. Remigius under Childeric, king of France; and after, under Clovis his son – first Christian king of France, and was named Louis in his baptism, whom St. Remigius christened. And an angel of paradise brought to him an ampul full of chrism of which he was anointed, and also his successors, kings of France, be anointed and sacred at their coronation. And after, he was of good life, and founded the church that is now called St. Genevieve, on the mount of Paris, in the honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, at the request of St. Clotilde his wife, of whom the body resteth in the said church, at the incitation of St. Genevieve, and St. Remigius did hallow and dedifie it.

The said king [Clovis] did increase much the realm of France, and franchised it by his puissance from the Romans. He conquered Melun, and the land lying by Seine and Loire, Touraine, Toulouse, and all Guienne, and at his coming to Angouleme the walls of the city fell down. He made Almaine and Bourgogne his tributaries, he

ordained and instituted Paris to be the chief siege of the realm, and he reigned thirty years, and after, he was interred in the said church, the year of our Lord five hundred and fourteen.

In the time of the said king lived the said virgin, unto the time of king Clothaire his son, of which virgin the soul flew into heaven and the body abode in earth, in the said church, in which she is yet whole and honorably interred, and devoutly worshipped by the good and devout Christian people.

ST. GERMAIN INVITES GENEVIEVE TO THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the time that the said virgin St. Genevieve was a child, St. Germain of Auxerre and St. Lew of Troyes, elect of the prelates of France for to go quench an heresy that was in Great Britain (now called England), came to Nanterre for to be lodged and harboured. The people came against them for to have their benison. Among the people, St. Germain, by the enseignements of the Holy Ghost, espied out the little maid St. Genevieve, and made her to come to him, and kissed her head and demanded her name, and whose daughter she was, and the people about her said that her name was Genevieve, and her father Severe, and her mother Geronce, which came unto him.

And the holy man said: Is this child yours?

They answered: Yea.

Blessed be ye, said the holy man, when God hath given to you so noble lineage, know ye for certain that the day of her nativity, the angels sang and hallowed great mystery in heaven with great joy and gladness; she shall be of so great merit against God. And of her good life and conversation many shall take ensample, that they shall leave their sin and shall convert them to God, and shall live religiously, by which they shall have pardon and joy perdurable.

Then he said to Genevieve: My daughter tell to me, and be not

ashamed, if ye will be sacred and live in virginity unto the death, as espouse of Jesu Christ?

The maid answered: Holy father, ye demand that I desire; there lacketh no more but that by your prayers our Lord will accomplish my devotion.

The holy man said: Have firm belief in God, and prove by works the good things that ye believe in your heart and say with your mouth, and our Lord shall give you force and virtue.

St.Germain held his hand on her head till he came unto the minster, there he gave to the people the benison. St. Germain said to the father and mother of the maid that they should bring her again on the morn to him. When she was brought again on the morn, St. Germain saw in her a sign celestial, I wot not what, and said to her: God thee saluteth, Genevieve. Daughter, rememberest thou what thou promisedst to me yesterday of the virginity of thy body?

Holy father, said the maid, I remember well that, and by the help of God I desire and think to accomplish my purpose.

Then the holy man looked on the ground and saw a penny signed with the cross, which came by the grace and will of God; he took it up and gave it her and said: Fair daughter take this and bear it in mind of Jesu Christ your espouse, and suffer not about you none other arrayment of gold ne silver, ne of precious stones, for if the beauty of this world surmount a little your thought, ye shall lose the goods of heaven.

He commended her to God, and prayed her that she would remember him in her orisons and prayers, and recommended her to father and mother. The two holy bishops went from thence into England, where were heretics against the faith, which said that children born of father and mother baptized had no need to be christened, which is not truth, for our Lord Jesu Christ saith clearly, in the gospel, that none may enter into the kingdom of heaven if he

be not regenerate of water and of the Holy Ghost, that is to say, regenerate by the sacrament of baptism.

By this scripture, and by semblable, the holy prelates destroyed their false creance and belief, and by virtue also and by miracles, for in a solemnity of Easter, by many that were new baptized, in singing Alleluia they chased and drove away their enemies of Scotland, and strangers of other places, that were come for to grieve them.

GENEVIEVE IS CONSECRATED, DESPITE HER MOTHERÂ□□S OPPOSITION

It happed on a day that Geronce, the mother of the holy maid Genevieve, went on an holy and festal day toward the minster, and her daughter went after, saying that the faith that she had promised to St. Germain she should keep by the help of God and that she should oft go to the minster to the end that she might desire to be the espouse of Jesu Christ, and that she might be worthy of his love.

The mother was angry and smote her on the cheek. God avenged the child that the mother became blind, and that in twenty-one months she saw not. When the mother had been long in this pain, which much annoyed her, she remembered of the goodness that St. Germain had said of her daughter, and called her and said: My daughter, go to the pit and fetch me water.

The maid went hastily; when she was at the pit she began to weep because her mother had lost her sight for her sake, and took up water and bare it to her mother. The mother stretched her hands to heaven, and took the water with great faith and reverence, and made her daughter to sign her with the sign of the holy cross and wash her eyes, and anon she began for to see a little. When she had twice or thrice washed, her sight came whole to her again as it had been tofore.

After this it happed that the holy maid was offered to the bishop of

Chartres, Viliques, for to be sacred with two other elder maidens; for men offered them [maidens for consecration] after their age. But the holy bishop knew by the Holy Ghost that Genevieve was the most worthy and digne, and said to her, that was behind, that she should come before, for God had then sanctified her.

GENEVIEVE AT PARIS

After the death of her father and her mother the holy damsel came and dwelt at Paris for to assay and prove her there, and for to avail the more she was sick of the palsy, so much that it seemed that her members were disjoined and departed that one from that other, whereof she was so sore tormented that during three days she was kept as for dead, for there appeared on her no sign of life save that her jowes were a little red. In this space and time, as she confessed after, an angel led her in spirit whereas the rest was of good folk, and where the torment was of evil people. Afterward she showed to many the secrets of their consciences, as she that was taught and enseigned of the Holy Ghost.

The second time St. Germain returned from England and came to Paris the people almost all went against him with great joy, and tofore all other things St. Germain demanded how Genevieve did, but the people, which more is inclined to say evil of good people than well, answered that of her was nothing, in blaming her, which was to her a praising. Of other men's praising is none the better, ne of others blaming is none the worse, therefore the holy man set nought of their jangling, but as soon as he entered into the city he went straight to the house of the holy virgin, whom he saluted in so great humility that all they marvelled, and showed to them that dispraised her, the ground wet of her tears, and recited to them the beginning of her life, and how he found at Nanterre that she was chosen of God, and recommended her to the people.

SHE PLANS THE DEFENSE AGAINST ATTILA THE HUN

Tidings came to Paris that Attila, the felon king of Hungary, had enterprised to destroy and waste the parts of France, and to subdue

them to his domination. The burgesses of Paris, for great dread that they had, sent their goods into other cities more sure. St. Genevieve warned and admonished the good women of the town that they should wake in fastings and in orisons, by which they might assuage the ire of our Lord and eschew the tyranny of their enemies, like as did sometime the two holy women Judith and Esther. They obeyed her, and were long and many days in the church in wakings, fastings and in orisons. She said to the burgesses that they should not remove their goods, ne send them out of the town of Paris, for the other cities that they supposed should be more sure, should be destroyed and wasted, but by the grace of God, Paris should have none harm. And, some had indignation at her, and said that a false prophet was risen and appeared in their time, and began among them to ask and treat whether they should drown her or stone her.

Whilst they were thus treating, as God would, came to Paris, after the decease of St. Germain, the archdeacon of Auxerre, and when he understood that they treated together of her death, he came to them and said: Fair sirs, for God's sake do not this mischief, for she of whom ye treat, St. Germain witnesseth that she was chosen of God in her mother's belly, and lo! here be the letters that he hath sent to her in which he recommendeth him to her prayers.

When the burgesses heard these words recited by him of St. Germain, and saw the letters, they marvelled and feared God, and left their evil counsel and did no more thereto. Thus our Lord kept her from harm, which keepeth alway them that be his, and defendeth, after that the apostle saith, and for her love did so much that the tyrants approached not Paris, thank and glory to God and honour to the virgin.

HER FASTING

This holy maid did great penance in tormenting her body all her life, and became lean for to give good example. For sith she was of the age of fifteen years unto fifty, she fasted every day save Sunday

and Thursday. In her refection she had nothing but barley bread, and sometime beans, the which, sodden after fourteen days or three weeks, she ate for all delices. Always she was in prayers in wakings and in penances, she drank never wine ne other liquor, that might make her drunk, in all her life. When she had lived and used this life fifty years, the bishops that were that time, saw and beheld that she was over feeble by abstinence as for her age, and warned her to increase a little her fare.

The holy woman durst not gainsay them, for our Lord saith of the prelates: Who heareth you heareth me, and who despiseth you, despiseth me, and so she began by obedience to eat with her bread, fish and milk, and how well that, she so did, she beheld the heaven and wept, whereof it is to believe that she saw appertly our Lord Jesu Christ after the promise of the gospel that saith that, Blessed be they that be clean of heart for they shall see God; she had her heart and body pure and clean.

There be twelve virtues virginal, saith Hermes Pastor, without which no virgin may be agreeable to God, that is to wit: Faith, abstinence, patience, magnanimity, simplesse, innocence, concord, charity, discipline, chastity, truth, and prudence. These virtues accomplished the holy virgin by work, she taught and enseigned by word, and showed oft by ensample.

SHE HAS A CHURCH CONSTRUCTED TO HONOR THE RELICS OF SAINT DENIS

Oft and tofore all other holy places, she visited the place whereas rested St. Denis and his fellows, and had great devotion to edify upon the said holy bodies a church, but she had not whereof. On a time came to her the priests, as oft they had done tofore, to whom she said: Reverend Fathers in God, I pray and require that each of you do his power and his devoir to assemble matter whereof might be made and edified a church in the honour of the glorious martyrs St. Denis and his fellows, for the place where they rest ought much to be worshipped and doubted, which first taught to our ancestors

the faith.

Dame, answered the priests, we would fain, and have great will thereto, but we can get no chalk ne lime.

Then said the holy virgin with a glad cheer in prophesying as she that was replenished by the Holy Ghost: Go ye I pray you to Paris upon the great bridge, and bring that ye shall find there.

They went thither and abode there a while, marvelled and abashed. And anon came by them two swineherds speaking together, of which that one said: As I went yesterday after one of my sows, I found a fournil of lime marvellously great.

That other answered: And I found in the wood under the root of a tree that the wind had thrown down a fournil of lime of which I trow was never none taken away.

When the priests heard this they had great admiration, and blessed our Lord that had given such grace to Genevieve his handmaid. They demanded where the fournils were, and after returned and told to the virgin what they had found.

She began to weep for joy, and as soon as the priests were gone and departed, she set on her knees and was all the night in orisons and in tears, in requiring help of God to perform this work, and on the morn early, all mat and travailed of waking, she went to Genese, a good priest, and prayed him that he would do his pain and labour that the church might be edified, and told him tidings of the lime.

When Genese heard this he was all amarvelled, and fell down to her feet and promised to her that night and day he would do his labour to accomplish her commandment. By the help of God and of St. Genevieve, and of the people of Paris, the said church was begun in the honour of the blessed martyrs St. Denis, St. Rustique, and St. Eleuthere which now is called St. Denis de Lestree. There be yet the holy bodies where our Lord showeth fair miracles, for as

the workmen entended to make the edifice each after his craft, it happed that their drink failed and was done, and Genese the priest said to Genevieve, which knew not hereof, that she should talk with the workmen so long that he might go to Paris and fetch drink.

When she heard this she demanded for the vessel that they had emptied, and it was brought to her; she made them to depart from her. Then she kneeled down on her knees and prayed God with warm tears to help her, and when she felt that our Lord had heard her prayer, she arose up, and made the sign of the cross upon the said vessel, and a marvellous thing happed, for the vessel was full. The workmen drank their bellyful, and as oft as they would, unto the time the church was perfectly made, whereof they thanked our Lord.

MIRACLES OF ST. GENEVIEVE

Candles

The holy virgin had devotion to wake the night that our Lord rose from death to life, after the custom and statutes of ancient fathers. It happed on a time that she put her on the way, tofore day, to go to the said church of St. Denis, and made to bear a candle burning tofore her. The night was dark, the wind great, and it rained fast, which quenched the light of the candle.The maidens that were in her company were sore troubled; she asked after the candle, and as soon as she had it in her hand it was lighted by God's will again, and so she bare it burning unto the church.

Another time when she had ended her prayer, a candle that she held, lighted in her hand by the grace of God.

Semblably in her cell, on a time was a candle lighted in her hand without any fire of this world, of which candle many sick folk by their faith and reverence have been healed. That taper is kept yet at Notre Dame de Paris.

The Woman Who Stole St. Genevieveâ□□s Shoes and Was Blinded

A woman which by the temptation of the devil, which to his power always deceiveth the good, stole away her shoes, but as soon as she was at home she lost her sight. When she saw that our Lord had avenged the wrong that she had done to the virgin, she did her to be led to her with the theft. When she came tofore the holy virgin she fell down to her feet, and required her of forgiveness and restoring of her sight. Genevieve, that was right debonair, took her up from the ground, and in smiling, gave to her the sight again of her eyes.

The Paralytic Girl

The holy virgin on a time went to Laon, and the people of the town went out against her, among whom were the father and mother of a maid that had been nine years so paralytic that none might show the jointure of her members. They besought and required St. Genevieve that she would visit the sick maid. She went and saw her, and sith made her prayer as she was accustomed, and after, handled the members of the maid, and commanded her to do on her clothes and hosen and shoes. Incontinent she arose in good health in such wise that she went unto the church with the people. The folk that saw this blest our Lord, that had given such grace to his damsel Genevieve, and when she returned they conveyed her, singing with great joy.

The Gates That Opened to Her

The king of France, Childeric, how be it he was a paynim, held her in great reverence, so did also the barons of France, for the fair miracles that she did in the name of our Lord Jesu Christ. Whereof It happed on a time that the said king held certain prisoners judged to death, but because Genevieve should not demand them, he issued out of Paris, and made to shut the gates after him. The holy virgin knew it anon, and went hastily after him for to help to deliver them. As soon as she came to the gates, they opened without key, all the people seeing which, thought it a great wonder. She pursued the king and obtained grace for the prisoners.

Her Name Known to a Good Man in the Orient

In the parts of the Orient beyond Antioch, was a good man named Simeon, which had despised this world, and was of marvellous holy life, which demanded of St. Genevieve of the merchants that went in to those parts, and by them he saluted her much honourably, and recommended him unto her prayers. It was a great marvel that the holy man which had never seen ne heard speak of her did do greet her by her name. Verily the friends of God that know his will and do thereafter, have tidings that one from that other by administration of the Holy Ghost, they shall never be separate ne departed, as St. Ambrose being at Milan knew of the death of St. Martin at Tours.

She Delivers St. Céline from a Would-Be Fiancé

At Meaux was a noble damsel which was named by her proper name Celine, which, when she had heard of the grace that God had given to St. Genevieve, she required her to change her habit. A young man had fianced and trothed her, which had great indignation when he heard of those tidings, and came to Meaux in a great ire, where the two virgins dwelt; and when they knew of his coming they fled unto the church. There happed a fair miracle, for as they came to the church door, which was locked and fast shut, the door that was so locked opened by his gree by himself; thus St. Genevieve delivered St. Celine from peril and from the contagion of the world, the which persevered in abstinence, and in chastity to her end.

She Heals St. Célineâ□□s Chambermaid

In this time the said Celine offered to St. Genevieve one, her chamberer, which had lain sick two years and might not go; the holy virgin handled her members with her worthy hands and anon she was whole and in good point.

The Twelve Demoniacs

There were brought to her twelve men that were wood and beset with devils, unto Paris, which were over hard bestead and

tormented of the enemy. The virgin had great pity, and went to prayer and orisons in requiring our Lord, with salt tears, that by his grace and goodness he would deliver them of this pestilence. And as she persevered in her prayers, they were hanged in the air in such manner as they touched nothing. She arose from her prayer, and said that they should go to St. Denis.

The wood men answered that they might not but she unbound them. The virgin which was for them in great sorrow commanded that they should go; then anon they suffered them to be led secretly, their hands bound behind their backs. She went after them, and when she was in the church of St. Denis, she stretched herself on the ground in orisons and in weepings. Thus as she persevered in prayers and weepings, the wood men cried with a high voice that they approached whom the virgin called in to their help.

None ought to doubt that the enemy, that saw that he must needs issue and go out, signified by the mouth of the demoniacs, that the apostles, martyrs and other saints, that the holy virgin called, came unto her help by the gift of God, which is ready to do the will of them that dread him and call him in truth.

When the holy virgin heard this that they said, she arose up and blessed each after other with the sign of the cross, and anon they were delivered of the enemies. They that were present felt so great stench that they doubted nothing but the souls were delivered from the vexation of the devil, and blessed our Lord for this miracle.

The Deflowered Nun

There was at Bourges a damsel, which heard speak of the great renomee of this holy saint, and came to Paris for to speak to her. She had been sacred, but after the consecration she had lost her virginity. The holy Genevieve demanded of her if she was a virgin nun, or wife, or a widow. She answered that she was a virgin sacred; Genevieve said nay, telling to her the place and time of her defloration and the man that had done the fait. When she saw that it

was for nought that she said she was a virgin, her conscience remorsed her, and fell down to her feet in requiring pardon. In semblable wise the holy Genevieve discovered to many the secrets of their consciences, which be not here written because it were over noyous and long to write.

She Revives a Dead Boy

A woman whom the holy virgin had healed, had a child of the age of four years which fell in a pit. He was therein the space of three hours. The mother came and drew it out, and bare it all dead unto the saint, in rending her hair and beating her breast and paps, and weeping bitterly, and laid the child dead at her feet. The holy virgin covered it with her mantle, and after, she fell down in her prayers and wept, and anon after, when she ceased of her weeping, our Lord showed a fair miracle, for the child that was dead revived, the which was baptized at Easter after, and was named Celonier because she was raised in the cell of St. Genevieve.

The Withered Hand

There came from Meaux a man to this holy virgin which had his hand dried unto the wrist, and she handled his joints and fingers, and made thereon the sign of the cross, and anon the hand became all whole.

A Blind Woman

Genevieve that knew well, that our Lord Jesu Christ was baptized the day of Epiphany, and after, went into desert in giving enseignement to them that be regenerate in the sacrament of baptism, to fast, wake and adore busily, and to accomplish by work the grace that they have taken in the baptism, by the ensample of sweet Jesu Christ. Then entered the holy virgin in to her cell the Sunday tofore the said feast, and abode there as recluse unto the Thursday, absolute in waking, in prayers, in tastings and orisons. Thither came a woman to see her, more for curiosity than for good faith, and therefore God punished her, for as soon as she

approached the door of the cell she lost her sight and became blind, but the holy maid by her debonairty, and by her prayer gat her sight again, and by the sign of the holy cross, when she issued out of her cell in the end of Lent.

The Ship

In the time that the city of Paris was assieged by the term of ten years, like as the ancient histories rehearse, there followed so great famine and hunger that many died for hunger. The holy virgin, that pity constrained her, went to the Seine for to go fetch by ship some victuals. When she came unto a place of Seine, whereas of custom ships were wont to perish, she made the ship to be drawn to the rivage and commanded to cut down a tree that was in the water, and she set her to prayer. Then, as the ship should have smitten upon the tree it fell down, and two wild heads, grey and horrible, issued thereout, which stank so sore that the people there were envenomed by the space of two hours, and never after perished ship there, thank be to God and to his holy saint.

She Heals a Woman with Palsy

Unto Arcy, the castle, went this holy virgin, and there came against her a great lord which required her that she should visit his wife, which had had long time the palsy. The holy virgin went and visited her which had been long sick, with prayers and orisons, and after, blessed her with the sign of the cross, and commanded her that she should arise. She then, that had been four years sick and might not help herself, arose, which seeing, all the people thanked our Lord.

From Arcy she went to Troyes in Champagne. The people came to meet with her, and offered to her great multitude of sick people without number. She blessed them and signed them with the sign of the cross, and incontinent they were healed in the sight of all the people, which marvelled much and rendered thankings to our Lord.

The Miraculous Cures at Troyes

There was brought to her a man, which by the punition of God was made blind, because he wrought on the Sunday; and a blind maid also. The holy virgin blessed them in the name of the Father, and Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and anon their sight was restored to them.

There was a sub-deacon present and saw this; he went and fetched a child which had been sick ten years of the fevers right sore, the holy virgin did do bring holy water and blessed it and gave him drink, and that done, by the grace of God, the child was in good health.

In this time many took of the cuttings of her vesture by devotion, whereof many sick were healed, and many vexed by spirits were delivered and remised in to their good mind.

She Returns to Paris with Foodstuffs for the People

From Arcy returned the holy virgin to Paris with eleven ships charged with victual. Wind, tempest, and orage assailed them so strongly that they weened to have perished without remedy. The holy virgin lift up her hands to heaven requiring help of our Lord, and anon the tempest ceased. Then Bessus, a priest that was present and saw it, which tofore had trembled for fear, began to sing for joy: *Cantemus domino gloriose* . All that there were thanked our Lord that had saved them by the prayer of the damsel Genevieve.

When the goods came to Paris that she had brought, she departed them and gave for the love of God to some poor, wool, and to others whole loaves of bread, and sometimes she so hasted for pity that she took the loaves hot out of the oven secretly and gave it to the poor. The women marvelled why she took their loaves, but they spake ne said nothin, and they much doubted that they should not find their count ne tale. But notwithstanding that she had so taken, by the grace of God they found all their loaves and lacked none, by the merits of the holy saint.

Her hope was nothing in worldly things, but in heavenly, for in the holy scriptures that saith: Who so giveth to the poor lendeth for a vaile. The reward which they receive that give to poor people, the Holy Ghost had showed to her long tofore, and therefore she ceased not to weep, to adore, and to do works of pity, for she knew well that she was none other in this world but a pilgrim passing.

The Deaf Burgess of Meaux

There was at Meaux a burgess that by the space of four years he might not hear ne go. He did him be broughte to the holy virgin which dwelt at Paris, and required her that she would restore to him his health and hearing. She touched his ears and blessed him, and anon he was whole, and went and heard as he did before, thanking our Lord.

She Cures a Girl in Orleans

On a time the holy virgin went to Orleans. A woman named Fraterne was in great sorrow for her daughter that lay dying. Anon, as she wist the coming of the holy virgin, she went to her to St. Aiguen where she found her in prayer. Fraterne fell down to her feet saying: Dame Genevieve give me again Claude my daughter. When Genevieve saw the good faith of her, she said: Discomfort thee nothing, thy daughter is in health, the which by the marvellous puissance of God, at the word of the holy virgin, was brought from the wicket of death, and came all whole against her mother, and met with her at the portal of the house. The people thanked our Lord for this fair miracle.

The Felonous Master

In the said city there was a servant culpable against his master; the holy maid prayed his master that he would forgive him his trespass. The master, as felonous and proud, deigned not to do it at her request. Then said the holy virgin: Though ye despise me, our Lord will not have me in despite. As soon as he was at home he was taken with a hot fever ague, which vexed him in such wise that he

might not sleep of all the night. On the morn he came to the holy virgin, running with open mouth, like a bear of Almaine, the tongue hanging out, and foaming like a boar, requiring pardon, which would give no pardon. The saint had pity on him and blessed him, and the fever left him, thus made she the master whole and the servant excused.

She Cures Demoniacs and Madwomen in Tours

From Orleans the holy woman went to Tours by the water of Loire, where she suffered many perils. When she arrived at Tours great foison of demoniacs came against her out of the church of St. Martin, and the spirits cried by the mouth of them that were mad and vexed, which were burnt by the merits of St. Martin and St. Genevieve, and the perils that the virgin had in the water of Loire, they had done it by envy.

The holy virgin went into the church of St. Martin whereas she healed many demoniacs by prayers and by the sign of the cross, and the demoniacs said at the hour of the torment that the fingers of the saint burnt about them as tapers inflamed with fire of heaven.

Hereof heard three men which kept their wives mad; they went to the church and prayed her that she would visit their wives. The blessed virgin, which was debonair, went and visited them and delivered them from the enemy by unction of holy oil and by prayer.

Anon after, it happed as she was in orisons in a corner in the church of St. Martin that, one of the singers was so sore vexed with the enemy that he ate his members, which went out of the chancel and came straight to the holy virgin. The blessed virgin commanded the spirit to issue out. He answered: If he issued, he would issue by the eye. She commanded that he should no longer abide ne dwell there, and then he issued out anon – wold he, nold he – by the flux of the womb, and left foul enseigns and tokens, and the sick man was all whole and in good mind, whereof he thanked our Lord.

They of Tours honoured much this blessed virgin, how well it was against her will. On a time as she was at her door she saw a maid pass by bearing a burette of oil; she called her and asked what she bare, she answered and said, oil which she had bought. The holy maid which saw the enemy sit on the mouth of the burette, blew on it, and the burette brake; she blessed the oil and bade the maid bear it forth safely. The people that saw this had great marvel that the enemy could not hide him, but that she perceived him, and thanked our Lord.

The Boy Who Was Dumb, Blind, and Lame

There was brought to her a child by his friends which was dumb, blind, and lame; the blessed virgin anointed him with the holy oil, and the same hour he saw clearly, spake and went, and received health entirely.

The Storm That Spared Her Field

In the territory of Meaux the holy maid did do labour a field that she had, and a storm and tempest of wind and rain arose which troubled much the workmen. She lay down stretching on the earth, in orison and prayer, and our Lord showed there a fair miracle, for the rain fell on all the corn in the fields thereabout, and in her field fell not one drop.

Another time as she was on the Seine there was a great tempest, and she besought God of help, and anon it ceased in such wise that they that were present saw well that our Lord at her request and for her love made wind and rain to cease.

The Miracle of the Oil

All sick men that she anointed with holy oil devoutly, were healed and made whole.

It happed so that on a time when she would have anointed a demoniac she found no oil in her ampul, whereof she was so sorry

that she wist not what to do, for there was no bishop present for to bless it. She lay down in orisons and prayers, beseeching God that he would deliver the man from the enemy. Our Lord showed there two fair virtues, for as soon as she arose her ampul was full of oil, being in her hands, of which she anointed the madman, and anon he was delivered of the wicked spirit, which ampul, with the oil, saw the same man that wrote her life eighteen years after her decease.

THE DEATH OF ST. GENEVIEVE

Many other miracles without number showed our Lord for the love of the holy and blessed saint, St. Genevieve, the which lived in this world full of virtues and miracles more than four score years, and departed out of this world and died worthily the third day of January, and was buried in the mount of Paris called Mount Parlouer, and is now called the Mount of St. Genevieve, in the church of St. Peter and Paul, the which, as said is at the beginning, the King Louis, sometimes called Clovis, did do make by the exhortement of this holy virgin, for the love of whom he gave grace to many prisoners at her departing. And after, there were many fair miracles which by negligence, by envy, and not recking, were not written, as he confessed that put her life in Latin, except two which he set in the end of his book as here followeth.

Unto the sepulchre of the holy virgin was brought a young man that was so sick of the stone that his friends had no hope of life. In great weeping and sorrow they brought him thither requiring aid of the holy virgin. Anon after their prayer, the stone issued, and he was forthwith all whole as he had never been sick.

Another man came thither that gladly wrought on the Sunday, wherefor our Lord punished him, for his hands were so benumbed and lame that he might not work on other days. He repented him and confessed his sin, and came to the tomb of the said virgin, and there honoured and prayed devoutly, and on the morn he returned all whole, praising and thanking our Lord, that by the worthy merits and prayers of the holy virgin, grant and give us pardon, grace, and

joy perdurable.

After the death of the blessed virgin St. Genevieve was assigned a lamp at her sepulchre in which the oil sourded and sprang like water in a well or fountain. Three fair things showed our Lord by this lamp, for the fire and light burned continually, the oil lessed not ne minished, and the sick people were healed there. Thus wrought our Lord by the merits of the blessed virgin corporally, which much more abundantly worketh by her merits to the souls spiritually. Many more miracles hath our Lord showed at her sepulchre which be not here written, for it would be over long to remember them all, and yet daily be showed, wherefore in every necessity and need let us call on this glorious saint, the blessed Genevieve, that she be mediatrix unto God for us wretched sinners, that we may so live and amend us in this present life that we may come when we shall depart hence by her merits unto the life perdurable in heaven. Amen.

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OF ST. GEORGE, MARTYR

Chapter 58 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

St. George was a knight and born in Cappadocia. On a time he came in to the province of Libya, to a city which is said Silene.

And by this city was a stagne or a pond like a sea, wherein was a dragon which envenomed all the country. And on a time the people were assembled for to slay him, and when they saw him they fled. And when he came nigh the city he venomed the people with his breath, and therefore the people of the city gave to him every day two sheep for to feed him, because he should do no harm to the people, and when the sheep failed there was taken a man and a sheep.

Then was an ordinance made in the town that there should be taken the children and young people of them of the town by lot, and every each one as it fell, were he gentle or poor, should be delivered when the lot fell on him or her. So it happed that many of them of the town were then delivered, insomuch that the lot fell upon the king's daughter, whereof the king was sorry, and said unto the people: For the love of the gods take gold and silver and all that I have, and let me have my daughter.

They said: How sir! ye have made and ordained the law, and our children be now dead, and ye would do the contrary. Your daughter shall be given, or else we shall burn you and your house.

When the king saw he might no more do, he began to weep, and said to his daughter: Now shall I never see thine espousals.

Then returned he to the people and demanded eight days' respite, and they granted it to him. And when the eight days were passed they came to him and said: Thou seest that the city perisheth.

Then did the king do array his daughter like as she should be wedded, and embraced her, kissed her and gave her his benediction, and after led her to the place where the dragon was.

When she was there St. George passed by, and when he saw the lady he demanded the lady what she made there and she said: Go ye your way fair young man, that ye perish not also.

Then said he: Tell to me what have ye and why weep ye, and doubt ye of nothing.

When she saw that he would know, she said to him how she was delivered to the dragon. Then said St. George: Fair daughter, doubt ye no thing hereof for I shall help thee in the name of Jesu Christ.

She said: For God's sake, good knight, go your way, and abide not with me, for ye may not deliver me.

Thus as they spake together the dragon appeared and came running to them, and St. George was upon his horse, and drew out his sword and garnished him with the sign of the cross, and rode hardily against the dragon which came towards him, and smote him with his spear and hurt him sore and threw him to the ground. And after said to the maid: Deliver to me your girdle, and bind it about the neck of the dragon and be not afeard.

When she had done so the dragon followed her as it had been a meek beast and debonair. Then she led him into the city, and the people fled by mountains and valleys, and said: Alas! alas! we shall be all dead.

Then St. George said to them: Ne doubt ye no thing, without more, believe ye in God, Jesu Christ, and do ye to be baptized and I shall

slay the dragon.

Then the king was baptized and all his people, and St. George slew the dragon and smote off his head, and commanded that he should be thrown in the fields, and they took four carts with oxen that drew him out of the city.

Then were there well fifteen thousand men baptized, without women and children, and the king did do make a church there of our Lady and of St. George, in the which yet sourdeth a fountain of living water, which healeth sick people that drink thereof. After this the king offered to St. George as much money as there might be numbered, but he refused all and commanded that it should be given to poor people for God's sake; and enjoined the king four things, that is, that he should have charge of the churches, and that he should honour the priests and hear their service diligently, and that he should have pity on the poor people, and after, kissed the king and departed.

THE ARREST AND TORTURE OF ST. GEORGE

Now it happed that in the time of Diocletian and Maximian, which were emperors, was so great persecution of Christian men that within a month were martyred well twenty-two thousand, and therefore they had so great dread that some renied and forsook God and did sacrifice to the idols. When St. George saw this, he left the habit of a knight and sold all that he had, and gave it to the poor, and took the habit of a Christian man, and went into the middle of the paynims and began to cry: All the gods of the paynims and gentiles be devils, my God made the heavens and is very God.

Then said the provost to him: Of what presumption cometh this to thee, that thou sayest that our gods be devils? And say to us what thou art and what is thy name.

He answered anon and said: I am named George, I am a

gentleman, a knight of Cappadocia, and have left all for to serve the God of heaven.

Beaten and Imprisoned

Then the provost enforced himself to draw him unto his faith by fair words, and when he might not bring him thereto he did do raise him on a gibbet; and so much beat him with great staves and broches of iron, that his body was all tobroken in pieces. And after he did do take brands of iron and join them to his sides, and his bowels which then appeared he did do frot with salt, and so sent him into prison. But our Lord appeared to him the of same night with great light and comforted him much sweetly. And by this great consolation he took to him so good heart that he doubted no torment that they might make him suffer.

The Poisoned Wine

Then, when Dacian the provost saw that he might not surmount him, he called his enchanter and said to him: I see that these Christian people doubt not our torments.

The enchanter bound himself, upon his head to be smitten off, if he overcame not his crafts. Then he did take strong venom and meddled it with wine, and made invocation of the names of his false gods, and gave it to St. George to drink. St. George took it and made the sign of the cross on it, and anon drank it without grieving him any thing. Then the enchanter made it more stronger than it was tofore of venom, and gave it him to drink, and it grieved him nothing. When the enchanter saw that, he kneeled down at the feet of St. George and prayed him that he would make him Christian. And when Dacian knew that he was become Christian he made to smite off his head.

The Cutting Wheels

And after, on the morn, he made St. George to be set between two wheels, which were full of swords, sharp and cutting on both sides,

but anon the wheels were broken and St. George escaped without hurt.

The Cauldron of Molten Lead

And then commanded Dacian that they should put him in a caldron full of molten lead, and when St. George entered therein, by the virtue of our Lord it seemed that he was in a bath well at ease.

The Lord Destroys the Temple

Then Dacian seeing this began to assuage his ire, and to flatter him by fair words, and said to him: George, the patience of our gods is over great unto thee which hast blasphemed them, and done to them great despite, then fair, and right sweet son, I pray thee that thou return to our law and make sacrifice to the idols, and leave thy folly, and I shall enhance thee to great honour and worship.

Then began St. George to smile, and said to him: Wherefore saidst thou not to me thus at the beginning? I am ready to do as thou sayest.

Then was Dacian glad and made to cry over all the town that all the people should assemble for to see George make sacrifice which so much had striven there against. Then was the city arrayed and feast kept throughout all the town, and all came to the temple for to see him.

When St. George was on his knees, and they supposed that he would have worshipped the idols, he prayed our Lord God of heaven that he would destroy the temple and the idol in the honour of his name, for to make the people to be converted. And anon the fire descended from heaven and burnt the temple, and the idols, and their priests, and sith the earth opened and swallowed all the cinders and ashes that were left.

Then Dacian made him to be brought tofore him, and said to him: What be the evil deeds that thou hast done and also great untruth?

Then said to him St. George: Ah, sir, believe it not, but come with me and see how I shall sacrifice.

Then said Dacian to him: I see well thy fraud and thy barat, thou wilt make the earth to swallow me, like as thou hast the temple and my gods.

Then said St. George: O caitiff, tell me how may thy gods help thee when they may not help themselves!

The Conversion of Dacianâ□□s Wife

Then was Dacian so angry that he said to his wife: I shall die for anger if I may not surmount and overcome this man.

Then said she to him: Evil and cruel tyrant! ne seest thou not the great virtue of the Christian people? I said to thee well that thou shouldst not do to them any harm, for their God fighteth for them, and know thou well that I will become Christian.

Then was Dacian much abashed and said to her: "Wilt thou be Christian?" Then he took her by the hair, and did do beat her cruelly.

Then demanded she of St. George: What may I become because I am not christened?

Then answered the blessed George: Doubt thee nothing, fair daughter, for thou shalt be baptized in thy blood.

Then began she to worship our Lord Jesu Christ, and so she died and went to heaven.

ST. GEORGE IS MARTYRED

On the morn Dacian gave his sentence that St. George should be drawn through all the city, and after his head should be smitten off.

Then made he his prayer to our Lord that all they that desired any boon might get it of our Lord God in his name, and a voice came from heaven which said that it which he had desired was granted; and after he had made his orison his head was smitten off, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty-seven.

When Dacian went homeward from the place where he was beheaded towards his palace, fire fell down from heaven upon him and burnt him and all his servants.

MIRACLES OF ST. GEORGE

Gregory of Tours telleth that there were some that bare certain relics of St. George, and came into a certain oratory in a hospital, and on the morning when they should depart they could not move the door till they had left there part of their relics.

It is also found in the history of Antioch, that when the Christian men went over sea to conquer Jerusalem, that one, a right fair young man, appeared to a priest of the host and counselled him that he should bear with him a little of the relics of St. George, for he was conductor of the battle, and so he did so much that he had some. And when it was so that they had assieged Jerusalem and durst not mount ne go up on the walls for the quarrels and defence of the Saracens, they saw appertly St. George which had white arms with a red cross, that went up tofore them on the walls, and they followed him, and so was Jerusalem taken by his help.

And between Jerusalem and port Jaffa, by a town called Ramys, is a chapel of St. George which is now desolate and uncovered, and therein dwell Christian Greeks. And in the said chapel lieth the body of St. George, but not the head. And there lie his father and mother and his uncle, not in the chapel but under the wall of the chapel; and the keepers will not suffer pilgrims to come therein, except if, unless they pay two ducats, and therefore come but few therein, but offer without the chapel at an altar. And there is seven years and seven lents of pardon; and the body of St. George lieth in the middle of the

quire or choir of the said chapel, and in his tomb is an hole that a man may put in his hand. And when a Saracen, being mad, is brought thither, and if he put his head in the hole he shall anon be made perfectly whole, and have his wit again.

This blessed and holy martyr St. George is patron of this realm of England and the cry of men of war. In the worship of whom is founded the noble order of the garter, and also a noble college in the castle of Windsor by kings of England, in which college is the heart of St. George, which Sigismund, the emperor of Almayne, brought and gave for a great and a precious relique to King Harry the fifth. And also the said Sigismund was a brother of the said garter, and also there is a piece of his head, which college is nobly endowed to the honour and worship of Almighty God and his blessed martyr St. George. Then let us pray unto him that he be special protector and defender of this realm.

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HERE FOLLOW THE LIVES OF SAINTS GERVASE AND PROTHASE

Chapter 85 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Gervase and St. Prothase were brethren of one burden of father and mother. Their father was St. Vital, and their mother the blessed Valery, which gave all their goods unto the poor for the love of God, and dwelled with St. Nazarine which made a right fair oratory in the city of Hebredune.

THE ATTACK ON CELSUS AND NAZARINE

And a child named Celsus bare to him the stones. (And if Nazarine had then the child Celsus or not, I wot never, for the history of Nazarine rehearseth that Celsus was offered to him long after.) And when they were offered and led to Nero the emperor, this child Celsus followed them much sore weeping, and one of the knights buffeted and smote him, and Nazarine then blamed him. Then the knights in their great anger beat and defouled Nazarine under their feet, and after, they put this Celsus with the other in prison, and after that they threw him into the sea, and led Gervase and Prothase to Milan. And Nazarine was delivered by miracle, and came to Milan.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. GERVASE AND ST. PROTHASIUS

In that time there came thither the earl Astasius which went in battle against them of Marcomannos which came against him. Then the keepers of the idols came to him and said that their gods would give none answer but if Gervase and Prothase should first offer to them and do sacrifice. Then anon were they brought and led forth for to sacrifice; and then Gervase said that all the idols were deaf and dumb, and that he should require help of Almighty God. Then the earl was wroth and commanded him to be beaten with scourges of

lead so long till he gave up his spirit, and so suffered death.

Then he commanded Prothase to be brought to him, to whom he said: Thou cursed wretch, now think to save thy life and die not an evil death with thy brother.

To whom Prothase said: Who is a wretch? I that dread thee not, or thou that dreadest me?

To whom Astacius said: How should I dread thee, wretch?

To whom Prothase said: In that thou dreadest me, that thou shouldest be hurt by me if I make not sacrifice to thy gods; if thou dreaded not to be hurt of me thou wouldest never compel me to the sacrifice of idols.

Then the provost commanded him to be hanged on a gibbet. Then said Prothase to him: I am not angry with thee, for I see thine eyes of thine heart blinded, and I have great pity of thee because thou seest not what thou doest, but do that thou hast begun, that this day the benignity of our Saviour may bring me to my brother.

Then the earl commanded him that his head should be smitten off, and thus he suffered martyrdom for our Lord. Philip, a servant of Jesu Christ, with his son, took the bodies and buried them secretly in his house in a tomb of stone, and laid a book at their heads containing their nativity, their life, and their end. And they suffered death under Nero about the year of our Lord fifty-six.

THE DISCOVERY OF THEIR BODIES BY ST. AMBROSE

These bodies were hid there many years, but in the time of St. Ambrose they were found in this manner.

St. Ambrose was in prayer in the church of St. Felix and St. Nabor in such wise that he neither slept ne woke wholly. There appeared to him two young men clad in white vestments with one coat and

mantel, and hosed, and they appeared praying with him with their hands holden up. Then St. Ambrose prayed that if it were illusion that it would appear no more, and if it were truth that it should be showed him. Then when the cock crew, the younglings appeared to him, adoring with him in semblable manner, and at the third time they appeared the third night when he had fasted and slept not.

And with them appeared St. Peter the apostle, after that he had seen him in painture. Then the younglings said nothing, but the apostle spake: These be they that desire none earthly thing, but have followed mine admonishments, and these be they of whom thou shalt find the bodies in such a place, and there thou shalt find an arch of stones covered with twelve feet of earth, and thou shalt find at their heads a little book, wherein is contained their birth and their end.

Then St. Ambrose called all his neighbours and began first to dig the earth, and found like as the apostle had said to him, and they had lain in that place well a three hundred years, and they were as fresh as they had been laid there that same hour; and a right sweet savour issued out of their tomb; and incontinent a blind man touched the bier, and anon he had his sight again, and many other sick people were healed by the merits of them, and in their solemnity peace was reformed between the Lombards and the emperor of Rome.

And then St. Gregory, the pope, established for the Introit of the mass of them: *Loquitur dominus pacem* and this office appertained in part to the saints, and in part to the great adventures that were in that time.

COMMENTS ON SAINTS GERVASE AND PROTATHIUS BY THE FATHERS

And St. Austin rehearseth in the book of *The City of God* that he was present, and the emperor and much great company, when that a blind man received his sight at Milan at the bodies of Gervase and

Prothase, but it is not known whether it was the same blind man or no.

Also he telleth in the same book that there was a young man in a town named Victoriana rode his horse into a river that lay thereby, and as soon as he was therein the devil strangled him and threw him in the water all dead, and whiles they sang evensong in a church of St. Gervase and Prothase, which was thereby, he was so smitten with the voices of them that sang that he started up alive, and in a great haste he entered into the church in a great dread, and held fast by the altar like as he had been bounden thereto. Then the devil menaced him, and said if he would not come thence he would break all his members, and a little while after, by the merits of the holy martyrs he was plainly healed.

And St. Ambrose saith in his preface: These be they that by the heavenly banner took the arms of the apostles and vanquished and have the victory, and be assoiled from the snares of the world. They destroyed the fellowship of the fiend and followed freely without any empeshment our Lord Jesu Christ, like unto a debonair fraternity that so learned the holy words that no filth was meddled among them. O how glorious a strife was this that causeth them both to be crowned in heaven like as they issued out of one belly.

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HERE NEXT FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. GERMAIN

Chapter 107 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

St. Germain was of much noble lineage born in the city of Auxerre and was well learned in the arts liberal. And after, he went to Rome for to learn the sciences of droit and of the law, and there received he so much dignity that the senate sent him to the Frenchmen for to have the rule and dignity of Burgundy.

HOW HE CAME TO BE A BISHOP

And thus as he governed the city of Auxerre more diligently than the other, there was in the middle of the city a tree called a pineapple tree, on which were hanged on the branches of this tree, for the marvel of chase and hunting, the heads of wild beasts that had been slain. But when St. Amadour, which was bishop of this city, reproved them of such vanities, and warned them to hew down this tree, they would not consent thereto in any manner. And on a time, when Germain was not in the city, the bishop did do hew down this tree, and did do burn it.

And when Germain knew it he was much angry, and forgot Christian religion, and came with a great multitude of knights for to have slain the bishop. And then the bishop knew by revelation divine that St. Germain should be his successor, and forbare and gave place to his hastiness, and went to Autun, and after, when he was come again to Auxerre, he enclosed much subtilly Germain within the church and sacred him there, and said to him that he should be his successor in the bishopric, and so he was; for a little after St. Amadour died and all the people required St. Germain to be bishop.

A LIFE OF FASTING AND SELF-DENIAL

And then he gave all his riches to poor people, and changed his wife into his sister, and tormented his body by the space of thirty years, that he never ate bread of wheat, ne drank wine, ne used no pottage, and would have never salt to make his meat savoury. And two times in the year he would drink wine, that was at Easter and Christmas, and yet for to take away the savour of the wine he would put therein plenty of water, and in his refection he would take barley bread with ashes, and fasted every day, and never ate but in the even. In winter ne summer he had but one clothing, and that was the hair next his body, a coat and a gown, and if it happed so that he gave not his vesture to some poor body, he would wear it till it were broken and torn.

His bed was environed with ashes, hair, and sackcloth, and his head lay no higher than his shoulders, but all day wept, and bare about his neck divers relics of saints. He ware none other clothing, and he went oft barefoot and seldom ware any girdle. The life that he led was above man's power. His life was so straight and hard that it was marvel and pity to see his flesh, and was like a thing not credible.

MIRACLES OF ST. GERMAIN

Devils at Table

And he did so many miracles that, if his merits had not gone before, they should have been trowed phantasms. In a time he was harboured in a place where always after supper the tables were covered when all men had supped, whereof he marvelled, and demanded the host wherefore they covered the tables again after supper, and the host said it was for his neighbours that came to drink each with other. And that night St. Germain concluded to watch for to see what it should be. It was not long after that there came in there a great multitude of devils, and sat at the table in likeness of men and women; and when the holy man saw them he commanded them that they should not depart, and then sent to

awake the host, and all the neighbours and guests on all sides, in such wise that every man and woman were found in their houses, and he made all them to come and see if they knew any of them. And they said nay; and then he showed them that they were devils; of whom the people was much abashed because the devils mocked them so. And then St. Germain conjured them, and they went their way, and never after returned.

The Blinding of Attilaâ□□s Soldiers

In a time St. Lupus bishop of Troyes was besieged by the king Attila, and St. Lupus went upon the gate, and demanded who he was that assieged and assailed them, and the king said to him: I am he, Attila, the scourge and rod of God.

And then the meek bishop said to him, sore weeping: I am Lupus that have wasted the flock of God and have need of the scourging of God.

And then St. Lupus commanded to open the gates, and all the people of Attila were so, by the will of God, blinded, and they passed through the town, and saw no men of the city, ne did no hurt to nobody.

St. Lupus in Britain with St. Germain

And then the blessed St. Lupus took St. Germain with him and went into Britain, whereas there were heresies. But when they were on the sea there arose a right great tempest, which by the merits of St. Germain was anon appeased. Then they were honestly received of the people of the country, whose coming the devils that St. Germain had driven out of such bodies as were beset had told their coming. And when they had been a while in England and had convanquished the heretics, they returned into their countries and proper places.

St. Germain Safe from Fire

On a time it happed that St. Germain lay sick of a malady in a street, and the street was taken with fire, and men counselled him to be borne thence for peril of the fire, and then he put himself against the fire, and the flame burnt all about, and touched nothing that Germain lay in.

St. Germain Revives a Disciple

Another time he returned in to Britain for the heresies, and one of his disciples followed him hastily, and fell sick and lay down in a town, and there died; and when St. Germain returned thereby he demanded to see the sepulchre of his disciple which there was dead, and did do open his sepulchre, and he called him by his name, and demanded him what he did, and if he would no longer go with him, and that other answered and said that he was well, and all things were to him soft and sweet, and would no more come here; and the holy man granted it him that he should abide in rest, and he remised himself in his grave and slept in our Lord.

Miracles and Prophecies in Britain

He preached on a time in the country of Britain in such wise that the king of Britain forbade him his house, and his people also. Then it happed that the king's cowherd went to the pasture with his kine, and received his portion at the king's palace, and bare it to his little house. Then went St. Germain and his fellowship for to see where they might be lodged, and the cowherd brought them to his house, and he saw that they had great hunger, but he had not meat for them and him. This cowherd had but one calf; he slew it and gave it to them, and they took it debonairly of the little good that he had, and when they had supped and said graces, St. Germain did do gather together all the bones of the calf and laid them under the skin, and after, made his prayers to God, and anon then the calf arose all alive and whole as he was tofore.

And the next day after, St. Germain demanded the king why he had forbidden him his house, and the king was much abashed and could not answer. Then said St. Germain to him: Thou shalt no more

reign, but thou shalt leave thy realm to one better than thee.

And as they of Saxony should fight against the Britons, and they saw that they were but few, and saw the holy man pass by, they called him. And then St. Germain and his fellows preached so long to them that they came to grace of baptism. And on Easter day they cast off their armours, and by great desire of faith purposed them to fight. And when the other [i.e., the Britons] heard that, they purposed to go against them hardily for they were dissevered. And St. Germain hid him away with his people [the Saxons], and warned them when he cried â□□Alleluia!â□□ they should answer with one voice.

And when the saint had cried â□□Alleluia!â□□ and the other [the Saxons] had answered, their enemies had so great dread that they threw all their harness and armours away, and weened certainly that all the mountains should fall on them and also heaven, and so they fled all afraid.

St. Germain Speaks with St. Cassian

On a time as St. Germain passed by Autun and went to the tomb of St. Cassian, he enquired how it stood with him; he answered to him out of the tomb wherein he lay, and said: I am in sweet rest and abide the coming of the Redeemer.

And he said to him: Rest in peace in the name of our Lord, and pray for us devoutly that we may deserve the holy joys of the resurrection.

HIS DEATH IN RAVENNA

And when St. Germain came in Ravenna he was received much honorably of Placida the queen, and of Valentinian her son, and at the supper she sent to him a great vessel of silver full of delicious meat, the which he received, and gave the meat to his servants, and retained the vessel of silver for to give to the poor. And instead of this gift he sent to the queen a dish of wood or of tree and a

barley loaf, the which she received gladly, and after, did do cover that dish with silver and kept it long in great devotion.

On a time that the said queen had desired him to dine with her, he accorded thereto gladly, and because he was weary of travail, of fasting and watching, he came upon an ass from his house unto the palace, and anon as he was at dinner his ass died. And when the queen knew that his ass was dead, she was much sorrowful, and did do present him a right fair and good horse. And when the saint saw him so richly adorned and apparelled he would in no wise take it, but said: Show to me where mine ass is, for he that brought me hither shall bring me home again.

And then he went to his ass, that lay dead, and said to him: Let us return home again, and anon the ass arose and shook him as he had risen from sleep and that he had no harm, and then Germain remounted on his ass and rode home.

But tofore ere he departed from Ravenna he said that he should not be long in this world, and anon after he became sick of the fevers, and the seventh day after, he passed unto our Lord and his body was borne into France, as he had required to the queen. And he died about the year of our Lord four hundred and twenty.

THE CANDLES AT VERSAILLES

St. Germain had promised, by his life, to St. Eusebius bishop of Versailles, that when he returned he should hallow his church that he had founded and when St. Eusebius, bishop of Versailles understood that he was dead, he would himself hallow his church, and made to light the candles and tapers, but the more they lighted them the more were they extinct and put out. And when Eusebius saw that, he perceived that the dedication was made ere he would come and do it, or else of some other bishop. And when the body of St. Germain was brought to Versailles, as soon as it was entered in to the church all the tapers were lit divinely. Then St. Eusebius remembered the promises of St. Germain, and that which he

promised, living, he would do it being dead.

But it is not to be understood of the great Eusebius of Versailles, that this was done in his time, for he died under Valens the emperor, and from the death of him unto the death of St. Germain was more than fifty years from that one to that other, but this was another Eusebius under whom this said thing was done.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. GILES

Chapter 130 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's edition" of the text adds section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Giles was born in Athens, and was of noble lineage and royal kindred. And in his childhood he was informed in holy lettrure.

The Miracle of St. Gilesâ□□s Coat

And on a day as he went to the church, he found a sick man which lay all sick in the way and demanded alms of St. Giles, which gave him his coat. And as soon as he clad him withal he received full and entire health.

Jesus Christ His Heir

And after that, anon his father and his mother died, and rested in our Lord, and then St. Giles made Jesu Christ heir of his heritage.

St. Giles and the Serpent

On a time as he went to the church a man was smitten with a serpent and died, and Giles came against this serpent, and made his orison, and chased out of him all the venom.

He Cures a Demoniac

There was a man which was demoniac in the monastery with other people, and troubled them that heard the service of God. Then Giles conjured the devil that was in his body, and anon he issued out, and anon he was all whole.

He Travels to Arles

Then Giles doubted the peril of the world, and went secretly to the rivage of the sea, and saw there mariners in great peril and like to perish in the sea. And he made his prayer, and anon the tempest ceased, and anon the mariners came to land and thanked God. And he understood by them that they went to Rome, and he desired to go with them, whom they received into their ship gladly, and said they would bring him thither without any freight or hire.

And then he came to Arles, and abode there two years with St. Cezarien, bishop of that city, and there he healed a man that had been sick of the fevers three years.

He Heals the Desert

And after, he desired to go into desert, and departed covertly, and dwelled there long with a hermit that was a holy man. And there by his merits he chased away the sterility and barrenness that was in that country, and caused great plenty of goods.

St. Giles and the Hind

And when he had done this miracle he doubted the peril of the glory human, and left that place, and entered farther into desert and there found a pit, and a little well, and a fair hind, which without doubt was purveyed of God for to nourish him, and at certain hours ministered her milk to him.

And on a time servants of the king rode on hunting, and much people and many hounds with them. It happed that they espied this hind, and they thought that she was so fair that they followed her with hounds, and when she was sore constrained she fled for succour to the feet of St. Giles, whom she nourished. And then he was much abashed when he saw her so chauffed, and more than she was wont to be. And then he sprang up and espied the hunters. Then he prayed to our Lord Jesu Christ that like as he sent her to him, to be nourished by her, that he would save her. Then the hounds durst not approach her by the space of a stone cast, but they howled together, and returned to the hunters, and then the

night came, and they returned home again and took nothing.

And when the king heard say of this thing he had suspicion what it might be, and went and warned the bishop, and both went thither with great multitude of hunters, and when the hounds were on the place whereas the hind was, they durst not go forth as they did before, but then they all environed the bush for to see what there was, but that bush was so thick that no man ne beast might enter therein for the brambles and thorns that were there. And then one of the knights drew up an arrow follily for to make it afeard and spring out, but he wounded and hurt the holy man, which ceased not to pray for the fair hind.

And after this the hunters made way with their swords and went into the pit, and saw there this ancient man, which was clothed in the habit of a monk, of a right honourable figure and parure, and the hind lying by him.

And the king and the bishop went alone to him, and demanded him from whence he was, and what he was, and why he had taken so great a thickness of desert, and of whom he was so hurt. And he answered right honestly to every demand; and when they had heard him speak they thought that he was a holy man, and required him humbly pardon. And they sent to him masters and surgeons to heal his wound, and offered him many gifts, but he would never lay medicine to his wound, ne receive their gifts, but refused them. And he prayed our Lord that he might never be whole thereof in his life, for he knew well that virtue should profit to him in infirmity.

And the king visited him oft, and received of him the pasture of health. And the king offered to him many great riches, but he refused all.

And after, he admonished the king that he should do make a monastery, whereas the discipline of the order of monks should be, and when he had do make it, Giles refused many times to take the

charge and the crosier. And at the last he was vanquished by prayers of the king and took it.

A Sin of King Charles is Forgiven

And then king Charles heard speak of the renown of him, and impetred that he might see him, and he received him much honourably, and he prayed him to pray for him; among other things because he had done a sin so foul and villainous that he durst not be shriven thereof to him ne to none other.

And on the Sunday after, as St. Giles said mass and prayed for the king, the angel of our Lord appeared to him, and laid a schedule upon the altar where the sin of the king was written in by order, and that was pardoned him by the prayers of St. Giles, so that he were thereof repentant and abstained him from doing it any more, and it was adjoined to the end that, who that required St. Giles for any sin that he had done, if he left it that it should be pardoned to him.

And after the holy man delivered the schedule to the king, and he confessed his sin and required pardon humbly.

St. Giles Raises a Dead Prince

Then St. Giles returned thence with honour, and when he came to the city of Nemausense, he raised the son of a prince that was dead.

His Monastery To Be Destroyed

And a little while after he denounced that his monastery should be destroyed of enemies of the faith.

The Miracle of the Cypress Gates

And after he went to Rome and gat privileges of the pope to his church, and two doors of cypress, in which were the images of SS. Peter and Paul, and he threw them into the Tiber at Rome, and

recommended them to God for to govern. And when he returned to his monastery he made a lame man to go, and found the two doors of cypress at the gate of his monastery, whereof he thanked God that had kept them without breaking in so many adventures as they had been, and sith he set them at the gates of the church for the beauty of them, and for the grace that the church of Rome had done thereto.

His Death

And at the last our Lord showed to him his departing out of this world, and he said it to his brethren, and admonished them to pray for him, and so he slept and died goodly in our Lord. And many witness that they heard the company of angels bearing the soul of him into heaven. And he flourished about the year of our Lord seven hundred.

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OF ST. GREGORY THE POPE

Chapter 46 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483 [1]

St. Gregory was born of the parentage of senators of Rome, whose father was named Gordian and his mother Silvia. And when he had so much learned that he was a master in philosophy, and also was rich of patrimony, he thought that he would leave all the riches that he had, and would enter into religion for to serve God. But in this, that he put this thought in respite, he conceived another purpose, that was that him seemed he should better serve God in a secular habit, in doing the office of the pretoria of the provost of Rome, for to give to each man duly reason after the right of his cause. But he found in this office so great secular business that it began to displease him, because by this great business he withdrew him over far from God.

ST. GREGORY ENTERS THE MONASTIC LIFE

In this meanwhile his father and mother died, in such wise that he was rich of patrimony and puissant, that at the beginning he founded and endowed with rents six abbeys in Sicily, and the seventh he founded within the walls of Rome in the honour of St. Andrew the apostle, in the which he became a monk, and the remnant of his patrimony he gave for God's sake so that he that tofore went clothed in clothes of gold and of silk, and adorned with precious stones in the city, when he was monk served in a poor habit the monks.

There was at the beginning of his conversation of so perfect a life that it might be said well that he was all perfect. He made great abstinences in eating, in drinking, in waking, and in praying, in so much that he was so travailed that unnethe he might sustain himself. He had put out of his heart all secular things so that his

conversation was in heaven, for he had addressed all his desire for to come to the joy permanable.

THE ANGEL AND THE SILVER DISH

On a time it happed that, St. Gregory in his cell of the same abbey whereas he was abbot wrote something, and an angel appeared to him in semblance of a mariner, which seemed as he had escaped from the tempest of the sea, and prayed him weeping to have pity on him. Then St. Gregory commanded that there should be given to him six pence, and then he departed.

The same day the angel came again in like wise as he did tofore, and said that he had lost all his good, and prayed him that he would yet help him; on whom St. Gregory had yet pity, and did to be given to him six pence more, yet at the third time he came and made great cry and wept, and prayed him that he would yet help him toward his great loss, so that St. Gregory commanded his provost that he should yet give to this poor man an alms.

And the provost said that there was no more silver in all the abbey, but a dish of silver in which his mother was wont to send him pottage. And St. Gregory commanded anon that that dish of silver should be given to him and the angel took it with great joy. And little while after, this angel appeared to St. Gregory and said to him that God hath sent him so to him.

THE MISSION TO ENGLAND

It happed afterward that as St. Gregory passed through the market of Rome, and saw there two fair children white and ruddy of visage, and fair yellow hair which were for to sell. And St. Gregory demanded from whence they were, and the merchant answered, of England. After St. Gregory demanded if they were Christian, and he answered: Nay, but that they were paynims. Then sighed St. Gregory and said: Alas, what fair people hath the devil in his doctrine and in his domination.

After he demanded how these people were called: he answered that they were called Angles men; then he said they may well be so called for they have the visage of angels.

And for that St. Gregory went to the pope, and by great prayers he impetred and had grant that he was sent in to England for to convert the people of that same country, but when the Romans heard say that Gregory was sent into England, anon they went to the pope and said to him: Thou hast angered St. Peter, thou hast destroyed all Rome, and hurt all holy church in this that thou hast let Gregory go out of Rome.

Of which word the pope was angry and much abashed, and sent anon his messengers after St. Gregory, and commanded him to return and come again to Rome, which then was gone on his journey three days, and for his noble and good renomee the pope made him cardinal deacon.

HIS REIGN AS POPE

He Tries to Refuse the Papacy

After, for the corruption of the air, the pope Pelagius died, and then St. Gregory was elect of all the people to be pope, but he refused it and said that to that dignity he was not worthy, and for the right great mortality, ere that he was sacred pope he made to the people a sermon and said:

Right dear brethren, well ought we to have doubt of the scourge of God ere that we feel it, and yet we ought to fear it, and to turn and forsake our sins. Lo! ye may behold the people die ere they beweep their sins; think ye then in what point he cometh in the presence of the judge that hath had no time to bewail his sins. The houses be void, the children die in the presence of father and mother, suddenly, so that they have little time to die. Wherefore, every man amend his life while he hath time for to repent him of his evil deeds and sins, ere that the judge call him from the mortal body. He saith

by the prophet, "I will not the death of a sinner, but I will that he return and live"; much soon the judge heareth the sinner when he converteth from his sins and amendeth his life.

By such manner admonested he to the people their health, and he ordained to make procession in all the churches much solemnly for to impetre and get mercy for this mortality.

When the procession was done he would have gone privily out of Rome, for to eschew the office of the papalty, but against that the gates were kept so that he might not issue. At the last he did do change his habit, and so much did with the merchants that they brought him out of Rome in a tun upon a cart. And when he was far out of the town, he issued out of the tun and hid him in a ditch.

And when he had been therein three days the people of Rome sought him all about. Anon they saw a pillar shining descend from heaven straight upon the ditch in which St. Gregory was; and a recluse, a holy man, saw that by that pillar angels descended from heaven to St. Gregory and after went up again. Anon then St. Gregory was taken of the people and after the ordinance of holy church he was ordained and sacred pope against his will, for he was much debonair, humble and merciful to rich and poor, and to great and small.

His Humility

Well may he apperceive that readeth his writings how oft he complained of this great charge that he was charged withal, to which he said he was not worthy thereto, and also he might not hear that any should praise him, ne in letters ne in words. And alway he was in great humility and accounted himself more meek and low after that he was pope than tofore, insomuch that he was the first of the popes that wrote: *Servus servorum Dei* , that is, servant of the servants of God.

His Vigor

He had great cure and was busy to convert sinners. He made and compiled many fair books, of which the church is greatly illumined. He was never idle, how well that he was always sick. He converted the English people to the Christian faith by three holy men and good clerks that he sent thither, that is to wit Augustin, Mellitus, and John, for to preach the faith.

The Plague Ends

And because the mortality ceased not, he ordained a procession, in the which he did do bear an image of our Lady, which, as is said, St. Luke the Evangelist made, which was a good painter, he had carved it and painted after the likeness of the glorious Virgin Mary.

And anon the mortality ceased, and the air became pure and clear, and about the image was heard a voice of angels that sung this anthem: *Regina cæli lætare* , etc., and St. Gregory put thereto: Ora pro nobis, deum rogamus, alleluia. At the same time St. Gregory saw an angel upon a castle which made clean a sword all bloody, and put it into the sheath, and thereby St. Gregory understood that the pestilence of this mortality was passed, and after that it was called the Castle Angel.

His Generosity

St. Gregory did every day so great alms that many in the country about were nourished by him, whom he had by name written, and also the monks that dwelt in the Mount Sinai had of him their sustenance. Among all other alms that he did he governed three thousand virgins, to whom he sent every year four score pound of gold, and also he founded to them an abbey in Jerusalem, and sent to them that therein were such things as they lacked. Every day had he poor men to dinner.

The Lord Appears to Him as a Pilgrim

On a time it happed that he took the laver for to give water to a pilgrim for to wash his hands by great humility, and anon the pilgrim

vanished away, whereof St. Gregory had marvel. The night after our Lord appeared in a vision and said to him: The other days thou hast received me in my members, but yesterday thou receivedst me in my person.

The Angel of the Silver Dish Returns

Another day St. Gregory commanded to his dispenser that he should bring to dinner twelve poor men, and when St. Gregory and the poor men were set at meat, he told at the table sitting thirteen poor pilgrims, and demanded of his dispenser why he had done above his commandment to bring in more than twelve persons. And anon the dispenser, all abashed, went and told the poor men, and found but twelve, and said to St. Gregory: Holy father, there be no more but twelve, and so many shall ye find and no more.

Then considered St. Gregory that, one of the pilgrims that sat next to him oft changed his visage, for oft he seemed young, and after old. And after dinner St. Gregory took him by the hand and brought him into his chamber, and prayed him that he would tell him his name. And he answered: Wherefore demandest thou my name, which is marvellous? Nevertheless know thou well that I am the same poor mariner to whom thou gavest the dish of silver in which thy mother was wont to send the pottage, and know for certain that sith that day that thou didst to me that alms, God hath destined thee to be pope. And said moreover: I am the angel of God, and he hath sent me hither to thee to be thy defender and procurer of that which thou wouldst demand and impetre of him, and after this the angel vanished away.

The Hermit with the Cat

And in that time there was an hermit, an holy man, which had left and forsaken all the goods of the world for God's sake, and had retained nothing but a cat, with which he played oft, and held it in his lap deliciously. On a day it happed that he prayed God devoutly that he would vouchsafe to show to him to what saint he should be in like joy in heaven, because for his love he had left all the world

and renounced.

Upon this God showed him in a vision that St. Gregory and he should have like joy in heaven. And when he understood this he sighed sore and praised little his poverty, which he had long suffered and borne, if he should have like merit which abounded so greatly in secular riches.

Upon this there came a voice to him which said that: The possession of riches maketh not a man in this world rich, but the ardour of covetise. Then be still thou, darest thou compare thy poverty to the riches of St. Gregory which lovest more thy cat, with whom thou ceasest not to stroke and play, than St. Gregory doth all his riches, for he ceaseth never to give alms for God's sake?

Then the hermit thanked Almighty God, and prayed that he might have his merit and reward with St. Gregory in the glory of paradise.

The Angel at St. Mary Major

On a day it happed that St. Gregory sang mass in the church of St. Mary Major, and when he had said: *Pax domini sit semper vobiscum,* anon the angel said: *Et cum spiritu tuo,* and from then forthon the pope ordained a station in that church every year on Easter day, and when then he said in his mass: *Pax domini,* etc., none shall answer, in remembrance of this miracle.

He Intercedes for the Emperor Trajan

In the time that Trajan the emperor reigned, and on a time as he went toward a battle out of Rome, it happed that in his way as he should ride, a woman, a widow, came to him weeping and said: I pray thee, sire, that thou avenge the death of one my son which innocently and without cause hath been slain.

The emperor answered: If I come again from the battle whole and sound then I shall do justice for the death of thy son.

Then said the widow: Sire, and if thou die in the battle who shall then avenge his death?

And the emperor said: He that shall come after me.

And the widow said: Is it not better that thou do to me justice and have the merit thereof of God than another have it for thee?

Then had Trajan pity and descended from his horse and did justice in avenging the death of her son.

On a time St. Gregory went by the market of Rome which is called the market of Trajan, and then he remembered of the justice and other good deeds of Trajan, and how he had been piteous and debonair, and was much sorrowful that he had been a paynim, and he turned to the church of St. Peter wailing for the horror of the miscreance of Trajan.

Then answered a voice from God saying: I have now heard thy prayer, and have spared Trajan from the pain perpetual.

By this, as some say, the pain perpetual due to Trajan as a miscreant was somedeal taken away, but for all that was not he quit from the prison of hell, for the soul may well be in hell and feel there no pain by the mercy of God.

His Illnesses

And after, it is said that the angel in his answer said more to thus: Because thou hast prayed for a paynim, God granteth thee to choose of two things, that one which thou wilt: or thou shalt be two days in purgatory in pain, or else all the days of thy life thou shalt languish in sickness.

Then answered St. Gregory that he had liefer to have sickness all his life in this world, than to feel by two days the pains of purgatory.

And ever after he had continually the fevers, or axes, or the gout in his feet, and hereof himself maketh mention in one his epistle, and saith: I am so much tormented of the gout in my feet, and of other sicknesses that, my life is to me a great pain, every day meseemeth that I ought to die, and always I abide the death. Some time my pain is little, and some time right great, but it is not so little that it departeth from me, ne so great that it bringeth me to death, and thus it is that I, that am always ready to die, am withdrawn from death.

A Eucharistic Miracle

It happed that a widow that was wont every Sunday to bring hosts to sing mass with, should on a time be houseled and communed, and when St. Gregory should give to her the holy sacrament in saying: *Corpus domini nostri,* etc., that is to say: "The body of our Lord Jesu Christ keep thee into everlasting life," anon this woman began to smile tofore St. Gregory, and anon he withdrew his hand, and remised the sacrament upon the altar. And he demanded her, tofore the people, why she smiled, and she said: Because that the bread that I have made with my proper hands thou namest it the body of our Lord Jesu Christ.

Anon St. Gregory put himself to prayer with the people, for to pray to God that hereupon he would show his grace for to confirm our belief, and when they were risen from prayer, St. Gregory saw the holy sacrament in figure of a piece of flesh as great as the little finger of an hand, and anon after, by the prayers of St. Gregory, the flesh of the sacrament turned into semblance of bread as it had been tofore, and therewith he communed and houseled the woman, which after was more religious, and the people more firm in the faith.

St. Gregory's Musical Reforms

St. Gregory made and ordained the song of the office of holy church, and established at Rome two schools of song, that one beside the church of St. Peter, and that other by the church of St.

John Lateran, where the place is yet, where he lay and taught the scholars, and the rod with which he menaced them, and the antiphoner on which he learned them is yet there. He put to the canon of the mass these words: *Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari* . ["Arrange our days in thy peace, save us from eternal damnation, and ordain that we may be numbered in the flock of thine elect."]

At the last when St. Gregory had been pope thirteen years, six months and ten days, he being full of good works, departed out of this world in the year of our Lord six hundred and six years, in the time when Phocas was emperor of Rome. Let us then pray to St. Gregory that he get us grace that we may amend so ourselves here in this life that we may come unto everlasting life in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF JEROME

Chapter 146 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Jerome was the son of a noble man named Eusebius, born of the town Stridon, which is in the utter end of Dalmatia and of Pannonia. He, being yet a child, went to Rome and was there taught in letters of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. He had for his teacher in grammar Donatus, in rhetoric Victorinus, the orator, and he was day and night occupied, and exercised himself in divine Scriptures, which he drew covetously, and after shed it out abundantly.

HOW JEROME RENOUNCED PAGAN LITERATURE

And as he writeth in an epistle to Eustochius, that on a time as he read on a day Plato, and in the night Tully desirously, because that the book of the prophets pleased him not, he was about mid-Lent taken with a sudden and burning fever, that all his body was cold, in such wise that there was no vital heat save a little which he felt in his breast. And as the exequies for his death were making ready, he was suddenly brought to the judgment of God, and there he was demanded of what condition he was, and he answered boldly that he was a Christian man. And the judge said: Thou liest, thou art a Ciceronian, and no Christian man. Whereas thy treasure is, there is thy heart.

Then St. Jerome was still and said nothing, and anon then the judge commended that he should be sore beaten. Then he cried and said: Have mercy on me, Lord, have mercy on me.

Then they that were assisting our Lord prayed him that he would forgive this young man his trespass. And he then began to swear and say: Lord, if ever I read or hear more secular books, I shall

forsake thee.

And with the words of this promise and oath he was let go.

And anon he revived. And then he saw himself all bewept. And of the strokes of the beatings that he received tofore the throne of our Lord, the tokens of the strokes and lashes were seen on his shoulders right horrible and great. And from then forthon he became good, and read divine books with as great study as ever he had read the books of poetry and of paynims.

HE BECOMES A CARDINAL

And when he was nine-and-twenty years old he was ordained cardinal priest in the church of Rome. And when Liberius was dead all the people cried to have St. Jerome sovereign priest. And when he began to blame the jollity and lavish life of some clerks and monks, they had indignation and despite of him, and lay in a wait to hurt and slander him. And as John Beleth saith: They scorned and mocked him by the clothing of a woman. For on a night when he arose to matins, as he was accustomed, he found a woman's clothing lying by his bed which his enemies had laid there. And he weening that they had been his own, did them on, and so clothed came in to the church, and this did they that had envy at him because others should ween that he had a woman in his chamber.

HIS SOJOURN IN THE DESERT

And when he saw that, he eschewed their woodness and went unto Gregory Nazianzen, bishop of Constantinople. And when he had learned of him the holy Scripture and holy letters, he went into desert. Where, what, and how much he suffered for Christ's sake, he recounted to Eustochium and said that when he was in that great desert and waste wilderness, which is so burnt by the sun that it gave to the monks a right dry habitacle:

> . . . I supposed me then to be at Rome among the delices, and my members scalded, burnt, made dry and black like to the

skin of a Morian or an Ethiopian, and I was always in tears and weepings. And when the very sleep came and oppressed me against which I oft repugned, then I laid my dried bones on the bare earth. Of meats and drink I speak not, for they that were sick used only cold water, and for to take any thing boiled or roasted, it was to them lechery.

And yet nevertheless I was oft fellow unto scorpions and wild beasts, and yet the carols of maidens and the embracements of lechery grew in my cold body and in my flesh, wherefore I wept continually, and for to adaunt and subdue my proud flesh I rose at midnight all the week long, joining oft the night with the day, and I ceased not to beat my breast, praying our Lord to render to me the peaceable peace of my flesh.

And I also doubted my proper cell as fearing my conceits and thoughts, wherefore I went and departed wroth, and revenging myself, passed alone through the sharp and thick deserts. And as our Lord is witness, after many weepings and tears, it seemed to me that I was among the company of angels, this during four years.

HIS YEARS IN BETHLEHEM

Then his penance thus done, he returned to the town of Bethlehem, where, as a wise and a prudent beast, he offered himself to abide by the crib of our Lord. And then his holy Bible, which with study he had translated, and other books he read, and led the day forth with fasting unto even. And there he assembled many disciples unto him for to labour there in his holy purpose, and abode there in the translation of holy Scripture fifty-five years and six months, and remained a pure virgin unto the end of his life.

And how well that it be said in his legend that he was ever a virgin, yet nevertheless he wrote of himself to Palmatian: I bear virginity into heaven, not for that I have virginity, but for I marvel more that I have it not.

Then at the last he being weary for to travail, lay down in his bed wherover hung a cord on a beam, whereon he laid and held his hands for to lift up himself that he might do the service of God as much as he might.

ST. JEROME AND THE LION

On a day towards even Jerome sat with his brethren for to hear the holy lesson, and a lion came halting suddenly in to the monastery, and when the brethren saw him, anon they fled, and Jerome came against him as he should come against his guest, and then the lion showed to him his foot being hurt. Then he called his brethren, and commanded them to wash his feet and diligently to seek and search for the wound. And that done, the plant of the foot of the lion was sore hurt and pricked with a thorn. Then this holy man put thereto diligent cure, and healed him, and he abode ever after as a tame beast with them.

Then St. Jerome saw that God had sent him to them, not only for the health of his foot, but also for their profit, and joined to the lion an office, by the accord of his brethren, and that was that he should conduct and lead an ass to his pasture which brought home wood, and should keep him going and coming, and so he did. For he did that which he was commanded, and led the ass thus as a herdsman, and kept him wisely going and coming, and was to him a right sure keeper and defender, and always at the hour accustomed he and the ass came for to have their refection and for to make the ass to do the work accustomed.

On a time it happed that the ass was in his pasture, and the lion slept fast, and certain merchants passed by with camels and saw the ass alone, and stole him and led him away. And anon after, the lion awoke and when he found not his fellow, he ran groaning hither and thither, and when he saw that he could not find him he was much sorrowful and durst not come in, but abode at the gate of the church of the monastery, and was ashamed that he came without

the ass.

And when the brethren saw that he was come more late than he was wont, and without the ass, they supposed that by constraint of hunger he had eaten the ass, and would not give to him his portion accustomed, and said to him: Go and eat that other part of the ass that thou hast devoured, and fill thy gluttony.

And because they doubted, and they would wit if he had so eaten, they went to the pastures of the town to see if they could have any demonstrance of the death of the ass, and they found nothing, and returned and told it to Jerome, and then he commanded them to enjoin him to do the office of the ass. Then they hewed down bushes and boughs and laid upon him, and he suffered it peaceably.

And on a day when he had done his office, he went out to the fields and began to run hither and thither desiring to know what was done to his fellow, and saw from far merchants that came with camels charged and laden, and the ass going tofore them. It was the manner of that region that when the people went far with camels, they had an ass or a horse going tofore with a cord about his neck for to conduct the better the camels.

And when the lion knew the ass, with a great roaring he ran on them so terribly that all the merchants fled, and he so feared the camels with beating the earth with his tail that he constrained them to go straight unto the cell with all their charge and lading.

And when the brethren saw this they told it to Jerome, and he said: Brethren, wash the feet of our guests and give them meat; abide ye the will of our Lord hereupon.

And then the lion began to run joyously throughout all the monastery, as he was wont to do, and kneeled down to every brother and fawned them with his tail, like as he had demanded pardon of the trespass that he had done. And St. Jerome, which

knew well what was to come, said to his brethren: Go and make ye ready all things necessary for guests that be coming to us.

And as he thus said, there came to him a messenger, saying to him that there were guests at the gate that would speak with the abbot. And as soon as they were come they kneeled to the abbot, and required of him pardon. And he raised and made them to stand up goodly, and commanded them to take their own good[s], and not to take away other men's. And then they prayed the holy saint that he would take the half of their oil, and he refused it. And at the last he commanded to take a measure of oil, and then they promised that they should bring every year a measure of oil to that church, and their heirs after them.

HIS REFORM OF THE LITURGY

It was anciently the custom that whosomever would might sing in the church, so that Theodosius the emperor, as John Beleth saith, required and prayed Damasus the pope that he would commit to some wise man of the church to ordain the office and ordinal of the church. And then he knew well that Jerome was a man that knew the languages of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and in all science, and committed to him the said sovereign office. And then Jerome divided the psalter by ferias, and to every feria a nocturn 1 proper be assigned, and established in the end of every psalm to be said: *Gloria patri* [Glory be to the father]. And after, he ordained reasonably to be sung the epistles and gospels, and all other things appertaining, save the song which he sent from Bethlehem unto the pope. Which all was approved and ratified of him and of the cardinals for to be used perpetually and so confirmed.

HIS DEATH AND BURIAL

After this, in the mouth of the spelunke (or cave) in which our Lord lay, he did do make his monument or sepulture. And when he had accomplished eighty-eight years and six months he was there buried.

COMMENTS OF THE FATHERS ON ST. JEROME

In what reverence St. Austin had him in, it appeareth in his epistles that he sent to him, in one of the which he wrote in this manner: "To his right dear friend; most best beloved and most clean in observing and embracing of chastity, unto Jerome, Austin, etc." And in another place he writeth thus of him: "St. Jerome, priest, learned in letters of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and in holy writings approved unto his last age, of whom the nobleness of his fair eloquence hath resplended from the east unto the west, like unto the clearness of the sun.â□□

Prosper saith also of him in his Chronicles: Jerome, priest, was in Bethlehem sometime, clear to all the world, of noble engine, and lived in translating and writing of holy Scripture, and with high and noble study served the universal church.

He said also of himself to Albigen: I never enforced me so much from mine infancy as for to eschew a swelling courage and enhanced head, and calling against him the hate of God. And ever I have dreaded the sure things, and have entended with all my heart to the monastery and to hospitality and have received gladly all comers save heretics, and have washed their feet.

Isidore saith thus in the book of Etymology: Jerome was wise in three languages, whose interpretation is taken tofore other, for it is more holding and clear by words and it is interpreted of a very Christian.

It is written also of Jerome in the dialogue of Severus, disciple of St. Martin, which was in his time: Jerome without the merit of the faith and dowry of virtues is not only instruct in letters of Latin, but in Greek and Hebrew, so that none ought to be compared to him in every science, the which had war perpetual against the wicked men. The heretics hated him for he left never to impugn against them, the clerks hated him for he reproved their sins and their life, but plainly good men loved him and marvelled of him, for they that deemed him

a heretic were mad. He was all in lessons, all in books, he never rested day ne night but always read or wrote. Hæc Severus.

And like as it appeareth by these words, and also he witnesseth himself, he suffered many persecutors and detractors, which persecutions he suffered patiently and goodly, as it appeared in an epistle that he sent to Assela: I give thankings to our Lord God that I am worthy that the world hate me, and that wicked men and janglers hold me for evil. For I know well that men come to heaven by the defaming of wicked men more than by good renomee, and I would that the company of miscreants should pursue and persecute me for the name and right of our Lord. My will is that the reproof of the world arise more fervently against me so that I might deserve to be praised of our Lord, and that I may hope the reward of his promise. Temptation is desirous and agreeable whose merit in resisting is to be hoped reward of Christ in heaven. Ne the cursing ne malediction is not grievous which is changed into divine laud and praising.

He died about the year of our Lord three hundred and eighty-eight.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. HILARY

Chapter 17 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's edition" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

S Hilary, which was Bishop of Poictiers, was born in the country of Guienne. He had a wife wedded, and a daughter, and whereas he was in habit secular he lived after the life of a monk. He profited so much in holy life and sciences that he was chosen Archbishop of Poictiers.

The Arian Heretics

A manner of an heresy reigned in his country and through all France, which was the sect of the Arians, the which he destroyed to his power. Nevertheless by the commandment of the emperor, which was of the party of the heretics, by the suggestion of two bishops of that sect he was exiled, with which two bishops he disputed, and overcame them. Afterward, for they might not gainsay the truth of the matter, ne could not bear ne answer to his eloquence, so that he was constrained to come again to Poictiers.

The Island of Serpents

And as he passed by an isle of the sea, which was full of serpents, he chased them away by the virtue of his commandment, and by his sight only, and pight a staff in the middle of the isle and gave to the serpents liberty to come to that staff and not to pass farther, and the serpents obeyed him, which part is no land now but sea.

St. Hilary Raises a Dead Boy to Life

When S. Hilary came to Poictiers he met a child dead, borne for to be buried, and the child was not baptized; which child by virtue of

his prayer he raised to life, for he lay long in the dust in prayer, and when he arose out of his prayer the child arose from death to life.

The Death of His Daughter and Wife

S. Hilary had a daughter named Apia and she would have been married, but S. Hilary preached to her so much of the estate of virginity that she changed her purpose. And when she was confirmed in this will and purpose S. Hilary doubted that she should change, and prayed our Lord for to take her while she was in good purpose, and anon she died, and S. Hilary buried her. And when her mother the wife of S. Hilary saw that her daughter was dead, she prayed to her husband, that he should impetre and get for her like as he had done for his daughter. And anon as S. Hilary had made his orison, she died, and by this manner he sent tofore him his wife and his daughter.

St. Hilary Disputes with Pope Leo

In this time the pope Leo, which favoured heresy, called a counsel of bishops, but he sent not for S. Hilary that he should come thereto, notwithstanding S. Hilary came thither. When the pope saw him come, he commanded that no man should arise against him, ne give him no place. Then said the pope to him: "Thou art Hilary the cock, and not the son of an hen."

And Hilary answered: "I am Hilary and no cock, but a bishop in Gallia that is in France."

Then said the pope, "Thou art Hilary Gallus, and I am Leo of the Papal See, Judge."

To whom Hilary said: "If thou be Leo yet art thou not of the Tribe of Judah."

Then the pope had great indignation and said to him: "Abide thou a little, and I shall pay to thee thine hire."

And S. Hilary answered: "And if thou come not again who shall pay me for thee?"

And the pope answered: "I shall come again and shall beat down thy pride."

Then the pope went down into the low chamber for to ease him, and by the conduit of his nether part voided out all the entrails of his body, and so died suddenly. Thus then as he abode the pope S. Hilary found no place to sit on, ne none would remove to make him place, and when he saw that, he said: " *Domini est terra,* the earth longeth to our Lord," and sat down upon the earth, and the earth arose up by miracle by the will of our Lord, in such wise that he sat as high as the other.

And anon after, word came that the pope was dead. Then S. Hilary confirmed all the other bishops that were there in the faith, and so confirmed, each went in to his country. 1

The Death of St. Hilary

In the end, when S. Hilary had impetred of God many miracles to be showed by his prayer, he became sick, and saw his death approach. Then he called to him one of his chaplains whom he much loved and said to him: Go thou out and bring to me word what thou hearest. When he had been long without, he came in and told to S. Hilary that he had heard a great noise in the city; and when it was midnight he sent his chaplain again to hearken as he had done tofore; and when he came again in to the chamber for to tell that he had heard nothing, a great clear light entered in, that the priest might not behold it. And when the light departed S. Hilary died, that was the year of grace three hundred and forty.

Let us pray to him that he pray for us. Amen

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. HYPPOLITUS, MARTYR

Chapter 118 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's edition" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Hyppolitus buried the body of St. Laurence, and after, he came into his house, and gave the peace to his servants and to his chamberers, and communed them with the sacrament of the altar, which Justin the priest had sacred. And the table was covered, but ere he took any meat, the knights came and haled him away, and brought him to the emperor.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS AND ALL HIS HOUSEHOLD

And when Decius the emperor saw him, he smiling said to him: Art thou now made an enchanter, which hast borne away the body of Laurence?

And Hyppolitus said: That have I done, not as an enchanter, but as a Christian man.

Then Decius, being replenished with great fury, commanded that he should be despoiled of his habit that he ware as a Christian man, and that his mouth should be beaten with stones.

To whom Hyppolitus said: Thou hast not despoiled me but rather clothed.

To whom Decius said: How is it that thou art now so foolish, that art not ashamed of thy nakedness? Now therefore make thou sacrifice, and thou shalt live, or else thou shalt perish with Laurence.

To whom Hyppolitus said: I would I might be made the example of St. Laurence, whom thou presumest to name with thy foul mouth and pollute.

Then Decius made him to be beaten with staves, and all to-rent with combs of iron. And he confessed with a clear voice that he was Christian. And when he had despised these torments, he did him to be clothed with the vesture of a knight that he tofore used, in exhorting him to receive his amity and his first chivalry.

And Hyppolitus said: I am the knight of Jesu Christ.

And then Decius, replenished with great wrath, delivered him to Valerian the provost, that he should take all his faculties, and slay him by divers torments.

And then he found that all the meiny of Hyppolitus' house were Christian, and all were brought tofore him, and when he would have constrained them to do sacrifice, one named Concordia, nurse of Hyppolitus, answered for them all: We had liefer die with our Lord chastely than live sinfully.

And then Decius, being present, commanded that she should be beaten with plummets of lead unto the time that she gave over her spirit, and Hyppolitus said: Lord, I thank thee that thou hast sent my nurse tofore the sight of thy saints.

And after that Valerian did do lead Hyppolitus with his meiny to the gate Tyburtine, and Hyppolitus comforted them all and said: Brethren, dread ye not, for ye and I have one only God.

And then Valerian commanded that all they should be beheaded before Hyppolitus, and then he made Hyppolitus to be bound by the feet unto the necks of wild horses, and made him to be drawn among thorns, briars, and rocks, till he rendered and gave to God his spirit. He died about the year of our Lord two hundred and sixty-six. And then Justin the priest took the bodies of them, and buried

them by the body of St. Laurence.

But he could not find the body of St. Concordia, for it was cast into a privy.

A knight, that was named Porphyry, weened that the blessed Concordia had gold and precious stones in her clothes, and came to a man named Irenæus, which was secretly a Christian man, and said to him: Keep my counsel secret, and draw Concordia out of the privy, for I trow that there be in her vestments gold and precious stones.

And he said: Show to me the place where she lieth and I shall keep thy counsel, and shall tell to thee what I shall find. And then he drew her out of the privy chamber, and found nothing, and then the knight fled away anon.

And Irenæus called to him a Christian man named Abundinus, and bare the body to St. Justin, and he took it devoutly and buried it by the body of St. Hyppolitus with the others. And when Valerian heard hereof he did do take IrenÃ¦us and Abundinus, and threw them all quick into the privy; and Justin took out their bodies and buried them with the other.

THE DEATHS OF VALERIAN AND DECIUS AND THE SUBSEQUENT CONVERSIONS

And after these things done, Decius and Valerian ascended into a golden chariot for to go and torment Christian men, and Decius was ravished of a devil and cried: O Hyppolitus thou hast bounden me with sharp chains and leadest me away.

And Valerian cried also: O Laurence, thou drawest me with fiery chains.

And the same hour Valerian died; and Decius returned home and died the third day, tormented of the devil, and cried: Laurence,

cease thou a little, I conjure thee to cease thy torments, and so died.

And when Tryphonia his wife, which was much cruel, saw this thing, she left all and took Cyrilla her daughter, and went to St. Justin and did do baptize her with many others. And that other day after, that as Tryphonia prayed, she gave up her spirit and died, and Justin the priest buried her body by St. Hyppolitus.

And forty-seven knights hearing that the queen and her daughter were become Christian, came with their wives to Justin the priest for to receive baptism.

Claudius the emperor, when Cyrilla would not do sacrifice, did do cut her throat, and did do behead the other knights. And the bodies were borne with the others into the field Veranus and there buried.

(And it is to be noted here expressly that Claudius succeeded Decius, which martyred St. Laurence and St. Hyppolitus, but he succeeded not Decius the emperor, for after the chronicles, Volusianus succeeded Decius, and Gallianus succeeded Volusianus, and Claudius succeeded Gallianus, so it behoveth that Gallianus had two names, that is to wit, Gallianus and Decius, and so saith Vincent in his chronicle and Godfrey in his book. Gallianus called one unto his help that was named Decius, whom he made CÃ¦sar, but not emperor, so saith Richard in his chronicle.)

ST. AMBROSEÂ□□S REMARKS ON HIPPOLYTUS

Of this martyr, saith Ambrose in his preface: The blessed martyr Hyppolitus considered that Jesu Christ was very duke, and he would be his knight, and had liefer be his knight than duke of knights, and he pursued not St. Laurence which was put under his keeping, but followed him, so that in suffering martyrdom he left the law of the tyrant, and came and possessed the treasure of very riches, which is the glory of the king perdurable and perpetual.

THE CARTER WHO CURSED

There was a carter named Peter which yoked his oxen in the cart in the feast of Mary Magdalene, and followed his oxen and began to curse them, and anon the oxen and the cart were smitten with thunder. And that same Peter which had so cursed was tormented of cruel torments, for fire took him so that he burnt the sinews and the flesh from his thigh, and the bone appeared, and that the thigh and leg fell off. Then he went to a church of our Lady and hid his leg in a hole of the church, and prayed our Lady with tears devoutly for his deliverance.

And on a night the blessed Virgin with St. Hyppolitus came tofore him in a vision, and she prayed to Hyppolitus that he would re-establish Peter in his first health, and anon St. Hyppolitus took his leg in the hole, and took and set it in his place, like as one grafteth in a tree.

And he felt so much pain in that vision that he awoke and cried so loud that he awoke all the meiny. And they arose and took light, and saw that Peter had two legs and two thighs, but they had supposed that it had been illusion, and they touched yet and yet eft, and saw that he had verily his members, and then they awoke him and demanded of him how it happed.

And he weened that they had mocked him. And when he saw it, he was all abashed, yet nevertheless the new thigh was softer than the old, and he might not well sustain his body therewith. And because this miracle should be published, he halted a whole year, and then the blessed Virgin appeared to him and said to St. Hyppolitus that he should perform that which appertained to that cure, and then he awoke and felt himself all whole.

And then he entered into a recluage. To whom the devil appeared oft-time in the likeness of a woman naked, and joined to him naked, and the more he defended him the more the devil approached near, in tempting him shamefully, and when he had been shamefully

travailed of her, he took the stole off a priest's neck and girt him with it, and anon the devil departed and left lying there a stinking and rotten carrion. And so great stench issued that there was none that saw it but said that it was the body of some dead woman which the devil had taken.

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OF THE INVENTION OF THE HOLY CROSS

Chapter 68 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's edition" of the text adds section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes. 1

The "invention" of the holy cross is said because that this day the holy cross was found [Latin, inventa]. For tofore it was found of Seth in Paradise terrestrial, like as it shall be said hereafter, and also it was found of Solomon in the Mount of Lebanon, and of the Queen of Sheba in the temple of Solomon, and of the Jews in the water of Piscine, and on this day it was found of Helena in the Mount of Calvary.

THE HISTORY OF THE CROSS BEFORE THE TIME OF CHRIST

Seth

The holy cross was found two hundred years after the resurrection of our Lord. It is read in the gospel of Nicodemus that, when Adam waxed sick, Seth his son went to the gate of Paradise terrestrial for to get the oil of mercy for to anoint withal his father's body. Then appeared to him St. Michael the angel, and said to him, "Travail not thou in vain for this oil, for thou mayst not have it till five thousand and five hundred years be past," how be it that from Adam unto the passion of our Lord were but five thousand one hundred and thirtythree years.

In another place it is read that the angel brought him a branch, and commanded him to plant it the Mount of Lebanon.

Yet find we in another place that he gave to him of the tree that Adam ate of, and said to him that when that bare fruit he should be guerished and all whole. When Seth came again he found his father dead and planted this tree upon his grave, and it endured there unto the time of Solomon.

Solomon

And because he saw that it was fair, he did do hew it down and set it in his house named Saltus. And when the Queen of Sheba came to visit Solomon, she worshipped this tree, because she said the Saviour of all the world should be hanged thereon, by whom the realm of the Jews shall be defaced and cease. Solomon for this cause made it to be taken up and dolven deep in the ground.

The Great Piscine

Now it happed after, that they of Jerusalem did do make a great pit for a piscine, whereas the ministers of the temple should wash their beasts that they should sacrifice, and there found this tree, and this piscine had such virtue that the angels descended and moved the water, and the first sick man that descended into the water, after the moving, was made whole of whatsoever sickness he was sick of. And when the time approached of the passion of our Lord, this tree arose out of the water, and floated above the water, and of this piece of timber made the Jews the cross of our Lord.

Then, after this history, the cross by which we be saved came of the tree by which we were damned, and the water of that piscine had not his virtue only of the angel but of the tree.

With this tree, whereof the cross was made, there was a tree that went overthwart, on which the arms of our Lord were nailed, and another piece above, which was the table wherein the title was written, and another piece wherein the socket or mortice was made, wherein the body of the cross stood in, so that there were four manner of trees, that is of palm, of cypress, of cedar, and of olive. So each of these four pieces was of one of these trees.

THE CONVERSION OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

This blessed cross was put in the earth, and hid by the space of a hundred years and more, but the mother of the emperor, which was named Helena, found it in this manner. For Constantine came with a

great multitude of barbarians nigh unto the river of the Danube, which would have gone over for to have destroyed all the country. And when Constantine had assembled his host he went and set them against that other party, but as soon as he began to pass the river he was much afeard because he should on the morn have battle. And in the night, as he slept in his bed, an angel awoke him, and showed to him the sign of the cross in heaven, and said to him: Behold on high in heaven.

Then saw he the cross made of right clear light, and was written thereupon with letters of gold: In this sign thou shalt overcome the battle.

Then was he all comforted of this vision and on the morn he put in his banner the cross and made it to be borne tofore him and his host, and after, smote in the host of his enemies and slew and chased great plenty.

After this he did do call the bishops of the idols, and demanded them to what God the sign of the cross appertained. And when they could not answer, some Christian men that were there told to him the mystery of the cross, and informed him in the faith of the Trinity. Then anon he believed perfectly in God and did do baptize him.

ST. HELENA FINDS THE HOLY CROSS

And after it happed that Constantine his son remembered the victory of his father, and sent to Helena his mother for to find the holy cross. Then Helena went in to Jerusalem and did do assemble all the wise men of the country, and when they were assembled they would fain know wherefore they were called. Then one Judas said to them: I wot well that she will know of us where the cross of Jesu Christ was laid, but beware you all that none of you tell her, for I wot well, then shall our law be destroyed. For Zacheus, mine old father, said to Simon my father, and my father said to me at his death: "Be well ware that for no torment that ye may suffer, tell not where the cross of Jesu Christ was laid, for after that it shall be

found the Jews shall reign no more, but the Christian men that worshipped the cross shall then reign; and verily this Jesus was the son of God." Then demanded I my father wherefore had they hanged him on the cross sith it was known that he was the son of God. Then he said to me: "Fair son, I never accorded thereto, but gainsaid it always, but the Pharisees did it because he reproved their vices; but he arose on the third day and, his disciples seeing, he ascended into heaven; then because that Stephen, thy brother, believed in him the Jews stoned him to death."

Then, when Judas had said these words to his fellows, they answered: We never heard of such things, nevertheless keep thee well, if the queen demand thee thereof, that thou say no thing to her.

When the queen had called them and demanded them the place where our Lord Jesu Christ had been crucified, they would never tell ne enseign her. Then commanded she to burn them all, but then they doubted and were afraid, and delivered Judas to her and said: Lady, this man is the son of a prophet and of a just man, and knoweth right well the law, and can tell to you all things that ye shall demand him.

Then the queen let all the others go and retained Judas without more. Then she showed to him his life and death, and bade him choose which he would. Show to me, said she, the place named Golgotha where our Lord was crucified, because and to the end that we may find the cross.

Then said Judas: It is two hundred years passed and more, and I was not then yet born.

Then said to him the lady: By him that was crucified, I shall make thee perish for hunger if thou tell not to me the truth.

Then made she him to be cast into a dry pit and there tormented him by hunger and evil rest. When he had been seven days in that pit, then said he: If I might be drawn out, I should say the truth. Then

he was drawn out, and when he came to the place, anon the earth moved, and a fume of great sweetness was felt, in such wise that Judas smote his hands together for joy, and said: In truth, Jesu Christ, thou art the Saviour of the world.

It was so that Adrian the emperor had do make, in the same place where the cross lay, a temple of a goddess, because that all they that came in that place should adore that goddess, but the queen did do destroy the temple. Then Judas made him ready and began to dig, and when he came to twenty paces deep he found three crosses and brought them to the queen, and because he knew not which was the cross of our Lord, he laid them in the middle of the city and abode the demonstrance of God; and about the hour of noon there was the corps of a young man brought to be buried. Judas retained the bier, and laid upon it one of the crosses, and after the second, and when he laid on it the third, anon the body that was dead came again to life.

Then cried the devil in the air: Judas, what hast thou done? Thou hast done the contrary that the other Judas did, for by him I have won many souls, and by thee I shall lose many, by him I reigned on the people, and by thee I have lost my realm, nevertheless I shall yield to thee this bounty, for I shall send one that shall punish thee. And that was accomplished by Julian the Apostate, which tormented him afterward, when he was bishop of Jerusalem. And when Judas heard him, he cursed the devil and said to him: Jesu Christ damn thee in fire perdurable. After this Judas was baptized and was named Quiriacus, and after was made bishop of Jerusalem.

When Helena had the cross of Jesu Christ, and saw that she had not the nails, then she sent to the bishop Quiriacus that he should go to the place and seek the nails. Then he did dig in the earth so long that he found them shining as gold; then bare he them to the queen, and anon as she saw them she worshipped them with great reverence. Then gave St. Helena a part of the cross to her son and that other part she left in Jerusalem, closed in gold, silver, and precious stones. And her son bare the nails to the emperor, and the

emperor did do set them in his bridle and in his helm when he went to battle. This rehearseth Eusebius, which, was bishop of Cæsarea, how be it that others say otherwise.

ST. QUIRIACUS IS TORTURED AND KILLED BY JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Now it happed that Julian the Apostate did do slay Quiriacus, that was bishop of Jerusalem, because he had found the cross, for he hated it so much that wheresomever he found the cross he did it to be destroyed. For when he went in battle against them of Persia, he sent and commanded Quiriacus to make sacrifice to the idols, and when he would not do it, he did do smite off his right hand, and said: With this hand hast thou written many letters by which thou repelled much folk from doing sacrifice to our gods.

Quiriacus said: Thou wood hound, thou hast done to me great profit, for thou hast cut off the hand with which I have many times written to the synagogues that they should not believe in Jesu Christ, and now sith I am Christian thou hast taken from me that which noyed me.

Then did Julian do melt lead and cast it in his mouth, and after did do bring a bed of iron and made Quiriacus to be laid and stretched thereon, and after laid under burning coals and threw therein grease and salt for to torment him the more; and when Quiriacus moved not, Julian the emperor said to him: Either thou shalt sacrifice to our gods, or thou shalt say at the least thou art not Christian.

And when he saw he would do never neither, he did do make a deep pit full of serpents and venomous beasts, and cast him therein. And when he entered, anon the serpents were all dead.

Then Julian put him in a caldron of boiling oil, and when he should enter into it he blessed it, and said: Fair Lord, turn this bath to baptism of martyrdom.

Then was Julian much angry, and commanded that he should be riven through his heart with a sword, and in this manner finished his life.

MIRACLES OF THE HOLY CROSS

The virtue of the cross is declared to us by many miracles; for it happed on a time that one enchanter had deceived a notary and brought him into a place where he had assembled a great company of devils, and promised to him that he would make him to have much riches; and when he came there he saw one person black, sitting on a great chair, and all about him all full of horrible people and black which had spears and swords. Then demanded this great devil of the enchanter who was that clerk. The enchanter said to him: Sir, he is ours.

Then said the devil to him: If thou wilt worship me and be my servant and reny Jesu Christ, thou shalt sit on my right side.

The clerk anon blessed him with the sign of the cross, and said that he was the servant of Jesu Christ his Saviour, and anon, as he had made the cross, that great multitude of devils vanished away.

It happed that this notary, after this, on a time entered with his lord into the church of St. Sophia and kneeled down on his knees tofore the image of the crucifix, the which crucifix, as it seemed, looked much openly and sharply on him. Then his lord made him to go apart on another side, and always the crucifix turned his eyes towards him; then he made him go on the left side, and yet the crucifix looked on him, then was the lord much amarvelled, and charged him and commanded him that he should tell him whereof he had so deserved that the crucifix so beheld and looked on him.

Then said the notary that he could not remember him of no good thing that he had done, save that one time he would not reny ne forsake the crucifix tofore the devil.

Then let us so bless us with the sign of the blessed cross that we may thereby be kept from the power of our ghostly and deadly enemy the devil, and by the merits of the glorious passion that our Saviour Jesu Christ suffered on the cross, after this life we may come to his everlasting bliss. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ISAAC, WITH THE HISTORY OF ESAY AND OF JACOB, WHICH IS READ IN THE CHURCH THE SECOND SUNDAY OF LENT

In his translation of the Golden Legend (1483) William Caxton included this chapter on Isaac and his sons. In the Prologue to his edition of Caxton (1931) F. S. Ellis suggested that this and other "Bible histories" in the 1483 work were drawn from the earlier English translation that Caxton mentioned in his preface.

THE BIRTH AND YOUTH OF JACOB AND ESAU

Isaac was forty years old when he wedded Rebekah and she bare him no children. Wherefore he besought our Lord that she might conceive and bring forth fruit. Our Lord heard his prayer that she conceived of him and had twain sons at once, which two, ere they were born, fought oft in their mother's belly. For which cause she prayed God to counsel her and to give her comfort, which appeared and said to her: Two manner people be in thy belly, and two manner folk shall be divided from thy womb, people shall overcome people, and the more shall serve the less.

Thus said our Lord to her. After this, when time came that she should be delivered, there were twain to be born. The first that issued was rough from the head to the foot, and he was named Esau. And forthwith followed that other holding the plant of his brother's foot in his hand, and he was named Jacob. Isaac the father was sixty years old when these children were born.

And after this, when they were grown to reasonable age, Esau became a ploughman, and a tiller of the earth, and an hunter. And Jacob was simple and dwelled at home with his mother. Isaac the father loved well Esau, because he ate oft of the venison that Esau took, and Rebekah the mother loved Jacob.

Jacob on a time had made a good pottage, and Esau his brother had been an hunting all day and came home sore an hungred, and found Jacob having good pottage, and prayed him to give him some, for he was weary and much hungry. To whom Jacob said: If thou wilt sell to me thy patrimony and heritage I shall give thee some pottage.

And Esau answered, Lo! I die for hunger, what shall avail me mine inheritance if I die, and what shall profit me my patrimony? I am content that thou take it for this pottage.

Jacob then said: Swear that to me thou shalt never claim it, and that thou art content I shall enjoy it, and Esau sware it, and so sold away his patrimony, and took the pottage and ate it, and went his way, setting nothing thereby that he had sold his patrimony. This aforesaid is to bring in my matter of the history that is read, for now followeth the legend as it is read in the church.

ISAACÂ□□S BLESSING

Isaac began to wax old and his eyes failed and dimmed that he might not clearly see. And on a time he called Esau his oldest son and said to him: Son mine!

Which answered: Father, I am here ready.

To whom the father said: Behold that I wax old and know not the day that I shall die and depart out of this world, wherefore take thine harness, thy bow and quiver with tackles, and go forth an hunting, and when thou hast taken any venison, make to me thereof such manner meat as thou knowest that I am wont to eat, and bring it to me that I may eat it, and that my soul may bless thee ere I die.

Which all these words Rebekah heard. And Esau went forth for to accomplish the commandment of his father, and she said then to Jacob: I have heard thy father say to Esau, thy brother: Bring to me of thy venison, and make thereof meat that I may eat, and that I

may bless thee tofore our Lord ere I die. Now my son, take heed to my counsel, and go forth to the flock, and bring to me two the best kids that thou canst find, and I shall make of them meat such as thy father shall gladly eat, which when thou hast brought to him and hast eaten he may bless thee ere he die.

To whom Jacob answered: knowest thou not that my brother is rough and hairy and I am smooth? If my father take me to him and taste me and feel, I dread me that he shall think that I mock him, and shall give me his curse for the blessing.

The mother then said to him: In me, said she, be this curse, my son, nevertheless hear me; go to the flock and do that I have said to thee.

He went and fetched the kids and delivered them to his mother, and she went and ordained them into such meat as she knew well that his father loved, and took the best clothes that Esau had, and did them on Jacob. And the skins of the kids she did about his neck and hands there as he was bare, and delivered to him bread and the pulment that she had boiled.

And he went to his father and said: Father mine!

And he answered: I am here; who art thou, my son?

Jacob said: I am Esau, thy first begotten son. I have done as thou commandedst me. Arise, sit and eat of the venison of my hunting that thy soul may bless me.

Then said Isaac again to his son: How mightest thou, said he, so soon find and take it, my son?

To whom he answered: It was the will of God that such thing as I desired came soon to my hand.

Isaac said to him: Come hither to me, my son, that I may touch and

handle thee, that I may prove whether thou be my son Esau or not.

He came to his father, and when he had felt him, Isaac said: The voice truly is the voice of Jacob, but the hands be the hands of Esau.

And he knew him not, for his hands expressed the likeness and similitude of the more brother. Therefore blessing him, he said to him: Thou art then my son Esau?

He answered and said: I am he.

Then said Isaac: Bring to me the meat of thine hunting, my son, that my soul may bless thee.

Which he offered and gave to his father, and also wine. And when he had eaten and drunken a good draught of the wine, he said to Jacob: Come hither to me, my son, and kiss me.

And he went to him and kissed him. Anon as he felt the sweet savour and smell of his clothes, blessing him he said: Lo! the sweet odour of my son is as the odour of a field full of flowers, whom our Lord bless. God give to thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of wheat, wine, and oil, and the people serve thee, and the tribes worship thee. Be thou lord of thy brethren, and the sons of thy mother shall bow down and kneel to thee. Whosomever curseth thee, be he accursed, and who that blesseth thee, with blessings be he fulfilled.

Unnethe Isaac had fulfilled these words and Jacob gone out, when that Esau came with his meat that he had gotten with hunting, entered in, and offered to his father saying: Arise, father mine, and eat of the venison that thy son hath ordained for thee, that thy soul may bless me.

Isaac said to him: Who art thou?

To whom he answered, I am thy first begotten son Esau.

Isaac then was greatly abashed and astonied, and marvelled more than can be thought credible. And then he was in a trance, as the master of histories saith, in which he had knowledge that God would that Jacob should have the blessing. And said to Esau: Who then was he that right now a little tofore thy coming brought to me venison? And I have eaten of all that he brought to me ere thou camest. I have blessed him, and he shall be blessed.

When Esau heard these words of his father, he cried with a great cry, and was sore astonied and said: Father, I pray thee bless me also.

To whom he said: Thy brother germain is come fraudulently, and hath received thy blessing.

Then said Esau: Certainly and justly may his name be called well Jacob, for on another time tofore this he supplanted me of my patrimony, and now secondly he hath undernome from me my blessing. And yet then he said to his father: Hast thou not reserved to me one blessing?

Isaac answered: I have ordained him to be thy lord, I have subdued all his brethren to his servitude. I have stablished him in wheat, wine and oil. And after this what shall I do to thee, my son?

To whom Esau said: Hast thou not, father, yet one blessing? I beseech thee to bless me.

Then with a great sighing and weeping Isaac moved said to him: In the fatness of the earth and in the dew of heaven shall be thy blessing, thou shalt live in thy sword, and shalt serve thy brother.

Then was Esau woe-begone, and hated Jacob for supplanting him of his blessing that his father had blessed him with, and said in his heart: The days of sorrow shall come to my father, for I shall slay my

brother Jacob.

This was told to Rebekah, which anon sent for Jacob her son, and said to him: Lo! Esau thy brother threateneth to slay thee, therefore now my son hear my voice and do as I shall counsel. Make thee ready and go to my brother in Aran, and dwell there with him unto the time that his anger and fury be overpast, and his indignation ceased, and that he forget such things that thou hast done to him, and then after that I shall send for thee, and bring thee hither again.

And Rebekah went to Isaac her husband and said: I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth, if Jacob take to him a wife of that kindred, I will no longer live.

JACOB SETS OUT FOR MESOPOTAMIA OF SYRIA

Isaac then called Jacob and blessed him and commanded to him saying: I charge thee in no wise to take a wife of the kindred of Canaan, but go and walk into Mesopotamia of Syria, unto the house of Bethuel, father of thy mother, and take to thee there a wife of the daughters of Laban thine uncle. God Almighty bless thee, and make thee grow and multiply, that thou mayst be increased into tourbes of people, and give to thee the blessings of Abraham, and to thy seed after thee, that thou mayst possess and own the land of thy pilgrimage which he granted to thy grandsire.

When Isaac had thus said, and given him leave to go, he departed anon, and went into Mesopotamia of Syria to Laban, son of Bethuel, brother of Rebekah his mother. Esau seeing that his father had blessed Jacob and sent him into Mesopotamia of Syria to wed a wife there, and that after his blessing commanded to him saying: Take thou no wife of the daughters of Canaan; and he obeying his father went into Syria, proving thereby that his father saw not gladly the daughters of Canaan, he went to Ishmael and took him a wife beside them that he had taken tofore, that was Melech, daughter of Ishmael, son of Abraham.

JACOBÂ□□S DREAM OF THE LADDER

Then Jacob departed from Beersheba and went forth on his journey toward Aran. When he came to a certain place after going down of the sun and would rest there all night, he took of the stones that were there and laid under his head and slept in the same place. And there he saw in his sleep a ladder standing on the earth, and the upper end thereof touched heaven, and angels of God ascending and descending upon it, and our Lord in the midst of the ladder saying to him: I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and of Isaac; the land on which thou sleepest I shall give to thee and to thy seed, and thy seed shall be as dust of the earth; thou shalt spread abroad unto the east and unto the west, and north and south, and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee and in thy seed. And I shall be thy keeper wheresoever thou shalt go, and shall bring thee again into this land, and I shall not leave till I have accomplished all that I have said.

When Jacob was awaked from his sleep and dreaming, he said: Verily God is in this place, and I wist not of it. And he said dreadingly: How terrible is this place, none other thing is here but the house of God and the gate of heaven. Then Jacob arose early and took the stone that lay under his head, and raised it for witness, pouring oil thereon, and called the name of the place Bethel which tofore was called Luza. And there he made a vow to our Lord, saying: If God be with me and keep me in the way that I walk, and give me bread to eat, and clothes to cover me, and I may return prosperously into the house of my father, the Lord shall be my God, and this stone that I have raised in witness, this shall be called the house of God. And the good of all things that thou givest to me, I shall offer to thee the tithes and tenth part.

JACOB MEETS RACHEL

Then Jacob went forth into the east, and saw a pit in a field and three flocks of sheep lying by it, for of that pit were the beasts watered. And the mouth thereof was shut and closed with a great

stone, for the custom was when all the sheep were gathered, they rolled away the stone, and when they had drunken they laid the stone again at the pit mouth. And then he said to the shepherds: Brethren, whence are ye?

Which answered: Of Aran.

Then he asking them said: Know ye not Laban, son of Nahor? They said: We know him well.

How fareth he, said he, is he all whole?

He fareth well, said they; and lo! Rachel his daughter cometh there with her flock.

Then said Jacob: It is yet far to even; it is yet time that the flocks be led to drink, and after be driven to pasture.

Which answered: We may not so do till all the beasts be gathered, and then we remove the stone from the mouth of the pit and water our beasts.

And as they talked, Rachel came with the flock of her father, for she kept that time the beasts. And when Jacob saw her and knew that she was his eme's daughter, and that they were his eme's sheep, he removed the stone from the pit's mouth, and when her sheep had drunken, he kissed her, and weeping he told her that he was brother to her father and son of Rebekah. Then she hied her and told it to her father, which when he understood that Jacob, his sister's son was come, he ran against him and, embracing, kissed him, and led him into his house. And when he had heard the cause of his journey he said: Thou art my mouth and my flesh.

JACOB MARRIES RACHEL AND LEAH

And when he had been there the space of a month, he demanded Jacob if he would gladly serve him because he was his cousin, and

what hire and reward he would have. He had two daughters, the more was named Leah, and the less was called Rachel, but Leah was blear-eyed, and Rachel was fair of visage and well-favoured, whom Jacob loved, and said: I shall serve thee for Rachel thy younger daughter seven years.

Laban answered: It is better that I give her to thee than to a strange man; dwell and abide with me, and thou shalt have her. And so Jacob served him for Rachel seven years, and him thought it but a little while, because of the great love that he had to her. And at the end of seven years, Jacob said to Laban: Give to me my wife, for the time is come that I should have her.

Then Laban called all his friends and made a feast for the wedding, and at night he brought in Leah, the more daughter, and delivered to her an handmaid named Zilpah. Then Jacob, weening that it had been Rachel, went to her as the manner is, and when the morning came and he saw that it was Leah, he said to Laban her father: What hast thou done? Have I not served thee for Rachel, why hast thou brought Leah to me?

Laban answered: It is not the usage ne custom of our country to give the younger first to be wedded, but fulfil and make an end of this complement and marriage this week, and then shall I give to thee Rachel my daughter for other seven years that thou shalt serve to me.

Jacob agreed gladly, and when that week was passed, he wedded Rachel to his wife. To whom Laban her father gave an handmaid named Bilhah. Nevertheless when the wedding of the younger was finished, because of the great love that he had to her, him thought that the other seven years were but short.

JACOBÂ□□S CHILDREN

Our Lord saw that he despised Leah. He let Leah conceive, and Rachel her sister abode barren, which then Leah bare a son and

named him Reuben, saying: Our Lord God hath beholden mine humility and meekness, now shall mine husband love me.

She conceived yet and bare another son, and said, â□□Because our Lord saw me despised he hath given to me this son.â□□ And she called him Simeon.

She conceived the third, and brought forth another son, and said, â□□Now shall my husband be coupled to me, because I have born to him three sons.â□□ And she called his name Levi.

She conceived the fourth son and was delivered of him, and said, â□□Now I shall knowledge me to our Lord.â□□ And therefore she named him Judah, and then she ceased of bearing of children.

Rachel, seeing herself barren, had envy to her sister and said to Jacob her husband: Make me with child or else I shall die.

To whom Jacob was wroth, and answered: What! weenest thou that I were God and hath prived from thee the fruit of thy belly?

Then she said, I have my servant Bilhah, go unto her, and let her conceive of thee on my knees, that I may have of her some sons.

She gave Bilhah unto her husband to know her, which when Jacob had known, she conceived and bare a son. Then said Rachel, â□□Our Lord hath heard my petition giving to me a son,â□□ and she named him Dan.

After that Bilhah conceived again and bare another son, for whom Rachel said, â□□Our Lord hath compared me to my sister and I have availed.â□□ And she named him Naphtali.

Then Leah feeling that she conceived no more, she gave Zilpah her handmaid to her husband, which conceived and bare a son whom Leah named Gad. After Zilpah conceived and bare another son, for whom Leah said, â□□This is for my blessedness, and certainly all

generations shall say that I am blessed.â□□ Therefore she called him Asher.

It happed that Reuben went out in harvest time into the field, and took there a mandrake which he brought and gave to his mother. Then Rachel said to her sister Leah: Give me some part of the mandrake of thy son.

Leah answered: Is it not enough to take from me my husband, but that also thou wilt have part of the mandrake of my son?

Then said Rachel: He shall sleep with thee this night for the mandrake of thy son.

At even, when Jacob came home from the field, Leah went against him and said to him: Thou shalt this night sleep with me, for I have bought thee for the meed of the mandrake of my son.

He slept with her that night, and our Lord heard her prayers. She conceived and brought forth the fifth son, and she said: â□□God hath rewarded me because I gave my handmaid to my husband.â□□ She called his name Issachar.

Yet Leah conceived and bare the sixth son and said, â□□God hath endowed me with a good dower, yet shall my husband abide with me because I have borne to him six sons.â□□ And she called his name Zebulon.

After this she conceived and bare a daughter named Dinah. Then our Lord remembered Rachel and heard her and opened the place of conception, which conceived and bare a son, saying, â□□The Lord hath taken away mine opprobrium and shame,â□□ and named his name Joseph, saying, â□□I pray God to send me another.â□□

JACOB RETURNS TO CANAAN

When Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban his wives' father: Give me leave to depart that I may go in to my country and my land; give to me my wives and children for whom I have served thee that I may go hence. Thou knowest what service I have served thee.

Laban said to him: I have founden grace in thy sight; I know it by experience that God hath blessed me for thee; I have ordained the reward that I shall give to thee.

Then Jacob answered: Thou knowest how I have served thee, and how much thy possession was in my hands…[break in the text]… And when he said the contrary they brought forth all white. God hath taken the substance of your father and hath given it to me. And now God hath commanded me to depart, wherefore make you ready and let us depart hence.

Then answered Rachel and Leah: Shall we have nothing else of our father's faculty and of the heritage of his house? Shall he repute us as strangers, and he hath eaten and sold our goods? Sith God hath taken the goods of our father and hath given it to us and to our children, wherefore all that God commanded to thee, do it.

Jacob arose and set his children and his wives upon his camels, and went his way and took all his substance, and flocks, and all that he had gotten in Mesopotamia and went toward his father Isaac into the land of Canaan.

That time was Laban gone to shear his sheep, and Rachel stole away the idols of her father. Jacob would not let Laban know of his departing, and when he was departed with all that longed to him of right, he came to the mount of Gilead. It was told to Laban, the third day after, that Jacob was fled and gone, who anon took his brethren and pursued him by the space of seven days and overtook him in the mount of Gilead. He saw our Lord in his sleep saying to him: Beware that thou speak not angrily ne hard words to Jacob.

That time Jacob had set his tabernacle in the hill, and when he

came thither with his brethren, he said to Jacob: Why hast thou done thus to me to take away my daughters as prisoners taken by sword? Why fleddest thou from me and wouldst not let me have knowledge thereof? Thou hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and daughters, thou hast done follily. Now may I do thee harm and evil, but the God of thy father said to me yesterday: Beware that thou speak no hard words against Jacob. Thou desirest to go to the house of thy father, why hast thou them, and returned into his country.

THE RECONCILIATION WITH ESAU

Jacob went forth in his journey that he had taken. Angels of God met him, which when he saw, he said: These be the castles of God, and called that place Mahanaim. He sent messengers tofore him to Esau his brother in the land of Seir, in the land of Edom, and bade them say thus to Esau: This saith thy brother Jacob: I have dwelled with Laban unto this day, I have oxen and asses, servants both men and women. I send now a legation unto my lord that I may find grace in his sight.

These messengers returned to Jacob and said: We came to Esau thy brother, and lo! he cometh for to meet thee with four hundred men.

Jacob was sore afraid then, and divided his company into twain turmes, saying: If Esau come to that one and destroy that, that other shall yet be saved. Then said Jacob: O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O Lord that saidst to me, return into thy land and place of thy nativity, and saidst I shall do well to thee, I am the least in all thy mercies, and in thy truth that thou hast granted to thy servant, with my staff I have gone this river of Jordan, and now I return with two turmes. I beseech the Lord keep me from the hands of my brother Esau, for I fear him greatly lest he come and smite down the mother with the sons. Thou hast said that thou shouldest do well to me and shouldest spread my seed like unto the gravel of the sea, and that it may not be numbered for multitude.

Then when he had slept that night, he ordained gifts for to send to his brother, goats two hundred, kids twenty, sheep two hundred, and rams twenty; forty kine and twenty bulls, twenty asses and ten foals of them. And he sent by his servants all these beasts; and bade them say that Jacob his servant sent to him this present and that he followeth after. And Jacob thought to please him with gifts.

The night following, him thought a man wrestled with him all that night till the morning, and when he saw he might not overcome him, he hurted the sinew of his thigh that he halted thereof, and said to him: Let me go and leave me, for it is in the morning. Then Jacob answered: I shall not leave thee but if thou bless me.

He said to him: What is thy name?

He answered: Jacob.

Then he said: Nay, said he, thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, for if thou hast been strong against God, how much more shalt thou prevail against men?

Then Jacob said to him: What is thy name? tell me. He answered, Why demandest thou my name, which is marvellous? And he blessed him in the same place.

Jacob called the name of that same place Penuel, saying: I have seen our Lord face to face, and my soul is made safe.

And anon as he was past Penuel the sun arose. He halted on his foot, and therefore the children of Israel eat no sinews because it dried in the thigh of Jacob.

Then Jacob lifting up his eyes saw Esau coming and four hundred men with him, and divided the sons of Leah and of Rachel, and of both their handmaidens, and set each handmaid and their children tofore in the first place, Leah and her sons in the second, and

Rachel and Joseph all behind. And he going tofore kneeled down to ground and, worshipping his brother, approached him. Esau ran for to meet with his brother, and embraced him, straining his neck, and weeping kissed him.

And he looked forth and saw the women and their children, and said: What been these and to whom longen they?

Jacob answered: They be children which God hath given to me thy servant and his handmaidens.

And their children approached and kneeled down, and Leah with her children also worshipped him, and last of all Joseph and Rachel worshipped him. Then said Esau: Whose been these turmes which I have met?

Jacob answered: I have sent them to thee, my lord, unto the end that I may stand in thy grace.

Esau said: I have many myself, keep these and let them be thine.

Nay, said Jacob, I pray thee to take this gift which God hath sent me that I may find grace in thy sight, for meseemeth I see thy visage like the visage of God; and therefore be thou to me merciful, and take this blessing of me.

Unnethe by compelling he taking it, said: Let us go together, I shall accompany thee and be fellow of thy journey.

Then said Jacob: Thou knowest well, my lord, that I have young children and tender, and sheep and oxen, which, if I overlaboured, should die all in a day, wherefore please it you, my lord, to go tofore, and I shall follow as I may with my children and beasts.

Esau answered: I pray thee then let my fellows abide and accompany thee, whatsoever need thou have.

Jacob said: It is no need, I need no more but one, that I may stand in thy favour, my lord.

THE RAPE OF DINAH

And Esau returned then the same way and journey that he came into Seir. And Jacob came to Succoth and builded there an house, and from thence he went in to Shalem, the town of Shechem which is in the land of Canaan, and bought there a part of a field, in which he fixed his tabernacles, of the sons of Hamor father of Shechem for an hundred lambs. And there he raised an altar, and worshipped upon it the strongest God of Israel.

It happed that Dinah, daughter of Leah, went out for to see the women of that region, which when Shechem, son of Hamor, prince of that land saw, anon loved and ravished and slept with her, oppressing her by strength, and was assotted on her in such wise as he went to his father Hamor and said: Give me this damsel in marriage that she may be my wife.

Which when Jacob knew, and heard how his daughter was ravished, his sons then being absent in occupation of feeding of their beasts in the field, he held it secret till they returned. Then Hamor went to speak of this matter to Jacob, and that time his sons came from the field and heard what was happened and done, and were passing wroth and angry because he had so defouled their sister.

Then said Hamor to them: Shechem my son loveth your daughter, give her to him in marriage, and let us ally each with other, let our daughters be given to you, and yours to us, and dwell ye with us. All the country is in your power, exercise and occupy it, buy and sell and take ye it.

Then said Shechem to his father and brethren: Whatsoever ye ordain I will do, and what ye demand, gifts or dower, I shall gladly give it, so I may have this damsel unto my wife. Then answered the

sons of Jacob to Shechem and his father in guile, dissimuling as they had not known the ravishment of their sister: We may not do that ye desire, ne give our sister to a man uncircumcised. it is a thing unlawful and great sin to…

THE LORDÂ□□S BLESSING

…[break in text] u Lord appeared again to Jacob after that he was returned from Mesopotamia of Syria, and was come into Bethel, and blessed him saying, â□□Thou shalt no more be called Jacob but Israel shall be thy name, and called him Israel, and said to him: I am God Almighty, grow and multiply, folks and peoples of nations shall come of thee, kings shall come of thy loins. The land that I gave to Abraham and Isaac I shall give to thee and thy seed,â□□ and vanished from him.

He then raised a stone for a remembrance in the place where God spake to him, and anointed it with oil, calling the name of the place Bethel. He went thence and came in veer time unto the land that goeth to Ephrath, in which place Rachel travailed and began for cause of childing to die. The midwife said to her, Be not afeard, for thou shalt have a son.

And the death drawing near, she named him Benoni, which is as much to say as the son of my sorrow. The father called him Benjamin, that is to say the son of the right hand. There Rachel died and was buried in the way toward Ephrath, that is Bethlehem. Jacob raised a title upon her tomb; this is the title of the monument of Rachel unto this present day. Jacob went thence and came to Isaac his father into Mamre the city of Arbah, that is Hebron, in which dwelled Abraham and Isaac. And all the days of Isaac were complete, which were an hundred and fourscore years, and he consumed and died in good mind, and Esau and Jacob his sons buried him.

Thus endeth the history of Isaac and his two sons Esau and Jacob.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE INVENTION OF ST. STEPHEN, PROMARTYR

Chapter 112 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

The invention of the holy body of St. Stephen, promartyr, was made in the year of our Lord four hundred and seventeen, in the seventeenth year of Honorius the emperor. The invention of him, the translation, and the conjunction, were made to order.

THE DISCOVERY OF ST. STEPHEN'S BODY

For a priest named Lucian of the country of Jerusalem, of whom Gennadius recounteth among the noble men and writeth thus, that on a Friday when he was in his bed and rested and unnethe awoke, he saw an ancient man of noble stature with a long beard, with a seemly visage environed in a white mantle in which there were little ouches or crosses of gold tissued. He was hosed with hosen broidered with gold above, which held in his hand a rod of gold with which he touched him, and said: Go and with great diligence open our tombs, for we be laid in a place dishonest and of despite. Go thou therefore unto John the bishop of Jerusalem and say to him that he lay us in a more honourable place. And because that drought and tribulation is through the world, God hath ordained to be debonair and merciful to the world by our suffrages and prayers.

And Lucian said to him: Sir, who art thou?

I am, said he, Gamaliel, which nourished the apostle Paul and enseigned him the law of my fathers, and he that lieth with me is St. Stephen, which was stoned of the Jews and cast out of the city for to be devoured of the beasts and birds, but he kept him, to whom he kept his faith, without hurting, and I with great diligence took up the body and with great reverence buried it in my new tomb. And that other that lieth with me is Nicodemus, my nephew, which went by

night to Jesu Christ and received baptism of Peter and John, and therefore the princes of priests were angry with him and would have slain him, but that they left at reverence of us. Nevertheless they took away all his substance and deposed him from his principate, and beat him strongly and let him lie for dead. And then I led him into my house, where he lived after but a few days, and when he was dead I buried him at the feet of St. Stephen. And the third that is with me is Abibas, my son, which in the twentieth year of his age received baptism with me and was a clean virgin, and learned the law of God with my disciple Paul. And Ethea my wife and Selimus my son, which would not receive the faith of Jesu Christ, were not worthy to be in our sepulture, thou shalt find them buried in another place, and shalt find their tombs void and idle.

And when he had said all this St. Gamaliel vanished away, and then Lucian awoke and prayed to God if this vision were true that it might be showed yet the second time and the third time. And the next Friday after following, he appeared like as he did tofore, and said to him: Wherefore hast thou disdained to do that which I have required thee?

And he said to him: Sir, I have no disdain, but I have prayed God if it be in his name that it appear to me yet once again.

And Gamaliel said to him: Because thou hast thought in thy courage that if martyr thou find us how thou mightest devise the relics of each of us, I shall enseign thee of every each by similitude to know the tombs and relics of each of us.

And then he showed three paniers of gold, and the fourth of silver, of the which that one was full of red roses, the other twain of white roses, and the fourth, which was of silver, was full of saffron. And Gamaliel said to him: These paniers be our tombs, and these roses be our relics, and the first full of red roses is the tomb of St. Stephen, which only of us all deserved the crown of martyrdom. The other twain, full of white roses, be the tombs of me and Nicodemus which persevered with a clean heart in the confession of Jesu

Christ, and the fourth of silver, which is full of saffron, is of Abibas my son, which shineth by whiteness of virginity, and issued out of this world pure and net.

And this said he vanished away. And the Friday after that week following, he appeared to him again all angry, and blamed him grievously of his delayment and negligence. And anon Lucian went to Jerusalem and recounted all by order to John the bishop, and called the other bishops, and went to the place that was showed to Lucian, and when they had begun to delve, and moved the earth, a right sweet savour was felt. And by the marvellous flavour and sweetness; and by the merits of the saints, seventy sick men were healed of their infirmities. And thus the relics of these saints were transported into the church of Sion which is in Jerusalem, in the which St. Stephen used the office of the archdeacon. And there were they ordained for right honourably. In the same hour descended from heaven much rain.

And of this vision and invention Bede maketh mention in his chronicle. And this invention, saith St. Bede, was in the same day that his passion is hallowed, and his passion as it is said was the same day also. But the feasts have been changed by double reason.

The first reason is because that Jesu Christ was born in earth that man should be born in heaven, therefore it appertaineth that the feast of St. Stephen should follow the nativity of Christ. For he was first martyred for Christ for to be born in heaven, and so it signifieth that the one follow that other, and therefore it is sung in the church: Yesterday Christ was born in earth, that this day Stephen should be born in heaven.

The second reason is that the feast of the invention is more solemnly made than the feast of his passion, and that is only for the nativity of our Lord Jesu Christ. Nevertheless our Lord hath showed many miracles in the invention of him. And because his passion is more worthy than his invention, therefore ought it to be more

solemn, and therefore the church hath transported his passion to the time in which it is had in greater reverence.

THE TRANSLATION OF STEPHEN'S BODY TO CONSTANTINOPLE

And as St. Austin saith: The translation of him was in this manner. Alexander, senator of Constantinople, went with his wife to Jerusalem and made there a fair oratory to St. Stephen the first martyr, and after his death he did him to be buried by his body. And seven years after, Juliana his wife would return into her country because that the princes did to her wrong, and would carry with her the body of her husband. And when she had made long request to the bishop with many prayers, the bishop showed to her two tombs of silver and said to her: I wot not which of these twain is thy husband.

And she said to him, "I wot well," and went hastily and embraced the body of Stephen. And thus by case of fortune, when she weened to have taken the body of her husband, she took the body of the promartyr. And when she was within the ship with the body, there were heard hymns and songs of angels, and a right sweet odour, and the devils cried and moved great tempest saying: Alas! alas! for the first martyr Stephen passeth here by, which beateth us cruelly with fire.

And the mariners were in great doubt and cried on St. Stephen, and anon he appeared to them and said, "I am here, doubt ye nothing." And anon great peace was, and fair weather in the sea.

Then were there heard the voice of devils crying: Felon prince, burn this ship, for Stephen our adversary is within it. With that, the prince of devils sent five devils for to burn the ship, but the angel of our Lord plunged them down in the ground of the sea. And when they came to Chalcedon the devils cried, saying: The servant of God cometh which was stoned to death of the felon Jews.

THE CONJUNCTION OF THE BODIES OF SAINTS STEPHEN AND LAURENCE IN ROME

Then came they in safety in to Constantinople, and the body of St. Stephen was brought with great reverence in to a church. And this saith St. Austin: The conjunction of the body of St. Stephen with the body of St. Laurence was made by this ordinance. It happed that Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosius the emperor, was greatly tormented with a devil, and when it was told to her father, which was at Constantinople, he commanded that his daughter should be brought thither, and that she should touch the relics of St. Stephen the first martyr.

And the devil cried within her: If Stephen come not to Rome I shall not issue out of her, for it is the will of the apostles.

And when the emperor heard that, he impetred and gat of the clergy and people of Constantinople that they gave to the Romans the body of St. Stephen, and they should have therefore the body of St. Laurence. And the emperor wrote to St. Pelagius the pope, upon which the pope, by the council of the cardinals, consented to the request of the emperor, and then went the cardinals to Constantinople and brought to Rome the body of St. Stephen. And the Greeks came for to have the body of St. Laurence. The body of St. Stephen was received into Capua, which gat by their devout prayers the right arm, and builded their church metropolitan, that is to say the archbishop's see, in the honour of him. And when the Romans were come to Rome, they would have borne the body of St. Stephen unto the church of St. Peter ad vincula. They that bare it stood still and might go no further, and the devil which was in the maid cried: Ye travail you for naught, for he shall not be here, but with Laurence his brother, whereas he is.

And for this cause was the body borne thither, and the maid touched the body and was all whole. And St. Laurence, as enjoying him of the coming of his brother and smiling, turned him into that other part of the sepulchre, and made place and left half the place void. And

when the Greeks set their hands for to have borne away Laurence, they fell down to the earth as they had been dead. But the pope and the clerks prayed for them and all the people, and yet unnethe with great pain came they to life again at evensong time. Nevertheless they were all dead within ten days after, and the Latins, and all they that so consented, entered into frenzy and might not be whole unto the time that the two bodies were entombed together, and then was there a voice heard from heaven that said: O blessed Rome which hast enclosed in one tomb the glorious jewels, the bodies of St. Laurence of Spain and of St. Stephen of Jerusalem.

This conjunction was made about the year of our Lord nine hundred and twenty-five.

MIRACLES OF ST. STEPHEN

St. Austin recounteth in the twenty-second book of the City of God, that six dead bodies were raised by the invocation and prayers of St. Stephen, that is to wit, that there was one that lay dead and the name of St. Stephen was called over him and he was anon raised to life.

Also there was a child which was slain with a cart, whom his mother bare to the church of St. Stephen and was anon raised to life.

And there was a nun which was at her last end, and was borne to the church of St. Stephen, and there died in the sight of all the people, and after she arose all whole.

Also a maid of Hippo, of whom her father bare her coat to the church of St. Stephen, and after laid it on the body of the dead maid, and anon she arose.

And a young man of Hippo died, and anon as the body of him was anointed with the oil of St. Stephen he arose to life.

Another child was borne dead to the church of St. Stephen, and by the merits of St. Stephen was anon re-established to life.

REMARKS OF ST. AUGUSTINE ON ST. STEPHEN

And of this precious martyr, saith St. Austin: Gamaliel, master of the school, and with a stole about his neck, made revelation of him. Saul despoiled and stoned him, Jesu Christ, wrapped in poor clothes, enriched him, and crowned him with his precious blood and stones. And St. Stephen shone in beauty of body, in flower of age, in fair speech of reason, wisdom of holy thought, in works of divinity. He was a strong pillar of the faith of God, for when he was taken and holden with tongs among the hands of them that stoned him, in the furnace of the fire of faith, he was distrained, smitten, demeaned, and beaten, the faith increased and was not vanquished.

And St. Augustine saith in another place upon this authority: He was not flattered but put out, he was not tasted but hurt, he feared ne trembled not, but was chauffed. And in another place he saith thus: Behold Stephen thy fellow, he was a man as thou art, and of the mass of sin as thou art, and bought with the same price that thou wert, he was deacon and read the gospel that thou readest or hearest. There he found written: Love your enemies. And this blessed promartyr St. Stephen, learned in reading, and profited and accomplished in obeying.

Then let us pray devoutly to him that he pray for us to that blessed Lord for whom he suffered death, and prayed for them that pursued him, that he pray for us, and that we may feel the effect of his prayer like as Saul did, which after was called Paul, the holy doctor and apostle. Amen.

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AND NEXT FOLLOWETH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Chapter 9 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. John the apostle and evangelist was son of Zebedee, which had married the third sister of our Lady to wife, and that was brother to St. James of Galicia. This said "John" signifieth as much as "the grace of God," and well might he have such a name, for he had of our Lord four graces above the other apostles. The first is that he was beloved of our Lord. The second was, that our Lord kept to him his virginity like as St. Jerome saith, for he was at his wedding, and he abode a clean virgin. The third is that our Lord made him to have much great revelation and knowledge of his divinity, and of the finishing of the world, like as it appeareth in the beginnings of his evangel, and in the Apocalypse. The fourth grace is that our Lord committed to him in especial the keeping of his sweet mother.

He was, after the ascension of our Lord, in Jerusalem with the apostles and others, and after that they were, by the ordinance of the Holy Ghost, confirmed in the Christian faith by the universal world, St. John came into Greece where he conversed and converted much people and founded many churches in the Christian faith as well by miracles as by doctrine.

PERSECUTED FOR HIS FAITH BY DOMITIAN

In this time Domitian was Emperor of Rome, which made right great persecutions unto Christian men, and did do take St. John, and did him to be brought to Rome and made him to be cast into a vat or a ton full of hot oil in the presence of the senators, of which he issued out, by the help of God, more pure and more fair, without feeling of any more heat or chauffing, than he entered in.

After this that emperor saw that he ceased not to preach the Christian faith, he sent him into exile unto an isle called Patmos. There was St. John alone, and was visited of angels and governed; there wrote he by the revelation of our Lord the Apocalypse, which contained the secrets of holy church and of the world to come.

THE RAISING OF DRUSIANA

In this same year was Domitian the emperor, for his evils, put to death, and all that he had done was revoked by the senators and defeated, and thus was St. John brought again from his exile with great honour into Ephesus; and all the people of Ephesus came against him singing and saying: Blessed be he that cometh in the name of our Lord.

In that way he raised a woman which was named Drusiana, which had much loved St. John and well kept his commandments. And her friends brought her tofore St. John all weeping and saying to him: Lo! here is Drusiana which much loved thee and did thy commandments, and is dead, and desired nothing so much as thy return, and that she might see thee tofore her death. Now thou art come hither and she may not see thee.

St. John had great pity on her that was dead, and of the people that wept for her, and commanded that they should set down the bier, and unbind and take away the clothes from her. And when they had so done he said, hearing all, with a loud voice, Drusiana, my Lord God Jesu Christ ariseth thee; Drusiana arise, and go into thy house, and make ready for me some refection.

Anon she arose and went in to her house for to do the commandment of St. John, and the people made three hours long a great noise and cry, saying there is but one God, and that is he whom St. John preacheth.

ST. JOHN'S SERMONS AGAINST MATERIAL WEALTH

It happed on another day that Crato the philosopher made a great assembly of people in the midst of the city, for to show to them how they ought to despise the world. And he had ordained two young men brethren which were much rich, and had made them to sell their patrimony and therewith to buy precious stones, the which these two young men brake in the presence of the people, for to show how these precious and great riches of the world be soon destroyed.

That same time St. John passed by, and said to Crato the philosopher: This manner for to despise the world that thou showest is vain and foolish demonstrance, for it seeketh to have the praising of the world, and God reproveth it. My good master Jesu Christ said to a man that demanded of him how he might come to everlasting life, that he should go and sell his goods and give it,…

[Here there is a lacuna in the text. In Voragine, after John concludes the example of the rich man in the Gospel, he puts the gems back together again. The philosopher and the young men thereupon become believers, sell the gems, and give the proceeds to the poor. Their example leads two other rich young men to do the same with their own wealth, but later they regret having done so, because their former slaves are now wearing rich garments while they themselves are in rags. St. John responds to their attitude by turning some sticks and stones into gold and gems and he bids the young men to restore themselves to their former status: "since you have lost the treasures of heaven, flourish, but only to wither." Then he gives a second sermon against riches, with six reasons we should eschew them. The lacuna ends with closing words from the fifth reason, "and great dread to lose that which he hath so dear and with great pain gotten" and then continues with the sixth:] "Sixthly, avaunting and praising: for the riches give occasion to be vainglorious and to praise and glorify himself. And by this it appeareth that presently is lost the weal of humility, without which the grace of God may not be had, and thus is gotten, for the world to come, pain and torment by over-great pride. Scripture then, nature, creature, fortune, business and care, avaunting and praising, ought to make us withdraw for to

love riches."

St. John approved to these two men his doctrine, with his miracles, to be true, [continuing with these words:] "And ye in the name of him did miracles tofore that ye were sorry and repented you of that ye had given your riches to poor people. Now is that grace from you departed and ye become meschant and wretches, which were in the faith strong and mighty. And tofore, the evil spirits had fear and dread of you, and by your commandment they issued out of bodies human, now have ye fear and dread of them and be become their servants.

"For whoso loveth the riches of this world, he is servant unto a devil named Mammon, and is bond and serf in keeping the riches in which he setteth his affiance. And hereof saith the Holy Ghost by the prophet David: *In imagine pertransit homo, etc.:* "Vainly is the man distroubled which assembleth treasure in this world, and knoweth not for whom it is," [Ps. 38:6] for when he shall die he shall bear nothing with him, and he wotteth not who shall dispend it, for naked we came upon the earth and all naked shall we re-enter into it.

"And to a meschant man it sufficeth not when he hath enough, but he is busy day and night to get more without rest. For the riches make him fearful to lose that he hath gotten, and bringeth to him many businesses and evil rest in making worldly delights. And he, dispurveyed, death cometh which taketh all from him, and beareth nothing with him save his proper sins."

St. John Raises Satheus, Who Affirms the Truth of What John Has Said

When St. John had said all this there was brought tofore him a young man dead, which only had been in marriage thirty days. And his mother and friends wept sore, which tofore St. John kneeled down on their knees, praying him that he would raise him to life. St. John had great pity, and when he had long wept he bade to loose

and unbind the body and said: O Satheus, which wert blinded with fleshly love, soon thou hast lost thy soul, and because thou knewest not thy maker Jesu Christ, thou art fallen ignorantly into the leash of the right evil fiends, wherefore I weep and pray that thou mayst be releved from death to life, and show thou to these twain, Actius and Eugenius, what great glory they have lost and what pain they have deserved.

Anon Satheus releved him in yielding thankings to St. John, and blamed much the two disciples in saying: "I saw your two angels weep and the devils demene joy of your perdition, also I saw the realm of heaven made ready for you and full of all delights, and ye have follily gotten for you the place of hell, dark and tenebrous, full of dragons and of all pains, and therefore it behoveth you to pray to the apostle of God that he remise and bring you again to your salvation, like as he hath revived me goodly. And among all other pains, this Satheus reciteth these that be contained in two verses following:

Vermes et umbrae, flagellum, frigus et ignis, Dæmonis aspectus, scelerum confusio, luctus – that is to say: worms, darkness, scourges, cold, heat, sight of devil, confusion of sins, and wailing.

The Young Men Repent

Anon then these two men by right great repentance prayed St. John that he would pray for them, to whom St. John answered that they should do penance thirty days long, and pray to God that the rods of gold and the precious stones might return to their first proper natures.

After these thirty days they came to St. John and said to him: Fair father, ye have always preached misericord and mercy, and commanded that one should pardon another his trespass, we be contrite and repentant of our sins and weep with our eyes for this evil worldly covetise, the which we have by them received, and therefore we pray you that ye have mercy on us.

And St. John answered: Our Lord God when he made mention of the sinner he said, "I will not the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live, for great joy is in Heaven of a sinner repentant." And therefore know ye that he hath received your repentance, go ye forth and bear the rods and stones thither where ye took them, for they be returned to their first nature. Thus received they the grace that they had lost, so that after they did great miracles in the name of our Lord Jesu Christ.

THE DESTRUCTION OF DIANA'S TEMPLE

And then after this when the blessed apostle St. John had preached through all Asia [i.e., Asia Minor], and sown the word of Christ, they that worshipped idols moved the people against St. John, and came and drove him into the temple of Diana for to constrain him to do sacrifice unto that idol. To whom St. John said: Sith ye believe that your goddess Diana hath so great power, call ye upon her and require her by her power she subvert and overthrow the Church of Christ, and if she so do, I shall do sacrifice to her, and if she do it not, then let me pray unto my God Jesu Christ that he overthrow her temple, and if he so do then believe ye in him. To this sentence the most part of the people consented, and so they… [Another lacuna. The temple does collapse, and Diana's statue resolves to dust. Next, the high priest Aristodemus puts a proposal to St. John: Aristodemus will convert if St. John will drink poison and survive. First, to prove the poison is real, the priest has two condemned men drink it; they die. John then drinks the poison himself, lives, and revives the two criminals. Caxton's text continues with what John then said to Aristodemus:]

THE CUP OF POISON

…for I shall yield account for thee to Jesu Christ, and truly I shall gladly die for thee like as Jesu Christ died for us. Turn again my son, turn again, Jesu Christ hath sent me to thee.

And when he [Aristodemus] heard him thus speak he abode with a

heavy cheer and wept, repenting him bitterly, and fell down to the feet of the apostle, and for penance kissed his hand. And the apostle fasted and prayed to God for him, and gat for him remission of his sins and forgiveness, and he lived so virtuously after, that St. John ordained him to be a bishop.

THE BATH HOUSE

Also it is read in the same history that St. John on a time entered into a bath for to wash him, and there he found Cerinthus an heretic, whom as soon as he saw he eschewed, and went out of it saying: Let us flee and go hence lest the bath fall upon us in which Cerinthus the enemy of truth washeth him, and as soon as he was out the bath fell down.

THE PARTRIDGE

Cassiodorus saith that a man had given to St. John a partridge living, and he held it in his hand stroking and playing with it otherwhile for his recreation. And on a time a young man passed by with his fellowship and saw him play with his bird, which said to his fellows, laughing: See how the yonder old man playeth with a bird like a child.

Which St. John knew anon, by the Holy Ghost, what he had said, and called the young man to him and demanded him what he held in his hand, and he said "a bow."

What dost thou withal? said St. John.

And the young man said: We shoot birds and beasts therewith.

To whom the apostle demanded how and in what manner. Then the young man bent his bow and held it in his hand bent, and when the apostle said no more to him he unbent his bow again.

Then said the apostle to him: Why hast thou unbent thy bow? And he said: Because if it should be long bent it should be the weaker

for to shoot with it.

Then said the apostle, So son, it fareth by mankind and by frailty in contemplation, if it should alway be bent it should be too weak, and therefor otherwhile it is expedient to have recreation. The eagle is the bird that flyeth highest, and most clearly beholdeth the sun, and yet by necessity of nature him behoveth to descend low. Right so when mankind withdraweth him a little from contemplation, he after putteth himself higher by a renewed strength, and he burneth then more fervently in heavenly things.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

St. John wrote his gospels after the other Evangelists, the year after the ascension of our Lord sixty-six, after this that the venerable Bede saith. And when he was required and prayed of the bishops of the country of Ephesus to write them, St. John prayed also to them, that they should fast and pray in their dioceses three days for him to the end that he might truly write them.

HIS DEATH

St. Jerome saith of this glorious apostle St. John, that, when he was so old, so feeble and so unmighty that his disciples sustained and bare him in going to church, and as of times he rested, he said to his disciples: Fair children, love ye together, and each of you love other.

And then his disciples demanded why and wherefore he said to them so oft such words.

He answered to them and said: Our Lord had so commanded, and whosomever accomplished well this commandment it should suffice him for to be saved.

And finally after that he had founded many churches and had ordained bishops and priests in them, and confirmed them by his predication in the Christian faith, the year sixty-eight after the

resurrection of Jesu Christ (for he was thirty-one years old when our Lord was crucified, and lived after sixty-eight years, and thus was all his age ninety-nine years), then came our Lord with his disciples to him and said: Come my friend to me, for it is time that thou come, eat and be fed at my table with thy brethren.

Then St. John arose up and said to our Lord Jesu Christ that he had desired it long time, and began to go. Then said our Lord to him: On Sunday next coming thou shalt come to me.

That Sunday the people came all to the church, which was founded in his name and consecrate on that one side of Ephesus, and from midnight forth he ceased not to preach to the people that they should establish them and be stedfast in the Christian faith and obeissant to the commandments of God. And after this he said the mass, and houseled and communed the people. And after that the mass was finished he bade and did do make a pit or a sepulture tofore the altar; and after that he had taken his leave and commended the people to God, he descended down into the pit or sepulture tofore the altar, and held up his hands to heaven and said: Sweet Lord Jesu Christ, I yield me unto thy desire, and thank thee that thou hast vouchsafed to call me to thee. If it please thee, receive me for to be with my brethren, with whom thou hast summoned me; open to me the gate of the life permanable, and lead me to the feast of thy well and best dressed meats. Thou art Christ the son of the living God, which by the commandment of the father hast saved the world. To thee I render and yield grace and thankings, world without end, thou knowest well that I have desired thee with all my heart.

After that he had made his prayer much amorously and piteously, anon came upon him great clearness and light, and so great brightness that none might see him, and when this light and brightness was gone and departed, there was nothing found in the pit or grave but manna, which came springing from under upward, like as sand in a fountain or springing well, where much people have been delivered of many diseases and sicknesses by the merits

and prayers of this glorious saint.

Some say and affirm that he died without pain of death, and that he was in that clearness borne into heaven body and soul, whereof God knoweth the certainty. And we, that be yet here beneath in this misery, ought to pray devoutly to him that he would impetre and get to us the grace of our Lord which is blessed *in secula seculorum* . Amen.

A MIRACLE OF ST. JOHN AND ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

There was a king, a holy confessor and virgin, named St. Edward, which had a special devotion unto St. John Evangelist, and it happed that this holy king was at the hallowing of a church dedicate in the honour of God and of this holy apostle; and it was that St. John in likeness of a pilgrim came to this king and demanded his alms in the name of St. John, and the king not having his almoner by him, ne his chamberlain, of whom he might have somewhat to give him, took his ring which he bare on his finger and gave it to the pilgrim.

After these many days, it happened two pilgrims of England for to be in the Holy Land, and St. John appeared to them and bade them to bear this ring to their king and to greet him well in his name, and to tell him that he gave it to St. John in likeness of a pilgrim, and that he should make him ready to depart out of this world, for he should not long abide here but come into everlasting bliss, and so vanished from them.

And anon as he was gone they had great lust to sleep, and laid them down and slept, and this was in the Holy Land, and when they awoke they looked about them and knew not where they were. And they saw flocks of sheep and shepherds keeping them, to whom they went to know the way, and to demand where they were, and when they asked them they spake English and said that they were in England, in Kent on Barham Down.

And then they thanked God and St. John for their good speed, and came to this holy king St. Edward on Christmas day, and delivered to him the ring and did their errand, whereof the king was abashed, and thanked God and the holy saint that he had warning for to depart. And on the vigil of the Epiphany next after he died and departed holily out of this world, and is buried in the Abbey of Westminster by London where is yet to this day the same ring.

ISIDORE'S REMARK ON ST. JOHN

Isidore, in the book of the life and death of holy saints and fathers, saith this: St. John the Evangelist transformed and turned rods of trees into fine gold, the stones and gravel of the sea into precious gems and ouches, the small broken pieces of gems he reformed into their first nature, he raised a widow from death, and brought again the soul a young man into his body, he drank venom without hurt or peril, and them that had been dead by the same he recovered into the state of life.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. JAMES THE LESS

Chapter 67 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

James the Apostle is said the Less, how well that he was elder of age than was St. James the More, because like as is in religion he that entered first is called aine and great, and he that cometh after shall be called less, though he be the older, and in this wise was this St. James called the Less.

He was called also the brother of our Lord, because he resembled much well our Lord in body, in visage, and of manner.

He was called James the Just for his right great holiness, for St. Jerome recordeth that he was so holy that the people strove how they might touch the hem of his robe or mantle.

He was also called James the son of Alpheus.

This James was ever holy after that he issued out of his mother's womb. He never drank wine, mead, ne cider, ne never ate flesh, ne never rasor touched his head, ne he never bathed. He knelt so oft in prayers that his knees were as hard as the horn of a camel.

He sang in Jerusalem the first mass that ever was sung therein, and he was first bishop of Jerusalem. Josephus recordeth that he had avowed at the death of our Lord that he would never eat till our Lord were risen from death to life; then on Easter day our Lord appeared to him and said: Lay the table, fair brother, and eat, for the son of the Virgin is risen from death to life. Then took he the bread and made the benediction and gave it to him.

HIS MARTYRDOM

The seventh year after, the apostles assembled in Jerusalem on Easter day, there St. James demanding what God had done by them tofore the people, that they should tell. And when St. James had preached seven days in the temple with the other apostles, Caiaphas and some other would have been baptized, and then entered in a man suddenly in to the temple and said crying: O ye sirs, what will ye do? why suffer ye thus to be deceived of these enchanters? Be ye ware and keep you, that they deceive you not.

He moved so much the people that they would have stoned the apostles. Then this fellow went up to the lectern whereas St. James preached, and threw him down backward, and from then forthon ever after he halted.

And this was done the seventh year after the ascension of our Lord, and he was bishop there by the space of thirty years. And in his thirtieth year, when the Jews saw that they might not slay St. Paul because he had appealed to the emperor to Rome, and was sent forth to Rome, they turned all their persecution against St. James, and said to him: The people is deceived, for they supposed that your Jesus were Messias. Then for as much as thou art much believed, we pray thee that thou assemble the people, and that thou stand up on high, and show to them that it is not he, for thou art so just that we all shall believe in thee.

Then St. James went up on the front of the temple on Easter day, and all the people were assembled beneath. Then said the Jews to him, with an high voice: Right just and true man, we know well that thou shalt not lie, show to us of Jesus that was hanged upon the cross that which thou knowest, for all the world is deceived.

Then answered he with an high voice: Wherefore demand ye me of the son of the virgin? I say to you that he is now in heaven, and sitteth on the right side of God the Father, and shall come to deem the living and the dead.

When the Christian men had heard him they were much glad, but

the Pharisees and the masters of the law repented them of this that they had made him to say, and bear this witness tofore the people, and took counsel together for to cast him down, for to make the people afeard, because they should not believe him, and they cried: O the just man hath erred at this time. and after they threw him down and the people began to stone him. But he was on his knees, and said: Fair Lord God, pardon them, for they wot not what they do.

Then cried out one of the sons of the priest named Jacob: Sirs, leave this just man in peace. But there was a man in that company took a fuller's staff and smote him on the head, that his brain fell all abroad, and thus by martyrdom he finished his life and was there buried, nigh unto the temple. And the people would have slain these malefactors because they had slain him, but they fled. This was done in the time of Nero the year of our Lord fifty-seven.

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

Signs and Portents

Josephus saith that for this great sin of the death of St. James was Jerusalem afterward destroyed, for tofore that the destruction came, God showed marvellous signs. For there was a star, right clear and shining, which had the form of a sword, that hung over Jerusalem; but this token, ne the tokens hereafter following, came not only for the death of St. James, but for the death of our Lord Jesu Christ principally, for he said: There shall not in thee be left a stone upon a stone.

But because our Lord would not the death of sinners, but that he would they should do penance and repent them, he abode forty years, and called them unto penance by his apostles, and most by St. James, brother of our Lord, which continually preached to them.

For in this forty years were many signs and prodigies showed to them as Josephus rehearseth, of which the star, like the sword, was

one, which was seen over the city a whole year during, and burning with great bright flames. The next year after, in a feast of Easter, there was a clearness and light about the temple in the night, that it was like unto clear day. In that same time there was a cow brought forth to be sacrificed, which anon calved or brought forth a lamb, against kind. After this a little time, about going down of the sun, there was seen in the air carts and wains, and great company of men of arms that environed the city suddenly.

In a feast of Whitsuntide, which is called Pentecost, the priests went in to the temple by night for to do their mysteries, and they heard a voice saying: Let us go hence from this place.

And four years after, tofore that the destruction came, a man whose name was Jesus, the son of Ananias, began to cry suddenly: The voice of the orient! the voice of the occident! the voice of four winds upon Jerusalem! Woe on the husbands! woe upon the wives! and woe upon all the people!

The said man was taken, smitten, and beaten, tormented, and brought tofore the judge, and he never wept ne cried mercy, but ever persevered, and cried howling the same words, adding thereto: Woe! woe! to Jerusalem.

All this saith Josephus, and yet for all these tokens, warnings, and prodigies the Jews were never afeard.

Then, forty years after the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, came Titus and Vespasian against Jerusalem, and destroyed it.

Vespasian Cured by Belief in Jesus Christ

The cause, and by whom it was destroyed, is recorded in an history, though it be not authentic. For Pilate, which doubted the fury and anger of the emperor Tiberius, because he had wrongfully judged and condemned Jesu Christ the innocent, sent one of his servants for to excuse him, and the servant's name was Alban. In this time

Vespasian was governor of Galatia for the emperor, and the messenger of Pilate which would have gone to Rome, was constrained by a contrary wind to arrive in Galatia, and was brought to Vespasian. For the custom of the country was that who was taken on the sea, and brought so in against his will, should be at the will of the lord, body and goods. And when Vespasian saw him he demanded him what he was and from whence he came; he said that he was of Jerusalem. Then said Vespasian: Ah Lord God! in that country were wont to be good masters and much good surgeons; my friend, said he, canst thou anything of surgery?

This said he because he had in his nose a botch full of worms from his youth, and never might man be found that might heal him of it. The mbotch essenger of Pilate answered and said that he could nothing thereof.

Vespasian said: If thou heal me not I shall slay thee.

The messenger said: He that enlumined the blind, and chased devils out of men, and raised dead men to life in our country, knoweth well that I cannot heal thee but he can well heal thee if he will.

Then demanded Vespasian what he was. He said to him that it was Jesus of Nazareth, whom they of Jerusalem had slain wrongfully for envy, "and if thou wilt believe in him he shall heal thee."

Then said Vespasian, "I believe well that he that raised dead men may well heal and make me all whole." And saying these words the wasps fell from his nose with the botch within which they were, and forthwith he was made perfectly whole, whereof he had much great joy and said: "I am certain that he that hath thus made me whole was the very son of God. I shall demand licence of the emperor Tiberius, and I shall go destroy the cursed traitors that have slain this man." And then he let Alban, the messenger of Pilate, go where he would.

Vespasian Marches Against Jerusalem

After this Vespasian went to Rome, and gat licence of the emperor for to destroy this people and the city of Jerusalem, and assembled his host in the time of Nero the emperor, and came suddenly, the Jews then being the most part in Jerusalem on Easter day, and besieged the town, for on that day all the Jews of the country were come to the feast, so that they were suddenly enclosed.

Now was it so that tofore that Vespasian came, the good men of the city were warned by the holy Ghost that they should go out of the city, and they went to a place called Pella, because that the vengeance should not fall on them, but on the wicked people of the Jews.

There was another city of the Jewry named Jonapatam, in which Josephus was duke, which Vespasian first assailed, but Josephus, with such men as he had, resisted them manly, but at the last, when Josephus saw the destruction of it and might no longer keep it, he took with him twelve Jews and hid him in a cave or an house under the earth, where they were four days without meat and drink in great anguish and affliction.

Then the Jews, being there without consent of Josephus, had liefer die than be subject or put themselves in servitude to Vespasian, and would slay themselves, and offer their blood in sacrifice to God. And because Josephus was the most worthy and noble of them, they would slay him first, by whose blood God might best be pleased, or else, as it is said in the chronicle, that each of them should slay other rather than they should come into the hands of the Romans.

Then Josephus, a prudent man, and not willing to die, constituted and ordained himself judge of the death and sacrifice, and who that first should be slain; he ordained that between two and two should be drawn lots, and so, the lot given, now one was slain, now another, till at the last all were dead save Josephus and one other. Then Josephus, being a strong man and a light, caught the sword to

him and asked his fellow whether he had liefer live or die, and commanded him shortly without delay to tell him; and he sore dreading said: I forsake not to live if I may by thy grace get and keep my life.

Then Josephus spake to a servant of Vespasian, and did so much that he [the servant] gat his life of Vespasian, and then he was brought to Vespasian, and Vespasian said to him: Thou shouldst have died if thou hadst not gotten grace by the prayer and request of this man.

And Josephus answered: If any thing be done amiss it may turn to better.

And Vespasian said: Who that is bound, what may he do? Josephus answered: Somewhat may I do if thou wilt give me audience.

Vespasian said: I will well that thou say, and if thou say any good thou shalt be peaceably heard.

And Josephus said: The emperor of Rome is dead, and the senate hath made thee emperor.

And Vespasian answered: If thou be a prophet, why hast thou not prophesied to the people of this city that they shall be taken by my hand?

And Josephus said: I have well forty days warned them.

And in the meanwhile came the messengers from Rome and affirmed that Vespasian was made emperor, and led him to Rome. All this recounteth Eusebius in his chronicle. Josephus said tofore to Vespasian as well of the death of the emperor as of his election to be emperor. And Vespasian left his son Titus at the siege of Jerusalem.

Titus Continues the Siege of Jerusalem

It is read also in the same history, though it be apocrypha, that when Titus heard that his father was enhanced into the empire, he was so glad and had so much joy, that all his sinews were shrunken and were so feeble that he was sore tormented with the palsy. And Josephus hearing thereof diligently enquired the cause of the sickness, the time thereof and the manner. The cause ne the sickness were not known, but the time was when he heard of the election of his father to the empire. Josephus, a wise and a prudent man, considered the time of the coming of the sickness, and conjectured that it came of overmuch joy and abounding gladness, and remembering that contraries be cured by their contraries, for that which cometh of love is cured by hate ofttimes, and began to enquire if there were any man that the prince hated much. And it was that he had a servant whom he held in prison, and hated him so much that in no wise he might look on him ne hear him named. Then he said: Titus, if thou desire to be whole, who that ever come in my fellowship must be here sure and safe. Then Josephus made the dinner to be ready and set himself against him, and the servant that Titus most hated sat on his right side, whom as soon as Titus had beholden he began to chauffe and to be marvellous angry for anguish. Then he which was infrigidate and cold for joy, stretched out his sinews, and was made all whole by the burning heat of anger and was all whole.

All this foresaid of Josephus, I remit it to the reader's judgment whether he will believe it or not, but Titus lay at the siege two years tofore the city, and so long that the famine oppressed so sore, that the fathers from the children, and the children from the fathers, and husbands from the wives, and wives from the husbands, plucked the meat out of others' mouths; and young men that had been right strong fell down dead in the streets and ways. They that should bury the dead fell down ofttimes dead upon them that were dead, and because they were not borne away nor they might not suffer the stench of the dead bodies, they ordained that the commons of the town should cast them over the walls into the ditches because they might not endure the stench to bury them.

And when Titus, which went about the city, saw the ditches so full of carrions which corrupted all the country with the stench, he held up his hands to heaven weeping, and said: Lord God, now see I well that this is not by me but by thee which herein takest vengeance; for then they of the town within had so great default that they ate their shoes and ratchets.

There was a gentlewoman in the town which had a child to whom she gave suck, and for hunger that she had she strangled and slew this child, and roasted that one half and kept that other for to eat. It happed that the governors of the town which went to search, smelled the savour of this roast, and brake up the door and threatened to slay the woman if she gave to them not of her meat. Then she showed to them that other deal of her child that she had kept, and said, "If ye will, I shall gladly give you part." Then had they so great horror thereof that they might not speak. Then said she, "This was my son, the sin is mine and cometh on me, eat on hardily for I have eaten part tofore, for ye loved him not so well as I did that was his mother. And if pity move you that ye leave to eat of him, I that have eaten that one half, know ye for certain that I shall well eat that other half." They then, being abhorred of this inhumanity, went their way.

After this then, when Vespasian had been emperor two years, Titus took Jerusalem and destroyed all, and the temple also; and like as the Jews had bought our Lord for thirty pence, so gave he thirty Jews for one penny. And like as Josephus recordeth, he sold so four score and seventeen thousand, and eleven hundred thousand were perished by famine and by sword.

It is read that when Titus entered Jerusalem he saw a thick wall which he did do perish and break, and when a hole was made therein they saw there a fair old man, hoar and venerable of cheer, whom they demanded long what he was. At the last he answered and said he was Joseph of Arimathea, a city of Judea, and that the Jews had mured him therein because he had buried Christ, and saying more, that "from that time until this now I have been fed with

heavenly bread and drink, and comforted with divine light."

Nevertheless, in the gospel of Nicodemus it is said that when the Jews had shut him up, Christ in his resurrection took him thence and led him in to Arimathea. It may well be after, when he ceased not to preach of Christ, that the Jews so mured him up.

After this, when Vespasian was dead, Titus his son was made emperor after him, and was so debonair, so liberal and of so great bounty, that there had none been like him, for as Jerome saith: That day that he had not given a gift, ne had done no good, at even he said to his friends, O my friends, this day have I lost.

After this, long time, it happed that some Jews would re-edify Jerusalem. And on the first morning that they went to work they found crosses on the dew, and then they fled; and after they came again and began to re-edify again, and then they found bloody crosses, and then they fled away again; and the third time they came again, and out of the earth issued a fire and burnt and wasted them all.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE NATIVITY OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST

Chapter 86 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

The nativity of St. John Baptist was ancient, and showed by the Archangel Gabriel in this manner. It is said in the *History Scholastic* that David the king, willing to increase and make more the service of God, instituted twenty-four bishops or high priests, of whom one was overest and greatest, and was named prince of the priests, and he ordained that each priest should serve a week. Abias was one, and had the eighth week, of whose kindred Zacharias was descended, father of St. John Baptist. This Zacharias had to wife one of the daughters of the kindred of Aaron, whose name was Elizabeth, daughter of Esmeria, which was sister of St. Anne, mother of our Lady. Then this Elizabeth and our Lady were cousins-german, daughters of two sisters.

THE ANNUNCIATION TO ZACHARIAS

These two, Zacharias and his wife Elizabeth, were just tofore our Lord, living in all the justifications, and holding all the commandments of the law without murmur ne complaint, praising and thanking our Lord God.They had no children, for the holy woman was barren. They had great desire to have a son that might be bishop of the law by succession of lineage after Zacharias, and hereof had they in their youth prayed much to our Lord, but when it pleased not unto our Lord, they took it a worth and thanked God of all. They served the more devoutly our Lord God, for they had no charge but only to serve and entend unto him. Many there be that withdraw them from the service and love of our Lord for the love of their children. They were both old, he and his wife Elizabeth.

It happed, at a solemnity that the Jews had after August, that the bishop did holy sacrifice in doing the office that appertained to him and to his week; he went for to incense, and entered into the temple, and the people abode without, making their prayers and awaiting the coming again to them of the holy bishop. Thus, as he was alone, and incensed the altar, the angel Gabriel appeared to him standing on the right side of the altar, and when the holy bishop saw him he was abashed and had great dread.

The angel said to him: Be nothing afeard, Zacharias, thy prayers be heard and thou hast found grace tofore our Lord. Elizabeth thy wife shall conceive and bear a son, whom thou shalt call John, of whom thou shalt have great gladness, and much people shall make great feast and joy of his nativity, for he shall be great, and of great merit tofore our Lord. He shall not drink wine ne cider, ne thing whereof he might be drunken, and in his mother's womb he shall be sanctified and fulfilled with the Holy Ghost. He shall convert many of the sons of Israel, that is to say, of the Jews, to our Lord, and shall go tofore him in the spirit and virtue of Elias the prophet for to convert father and sons, old and miscreants, to the sense of righteousness and to the service of God.

When the angel had thus said to Zacharias, he answered: How may I believe and know that this is truth that thou sayest? I am now all old and ancient, and my wife old and barren.

The angel answered and said: I am Gabriel, the angel and servant tofore God, which in his name am sent to speak to thee and to show to thee these things aforesaid, and because thou hast not believed me thou shalt lose thy speech, and shalt not speak till the day that this which I have said shall be accomplished, each thing in his time.

The people were abiding and awaiting when Zacharias the bishop should come out, and marvelled where he tarried so long. He came out of the temple, but he might not speak, but the holy man made to them signs by which they thought well that he had seen some vision of our Lord, but more knew they not. He abode in the temple all that

week, and after, went home to his house. His wife conceived and waxed great, and when she perceived it she was shamefaced and kept her in her house well five months.

THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY

In the sixth month the same angel Gabriel was sent from our Lord unto the blessed Virgin Mary, newly espoused to Joseph, which shewed the conception of Jesu Christ, son of God our Lord, and the angel told to her that she should conceive of the Holy Ghost without knowledge of man. "For our Lord may do all that it pleaseth him, like as it appeareth," said he, "of Elizabeth thy cousin, the which, she being old of age, and barren by nature of her body, hath conceived by the pleasure of our Lord, and hath now borne about six months."

MARY VISITS ELIZABETH

When our Lady heard that St. Elizabeth her cousin was great, she went to visit and accompany her in the mountains where she dwelt, right far, hard, and evil way. When she came thither she saluted her much courteously. Our Lady was then great with the blessed Son of God, our Lord Jesu Christ, whom she had conceived when she said to the angel: *Ecce ancilla domini* ["Behold the handmaid of the Lord]; and then she was replenished with the deity and humanity of our Lord Jesu Christ. Then, when the salutation issued out of the body of our Lady, the greeting entered into the ears of the body of St. Elizabeth, and into her child that she had within her, which child was anoint of the blessed Holy Ghost, and, by the presence of our Lord, sanctified in the womb of his mother and replenished with grace, whereof he removed him for joy in his mother's womb, in making to our Lord reverence such as he might make not of himself, but by the grace that he had received of the Holy Ghost.

Of which by the merits and grace done to the blessed child, St. Elizabeth was replenished, and anon prophesied in saying and crying with a high voice: "Thou art blessed among and above all women, and blessed be the fruit of thy womb. From whence cometh to me such grace, so great that the mother of my Lord cometh to

visit me? I know well that thou hast conceived the Son of God, for as soon as thy salutation entered into mine ears, the child that is in my belly made joy and feast, and removed. Thou art well blessed and happy that thou hast given faith and believed the words of the angel which he said to thee, for all things shall be performed that he hath said to thee."

Of all these things St. Elizabeth knew nothing when our Lady came, ne yet our Lady had nothing said to her, but the Holy Ghost, by the merits of her holy child that she bare, replenished her and made her to prophesy. Then answered our Lady and made the holy psalm saying: *Magnificat anima mea dominum* ["My soul doth magnify the Lord"], and all the the remnant. Our Lady abode with St. Elizabeth three months or thereabouts till she was delivered and laid abed, and it is said that she did the office and service to receive St. John Baptist when he was born.

THE BIRTH OF JOHN

When then he was born, and the neighbours and cousins and friends knew the grace that our Lord had done to these holy folk, noble of lineage, rich of goods and of great dignity, to whom in the end of their age he had given an heir male against double or treble nature, they made great joy and feast with them. When the eighth day came, and the child should be circumcised, they called him after his father's name, Zacharias. The mother said that he should named John and not Zacharias. And they went unto the father and said that there was none in that kindred that so was called. And then the father demanded pen and ink, and wrote: *Johannes est nomen ejus* , "John is his name," and all they marvelled. Anon after, by the merit of St. John, his father's mouth was opened, and had again his speech, and spake, glorifying our Lord God.

And these tidings of this holy child thus born, were anon spread all about the country, and each man said in his heart, and without forth one to another: What suppose ye shall be of this child? He shall be great and a man of our Lord, for he is already now with him, and the

hand, the work, and the virtue of our Lord is with him.

The father, holy Zacharias, replenished with the Holy Ghost, said and prophesied, and made then the holy psalm: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* ["Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel], which psalm is always sung in the end of matins.

JOHN GOES TO THE DESERT

It is said that holy Zacharias dwelled upon the mountains two miles nigh to Jerusalem, and there St. John Baptist was born, and after that St. John was circumcised, he was nourished as a child of a noble and rich man and son of great dignity, but when he had understanding and strength of body, God our Lord and the heart performed the work. He issued out of his father's house, and left riches, honours, dignities, noblesse, and all the world, and went into desert on flom Jordan. Some say he went in the age of fifteen years accomplished, and others say he departed at twelve years of age for to serve our Lord without empeshment, by which he kept silence, and bydwonge his life and his soul from idle words.

This holy St. John, dwelling in desert, ware an hair made of the hair of camels. Some say that he ware the skin of a camel, in which he had made an hole to put his head in and girded it with a girdle of wool, or of leather, cut out of an hide or a beast's skin. He ate locusts, not such as we have here that we call honeysuckles; some say that it is flesh of some beasts that abound in the desert of Judea where he baptized; with wild honey he ate it. That it was flesh, the legend of St. Austin doth us to understand, which saith that St. Austin ate flesh by the example of Elias the prophet, which ate the flesh that a crow brought to him, and so St. John ate locusts, some say that there be roots so called. There served he our Lord solitarily upon the flom Jordan till that he was about twenty-nine years old. The angel of our Lord came to him and said that he should show the coming of our Lord and preach penance, for to purge them that were baptized, in accustoming the baptism of our Lord Jesu Christ. This angel said to St. John Baptist that, Jesu Christ, Saviour of the

world, should come to him for to be baptized, and it should be he on whom the Holy Ghost should descend in semblance of a dove.

HIS PREACHING

St. John drew him towards Bethany, upon the river or desert, not far from Jerusalem; there preached he, and taught and baptized them that would amend their life, and said to them that the Saviour and health of the world was nigh. Then came to him many, and he said to some religious men of evil life: Ye children of serpents, who hath given to you counsel to eschew the ire of our Lord? If ye will be baptized in sign of penance, do ye the works of penitence. Leave the evil, humble you, do the work of mercy. Ween ye, because ye be circumcised and be the children of Abraham, that ye shall be saved? Our Lord shall make of these stones if it please him the child of Abraham which with Abraham shall be saved.

St. John preached about a year tofore that our Lord came to him for to be baptized. When the Pharisees heard say that he baptized, they sent to know what he was, and they demanded if he were Christ the great prophet that was promised in their law, and he said: Nay.

They demanded him if he were Elias, and come from Paradise terrestrial, he said: Nay.

They demanded him if he was a prophet, he said: Nay.

They demanded him whereof he meddled then to baptize, since he was neither Christ, ne Elias, ne prophet. Say to us, said they, who that thou art, that we may answer to them that have sent us hither. He answered: I am he of whom Isaiah prophesied: I am the voice of the crier in desert: Address ye and make ready the ways to God, and make ye right the paths of our Lord. They said to him: Wherefore baptizest thou then? I baptize and wash the body with water in sign of penance, but among you is he that ye know not, which was tofore me, and came after me, of whom I am not worthy

to loose the latchet of his shoe. He shall give you baptism in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, in water and fire of penance.

JOHN BAPTIZES JESUS

When St. John along the flom Jordan had preached and baptized about a year, our Lord came unto him and would be baptized of him. St. John, enlumined of the Holy Ghost, knew him, and did to him reverence as to his God, his Maker, and Lord. He was so espired that human nature which was pure in him might not sustain so great knowledge, and he said right humbly: Sir, thou comest to me, which art pure and clean, to be baptized and washed of me that am foul and wasted, which ought to be baptized of thee and washed, how dare I lay on thee my hands?

Our Lord said to him: Do this that I say now, for thus it is fitting, proper to fulfil all justice and to humble and give ensample of baptism to all people. And then in humility and patience he baptized our Lord, and washed him where he had never filth, and all by holy mystery; on whom the Holy Ghost descended visibly in likeness of a dove, and the voice of the Father was heard saying: Here is my well-beloved son in whom I am well pleased.

Then our Lord was thirty years old from his nativity and thirteen days beginning of the thirtyfirst year. On that same day our Lord changed water into wine in Cana of Galilee. And this sufficeth for the nativity of St. John Baptist, and the residue of his life and of his death shall be said at the feast of his decollation, by the grace of God, who bringeth us to his bliss. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN, WHICH IS READ THE THIRD SUNDAY IN LENT

This story of Joseph was in the earlier English translation used by Caxton in his compilation of the Golden Legend, but it was not in the Latin original. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

Joseph when he was sixteen years old began to keep and feed the flock with his brethren, he being yet a child, and was accompanied with the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, wives of his father. Joseph complained on his brethren, and accused them to their father of the most evil sin. Israel loved Joseph above all his sons for as much as he had gotte son a long time.

[lacuna]

All his sons gathered them together for to comfort their father and assuage his sorrow, but he would take no comfort, but said: I shall descend to my son into hell for to bewail him there. And thus, he abiding in sorrow, the Midianites carried Joseph into Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, eunuch of Pharaoh, master of his knights.

Thus was Joseph led into Egypt, and Potiphar, prince of the host of Pharaoh, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of Ishmaelites. Our Lord God was always with Joseph, and he was wise, ready, and prosperous in all manner of things. He dwelled in his lord's house and pleased so well his lord, that he stood in his grace that he made him upperest and above all other, and betook him the rule and governance of all his house, which well and wisely governed the household and all that he had charge of. Our Lord blessed the house of Egypt for Joseph's sake, and multiplied as well in beasts as in fields all his substance. Joseph was fair of visage and well favoured.

POTIPHARÂ□□S WIFE

After many days the lady, his master's wife, beheld and cast her eyes on Joseph, and said to Joseph, "Come and sleep with me," which anon refused that, and would not attend ne listen to her words, ne would not consent to so sinful a work, and said to her: Lo! hath not my lord delivered to me all that he hath in his house? and he knoweth not what he hath, and there is nothing therein but that it is in my power and at my commandment except thee, which art his wife. How may I do this evil and sin to my lord?

Such manner, or semblable words, he said daily to her, and the woman was the more desirous and grievous to the young man, and he always forsook and refused the sin.

It happed on a day that Joseph entered into the chamber about certain needs that he had to do, and she caught him by his mantle, and held it fast, and said to him: "Come and lie with me," who anon would not agree to her, but fled forth out of the doors, and left his mantle behind him in her hand.

And when the lady saw that she was refused, and his mantle in her hand, she cried and called the men of the house and said to them: Lo! this Hebrew is come to my chamber and would have enforced and have lain by me, and when I cried, he fled out of the chamber and left for haste his mantle that I held, behind him.

And into witness of truth she showed to her husband the mantle when he came home, and said: Thy servant the Hebrew, whom thou hast brought into this house, is entered into my chamber for to have lain by me, and when I cried, he left his mantle that I held, and fled away.

When the lord heard this, anon he gave faith and believed his wife, and being sore wroth, set Joseph in prison where the prisoners of the king were kept and he was there fast set in. Our Lord God was with Joseph, and had mercy on him, and made him in the favour

and grace of the chief keeper of the prison, in so much that he delivered to Joseph the keeping of all the prisoners, and what he did was done, and the chief jailor was pleased with all. Our Lord was with him and directed all his works.

JOSEPH IN PRISON

After this it fell so that two officers of the king's trespassed unto their lord, wherefore he was wroth with them and commanded them to the prison whereas Joseph was. That one of them was the butler, and that other the baker; and the keeper betook them to Joseph to keep, and he served them. After a while that they had been in prison they both saw on one night a dream of which they were astonied and abashed, and when Joseph was come in to serve them, and saw them heavy, he demanded them why they were heavier than they were wont to be, which answered: We have dreamed and there is none to interpret it to us.

Joseph said to them: Suppose ye that God may not give me grace to interpret it? Tell to me what ye saw in your sleep. Then the butler told first and said: Methought I saw a vine had three branches, and after they had flowered the grapes were ripe, and then I took the cup of Pharaoh in my hand, and took the grapes and wrang out of them wine into the cup that I held, and presented it to Pharaoh to drink.

Joseph answered: The three branches be yet three days, after which Pharaoh shall remember thy service and shall restore thee into thy foremost office and gree, for to serve him as thou wert wont to do. Then I pray thee to remember me when thou art at thine above, and be to me so merciful to sue unto Pharaoh that he take me out of this prison, for I was stolen out of the land of Hebrews and am innocently set here in prison.

Then the master baker saw that he had wisely interpreted the butler's dream; he said: Methought that I had three baskets of meat upon my head, and in that one basket that was highest methought I

bare all the meat of the bakehouse and birds came and ate of it.

Joseph answered: This is the interpretation of the dream; the three baskets be three days yet to come, after which Pharaoh shall smite off thy head and shall hang thee on the cross, and the birds shall tear thy flesh. And the third day after this Pharaoh made a great feast unto his children, and remembered him, among the meals, on the master butler and the master baker. He restored his butler unto his office, and to serve him of the cup, and that other was hanged, that the truth of the interpreter was believed and proved. Notwithstanding the master butler in his wealth forget Joseph his interpreter.

THE PHARAOHÂ□□S DREAMS

Two years after Pharaoh saw in his sleep a dream. Him thought he stood upon the river, from which he saw seven oxen ascend to the land which were fair and right fat, and were fed in a fat pasture; he saw other seven come out of the river, poor and lean, and were fed in places plenteous and burgeoning. These devoured the other that were so fat and fair. Herewith he started out of his sleep, and after slept again, and saw another dream. He saw seven ears of corn standing on one stalk, full and fair of corns, and as many other ears void and smitten with drought, which devoured the beauty of the first seven.

In the morning Pharaoh awoke and was greatly afeard of these dreams, and sent for all conjectors and diviners of Egypt, and wise men; and when they were gathered he told to them his dream, and there was none that could interpret it. Then at last the master butler, remembering Joseph, said: I knowledge my sin, on a time the king being wroth with his servants, sent me and the master of the bakers into prison, where we in one night dreamed both prodigies of things coming. And there was a child of the Hebrews, servant to the jailor, to whom we told our dreams and he expounded them to us and said what should happen; I am restored to mine office and that other is hanged on the cross.

Anon, by the king's commandment, Joseph was taken out of prison and shaved, bathed, and changed his clothes, and brought tofore Pharaoh, to whom he said: I saw a dream which I have showed unto wise men, and there is none that can tell me the interpretation thereof.

To whom Joseph answered: God shall answer by me things prosperous to Pharaoh. Then Pharaoh told to him his dreams, like as is tofore written, of the seven fat oxen and seven lean, and how the lean devoured the fat, and in likewise of the ears.

Joseph answered: The king's dreams are one thing which God hath showed to Pharaoh. The seven fat oxen and the seven ears full, betoken seven years to come of great plenty and commodious, and the seven lean oxen, and the seven void ears smitten with drought, betoken seven years after them of great hunger and scarcity. Lo! there shall come first seven years of great fertility and plenty in all the land of Egypt, after whom shall follow other seven years of so great sterility, barrenness, and scarcity, that the abundance of the first shall be all forgotten. The great hunger of these latter years shall consume all the plenty of the first years. The latter dream pertaineth to the same, because God would that it should be fulfilled. Now therefore let the king provide for a man that is wise and witty, that may command and ordain provosts and officers in all places of the realm, that they gather into garners and barns the fifth part of all the corn and fruits that shall grow these first seven plenteous years that be to come, and that all this wheat may be kept in barns and garners in towns and villages, that it may be made ready against the coming of the seven scarce years that shall oppress by hunger all Egypt, to the end that the people be not enfamined.

This counsel pleased much to Pharaoh and to all his ministers. Then Pharaoh said to his servants: Where should we find such a man as this is, which is fulfilled with the spirit of God?

And then he said to Joseph: Forasmuch as God hath showed to thee all that thou hast spoken, trowest thou that we might find any wiser than thou or like to thee ? Thou shalt be upperest of my house, and to the commandment of thy mouth all people shall obey. I only shall go tofore thee and sit but one seat above thee.

Yet said Pharaoh to Joseph: Lo! I have ordained thee above and master upon all the land of Egypt. He took a ring from his hand and gave it into his hand, and clad him with a double stole furred with bise; and a golden collar he put about his neck, and made him to ascend upon his chair; the second trumpet crying that all men should kneel tofore him, and that they should know him upperest provost of all the land of Egypt.

Then said the king of Egypt to Joseph: I am Pharaoh, without thy commandment shall no man move hand nor foot in all the land of Egypt. He changed his name and called him in the tongue of Egypt: The saviour of the world. He gave to him a wife named Asenath, daughter of Poti-phera, priest of Eliopoleos.

JOSEPHÂ□□S MANAGEMENT OF THE KINGDOM

Joseph went forth then into the land of Egypt. Joseph was thirty years old when he stood in the favour and grace of Pharaoh. And he went round about all the region of Egypt. The plenteousness and fertility of the seven years came, and sheaves and shocks of corn were brought in to the barns; all the abundance of fruits was laid in every town. There was so great plenty of wheat that it might be compared to the gravel of the sea, and the plenty thereof exceedeth measure. Joseph had two sons by his wife ere the famine and hunger came, which Asenath the priest's daughter brought forth, of whom he called the name of the first Manasseh, saying, "God hath made me to forget all my labours, and the house of my father hath forgotten me." He called the name of the second son Ephraim, saying, "God hath made me to grow in the land of my poverty."

Then passed the seven years of plenty and fertility that were in

Egypt, and the seven years of scarcity and hunger began to come, which Joseph had spoken of tofore, and hunger began to wax and grow in the universal world; also in all the land of Egypt was hunger and scarcity. And when the people hungered they cried to Pharaoh asking meat, to whom he answered: Go ye to Joseph, and whatsoever he saith to you do ye.

Daily grew and increased the hunger in all the land. Then Joseph opened the barns and garners, and sold corn to the Egyptians, for the hunger oppressed them sore. All provinces came into Egypt for to buy meat to them, and to eschew the hunger.

JACOBÂ□□S OTHER SONS GO INTO EGYPT

Jacob, father unto Joseph, heard tell that corn and victuals were sold in Egypt, and said to his sons: Why be ye negligent? I have heard say that corn is sold in Egypt; go ye thither and buy for us that is necessary and behoveful, that we may live, and consume not for need.

Then the ten brethren of Joseph descended into Egypt for to buy wheat, and Benjamin was left at home with the father, because whatsoever happed to the brethren in their journey. Then they entered into the land of Egypt with other for to buy corn. There was great famine in the land of Canaan, and Joseph was prince in the land of Egypt, also by his commandment wheat was sold unto the people.

Then when his brethren were come and had adored and worshipped him, he anon knew them, and spake to them, as to strangers, hard words, demanding them saying: Whence be ye? bring with you your youngest brother that I may know that ye be none espies and that ye may receive this brother that I hold in prison, and then forthon what that ye will buy ye shall have licence.

And this said, each of them poured out the wheat, and every man found his money bounden in the mouth of every sack. Then said

Jacob their father: Ye have made me without children. Joseph is gone and lost, Simeon is bounden in prison, and Benjamin ye will take away from me, on me come all these evils.

To [Jacob] Reuben answered: Slay my two sons if I bring him not again to thee; deliver him to me in my hand, and I shall restore him again to thee. The father said: My son shall not go with you, his brother is dead and he is left now alone, if any adversity should hap to him in the way that ye go into, ye shall lead my old hairs with sorrow to hell.

THE BROTHERSÂ□□ SECOND JOURNEY INTO EGYPT

In the meanwhile famine and hunger oppressed all the land greatly. And when the corn that they brought from Egypt was consumed, Jacob said to his sons: Return ye into Egypt and buy for us some meat, that we may live.

Judah answered: That man said to us, under swearing of great oaths that: Ye shall not see my face ne come into my presence but if ye bring your youngest brother with you. Therefore if thou wilt send him with us, we shall go together and shall buy for us that shall be necessary, and if thou wilt not we shall not go. The man said as we oft have said to thee, that if we bring him not we shall not see his visage.

Israel [Jacob] said to them: This have ye done into my misery, that ye told to him that ye had another brother.

And they answered: The man demanded of us by order our progeny, if our father lived, if we had any brother. And we answered him consequently after that he demanded, we wist not what he would say, ne that he said bring your brother with you. Send the child with us that we may go forth and live, and that we ne our children die not for hunger. I shall receive thy son, and require him of my hand. If I lead him not thither and bring him again, I shall be guilty to thee of the sin ever after. If there had been no delay of this,

we had been there and come again by this time.

Then Israel their father said to them: If it be so necessary as ye say, do ye as ye will; take with you of the best fruits of this land in your vessels, and give ye and present to that man gifts, a little raisins, and honey, storax, stacten, terebinthe, and dates, and bear with you double money, and also the same money that ye found in your sacks, lest there be any error therefore; and take with you Benjamin, your brother. My God, that is almighty, make him pleasant unto you, and that ye may return in safety with this your brother and him also that he holdeth in prison; I shall be as a man barren therewhiles, without children.

Then the brethren took the gifts and double money and Benjamin, and went forth into Egypt, and came and stood tofore Joseph; whom when he had seen, and Benjamin, he commanded to the steward of his house that he should do slay sheep and calves and make a feast, "for these brethren shall dine with me this day." He did as he was commanded and brought the men into his lord's house.

Then were they all afeard and said softly together: Because of the money that we had in our sacks we be brought in that he take us with the default, and shall by violence bring us and our asses into servitude.

Wherefore they said to the steward of the house, in the gate of the house ere they entered, saying: We pray thee to hear us: the last time that we came to buy victual, which when we had bought and departed, and were on our . . . .

[Lacuna in the text]

. . . him from themward, for he was moved in all his spirits and wept on his brother, and went into his bedchamber. After this he washed his visage and came out making good countenance and commanded to set bread on the board, and after that he set his

brethren in order, each after their age, and ate together, and Joseph sat and ate with the Egyptians. For it was not lawful to the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews. And each of them were well served, but Benjamin had the best part, and they ate and drank so much that they were drunken.

Then Joseph commanded the steward of his house to fill their sacks with wheat as much as they might receive, and the money of the wheat put it in to every man's sack, and "take my cup of silver, and the money of the youngest, and put that in his sack."

And all this was done. And on the morn betimes they were suffered to depart with their asses. And when they were gone out of the town and a little on their way, then Joseph said to his steward: Make thee ready and ride after, and say to them, "Why have ye done evil for good? The cup that my lord is accustomed to drink in, ye have stolen, ye might not do a worse thing."

He did as Joseph had commanded and overtook them, and said to them all by order like as he had charge, which answered: Why saith your lord so, and doth to us his servants such letting? The money that we found in our sacks we brought again to thee from the land of Canaan, and how may it follow that we should steal any gold or silver from the house of thy lord? Look! at whom it be found of us all thy servants, let him die.

Which said to them: Be it after your sentence, at whom that it ever be found he shall be my servant and the others shall go free and be not guilty.

Then he hied and set down all their sacks, beginning at the oldest unto the youngest, and at last found the cup in the mouth of the sack of Benjamin. Then they all for sorrow cut and rent their clothes, and laded their asses again, and returned all into the town again. Then Judah entered first with his brethren unto Joseph and all they together fell down platte to the ground.

JOSEPH CONFRONTS HIS BROTHERS

To whom Joseph said: Why have ye done thus? Know not ye that there is no man like to me in the science of knowledge?

To whom Judah answered: What shall we answer to thee, my lord; or what shall we speak or rightfully desire? God hath found and remembered the iniquity of us thy servants, for we be all thy servants, yea, we and he at whom the cup was found.

Joseph answered: God forbid that I should so do, whosoever stole the cup shall be my servant, and go ye your way, for ye shall be free and go to your father.

Then Judah approached near him and spake with a hardy cheer to him and said: I beseech thee my lord to hear me thy servant that I may and that thou wilt not be wroth to thy servant. Thou art next to Pharaoh; my lord, thou demandedst first of us thy servants, "Have ye a father or brother?" And we answered to thee, my lord, "Our father is an old man and we have a brother a young child which was born to him in his old age, whose brother of the same mother is dead, and he is an only son whom the father loveth tenderly." Thou saidest to us thy servants, "Bring him hither to me that I may see." We told to thee my lord for truth, "Our father may not forego the child; if he forego him certainly he shall die." And thou saidest to us, thy servants, "But if ye bring him with you, ye shall no more see my visage." Then when we came to our father and told him all these things, and our father bade us to return and buy more corn. To whom we said: "We may not go thither but if our youngest brother go with us, for if he be absent we dare not approach, ne come to the presence of the man." And he answered to us, "Ye know well that my wife brought to me forth but two sons, that one went out, and ye said that of wild beasts had devoured him, and yet I heard never of him ne he appeared not. If now ye should take this my son and any thing happened to him in the way ye should bring my hoar *h* air with sorrow to hell." Therefore if I should come home to my father and bring not the child with me, sith the soul and health of my father

dependeth of this child, and see that he is not come with us, he shall die and we thy servants should lead his old age with wailing and sorrow to hell. I myself shall be thy proper servant which have received him upon my faith and have promised for him, saying to my father, "If I bring him not again I shall be guilty of the sin to my father ever after." I shall abide and continue thy servant for the child in the ministry and service of thee my lord. I may not depart, the child being absent, lest I be witness of the sorrow that my father shall take. Wherefore I beseech thee to suffer this child to go to his father and receive me into thy service.

Thus said Judah, with much more; as Josephus, Antiquitatum, rehearseth more piteously, and saith moreover that the cause why he did do hide the cup in Benjamin's sack, was to know whether they loved Benjamin or hated him as they did him, what time they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

Then this request made, Joseph might no longer forbear, but commanded them that stood by to withdraw them, and when all men were gone out sauf he and his brethren, he began to say to them weeping: I am Joseph your brother, liveth yet my father?

The brethren were so afeard that they could not speak ne answer to him. Then he debonairly said to them; Come hither to me.

And when they came near him he said: I am Joseph your brother that ye sold into Egypt; be ye not afeard nor think not hard unto you that ye sold me into these regions. God hath sent me tofore you into Egypt for your health. It is two years since the famine began, and yet been five years to come in which men may not ear, sow, ne reap. God hath sent me tofore you that ye should be reserved on the earth, and that ye may have meat to live by. It is not by your counsel that I was sent hither, but by the will of God, which hath ordained me father of Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and prince in all the land of Egypt. Hie you, and go to my father, and say ye to him: "This word sendeth thee thy son Joseph: God hath made me lord of the universal land of Egypt, come to me lest thou die, and

thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen. Thou shalt be next me, thou and thy sons and the sons of thy sons, and I shall feed thy sheep, thy beasts and all that thou hast in possession. Yet rest five year to come of famine, therefore come lest thou perish, thy house, and all that thou owest." Lo! your eyes and the eyes of my brother Benjamin see that my mouth speaketh these words to you. Show ye to my father all my glory and all that ye have seen in Egypt. Hie ye and bring him to me.

This said, he embraced his brother Benjamin about his neck and wept upon each of them. After this they durst better speak to him.

PHARAOH ORDERS THAT JACOB AND HIS SONS BE INVITED TO EGYPT

Anon it was told and known all about in the king's hall that Joseph's brethren were come. And Pharaoh was joyful and glad thereof and all his household. And Pharaoh said to Joseph that he should say to his brethren: "Lade ye your beasts and go into the land of Canaan, and bring from thence your father and kindred, and come to me, and I shall give you all the goods of Egypt, that ye may eat the marrow of the earth."

"Command ye also that they take carriages of this land of Egypt, for the carriage of their children and wives, and say to them: â□□Take your father and come as soon as ye may, and leave nothing behind you, for all the best things shall be yours.â□□"

JACOB TAKES HIS FAMILY TO LIVE IN EGYPT

The sons of Israel did as they were commanded. To whom Joseph gave carriages after the commandment of Pharaoh, and meat to eat by the way. He commanded to give to every each two garments. To Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, with five garments of the best, and also he sent clothing to his father, adding to them ten asses which were laden with all riches of Egypt, and as many asses laden and bearing bread and victual to spend by the way. And thus he let his brethren depart from him saying: "Be ye not

wroth in the way." Then they thus departing came into the land of Canaan to their father, and showed all this to their father, and said: "Joseph thy son liveth and he lordeth in all the land of Egypt."

When Jacob heard this he awoke as a man had been awaked suddenly out of his sleep, yet nevertheless he believed them not, and they told to him all the order of the matter. When he saw the carriage and all that he had sent, his spirit revived and said: It sufficeth to me if Joseph my son yet live, I shall go and see him ere I die. Then Israel went forth with all that he had and came to the pit where tofore he had sworn to God; and slew there beasts to make sacrifices to the God of Isaac his father. He heard God by a vision that same night saying to him: "Jacob, Jacob," to whom he answered: "I am here all ready."

God said to him: I am strongest God of thy father Isaac, dread thee not, but descend down into Egypt. I shall make thee to grow there into great people. I shall descend with thee thither, and I shall bring thee again when thou returnest. Joseph soothly shall put his hands upon thine eyes.

Jacob then arose on the morn early, and his sons took him with their children and wives and set them on the carriages that Pharaoh had sent to bring him and all that he had into the land of Canaan. And so came into Egypt with all his progeny, sons and children, etc.

These be the names of the sons of Israel that entered with him into Egypt. The first begotten Reuben with his children four. Simeon with his seven sons. Levi with his three sons. Judah and his sons three. Issachar and his four sons. Zebulon and his sons three. These were sons of Leah that Jacob gat in Mesopotamia, and Dinah his daughter. All these sons and daughters were thirty-three. Gad also entered with his children seven. Asher with his children five and of his children's children two. These were sons of Zilpah, in number sixteen. The sons of Rachel were Joseph and Benjamin. Joseph had two sons in the land of Egypt by his wife Asenath, Manasseh and Ephraim. The sons of Benjamin were ten. All these children that

came of Rachel were in number fourteen. Dan entered with one son, and Naphtali with four sons. These were the children of Bilhah; they were in number seven. All the souls that were issued of his seed that entered into Egypt with him, without the wives of his sons, were sixty-six. The sons of Joseph that were born in Egypt twain. Summa: of all the souls of the house of Jacob that entered into Egypt were in all seventy.

Jacob sent then tofore him Judah unto Joseph, to show to him his coming. And he came to Joseph in Goshen, and anon Joseph ascended his chariot and went for to meet his father, and when he saw him, he embraced him meekly and wept. And his father received him joyously and embraced also him. Then said the father to Joseph: Now shall I die joyously because I have seen thy visage.

Then said Joseph to his brethren and to all the house of his father: I shall go and ascend to Pharaoh and shall say to him, that my brethren and the house of my father that were in the land of Canaan be come to me, and be men keeping sheep, and can the manner well for to keep the flocks of sheep, and that they have brought with them their beasts, and all that ever they had. When he shall call you and ask you of what occupation ye be, ye shall say: "We be shepherds, thy servants, from our childhood unto now, and our fathers also." This shall ye say that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen, for the Egyptians have spite unto herdmen of sheep.

Then Joseph entered tofore Pharaoh and said to him: My father, my brethren, their sheep and beasts be come from the land of Canaan, and be in the land of Goshen. And he brought five of his brethren tofore the king, whom he demanded of what occupation they were of. They answered: We be keepers of sheep, thy servants, we and our fathers, we be come to dwell in thy land, for there is no grass for the flocks of sheep of us thy servants, the famine is so great in the land of Canaan. We beseech thee that thou command us thy servants to dwell in the land of Goshen.

Then said the king to Joseph: Thy father and thy brethren be come

to thee, the land of Egypt is at thy commandment, make thou them to dwell in the best place, and deliver to them the land of Goshen. And if thou know them for conning, ordain they to be masters of my beasts.

After this Joseph brought his father in, and made him stand tofore the king which blessed him, and was demanded of the king how old he was. He answered: The days of the pilgrimage of my life be an hundred and thirty years, small and evil, and yet I am not come unto the days of my fathers that they have lived. And he blessed the king and went out. Then Joseph gave to his father and brethren possession in Egypt in the best soil of Rameses like as Pharaoh had commanded, and there fed them, giving to each of them victual.

JOSEPH MAKES PHARAOH OWNER OF ALL THE LAND AND PEOPLE

In all the world was scarcity of bread, and hunger and famine oppressed specially and most, the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan. Of which lands Joseph gat all the money for selling of wheat, and brought it into the king's treasury. When all people lacked money, all Egypt came to Joseph saying: Give us bread, why die we to the lacking money.

To whom he answered: Bring to me your beasts and I shall give you for them victuals, if ye have no money: which when they brought, he gave to them victuals and food for horses, sheep, oxen and asses, and sustained them one year for changing of their beasts.

Then came they again the second year and said: We hide not from thee our lord that our money is failed and also our beasts be gone, and there is nothing left but our bodies and our land. Why then shall we die in thy sight? And we ourselves and also our land shall be thine, buy us into bondship and servitude of the king, and give us seed to sow lest the earth turn into wilderness.

Then Joseph bought all the land of Egypt, every man selling his

possessions for the vehement hunger that they had. He subdued all unto Pharaoh, and all his people from the last terms of Egypt unto the utterest ends of the same, except the land longing to the priests, which was given to them by the king, to whom were given victuals openly out of all the barns and garners, and therefore they were not compelled to sell their possessions.

Then said Joseph to all the peoples: Lo, now ye see and know that Pharaoh oweth and is in possession of you and of your land. Take to you seed and sow ye the fields that ye may have fruit. The fifth part thereof ye shall give to the king and four parts I promise to you to sow, and for meat to your servants and to your children.

Which answered: Our health is in thine hand, let our lord only behold us and we shall gladly serve the king. From that time unto this present day, in all the land of Egypt the fifth part is paid to the king; and it is holden for a law, except the land longing to the priests which is free from this condition.

THE DEATH OF JACOB

Then Israel dwelled in Egypt in the land of Goshen, and was in possession thereof. He increased and multiplied greatly, and lived therein seventeen years. And all the years of his life were an hundred and seven and forty years. When he understood that the day of his death approached, he called to him his son Joseph and said to him: If I may find so much grace in thy sight, do to me so much mercy as thou promise and swear that thou bury me not in Egypt, but that I may rest with my fathers, and take and carry me from this land, and lay me in the sepulchre of my forefathers.

To whom Joseph answered: I shall do that thou hast commanded.

Then said he, "Swear to me," and so he swore. And then Israel adored and worshipped our Lord, and turned him towards his bed's head. Then this done, anon after it was told to Joseph that his father was sick and feeble; who anon took his sons Manasseh and

Ephraim and came to his father.

Anon it was told to the father: Lo thy son Joseph cometh to thee, which then was comforted, and sat up in his bed. And Joseph entered in, and Jacob said: Almighty God appeared to me in Luz which is in the land of Canaan, and he blessed me and said: "I shall increase thee and multiply thee into tourbes of peoples, I shall give to thee this land and to thy seed after thee in sempiternal possession, therefore thy two sons that be born to thee in this land of Egypt tofore I came hither to thee, shall be my sons Ephraim and Manasseh, they shall be reputed to me as Simeon and Reuben. The other that thou shalt get after them shall be thine, and shall be called in the name of their brethren in their possessions.

Then he, seeing Joseph's sons, said to him: Who be these children? Joseph answered: They be my sons which God hath given to me in this place.

Bring them hither, said he, to me that I may bless them. Israel's eyes were dimmed and might not see clearly for great age. He took them to him and kissed them and said to Joseph: I am not defrauded from the sight of thee, and furthermore God hath showed to me thy seed.

Then when Joseph took them from his father's lap, he worshipped him kneeling low to the earth, and set Ephraim on his right side, and on the left side of Israel, and Manasseh on the right side of his father Israel, which took his right hand and laid it on the head of Ephraim the younger brother, and his left hand on the head of Manasseh which was first born.

Then Jacob blessed the sons of Joseph and said: God, in whose sight walked my fathers Abraham and Isaac, God that hath fed me from my youth unto this present day, the angel that hath kept me from all evil bless these children, and my name be called on them, and the names of my fathers Abraham and Isaac, and grow they into multitude upon earth.

Then Joseph seeing that his father set his right hand upon the head of Ephraim the younger brother took it heavily, and took his father's hand and would have laid it on the head of Manasseh, and said to his father: Nay father, it is not convenient, that ye do, this is the first begotten son, set thy right hand on his head.

Which renied that and would not do so, but said: I wot, my son, I wot what I do, and this son shall increase into peoples and multiply, but his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall grow into Gentiles, and blessed them, saying that same time: In thee shall be blessed Israel, and shall be said: God make thee like to Ephraim and Manasseh.

And he said to Joseph his son: Lo! now I die and God shall be with you, and shall reduce and bring you again into the land of your fathers; and I give to thee one part above thy brethren, which I gat and won from the hand of the Amorite with my sword and my bow. Then Jacob called his sons tofore him and said to them: Gather ye altogether tofore me, that I may show to you things that be to come, and hear your father Israel.

And there he told to each of them his condition singularly. And when he had blessed his twelve sons he commanded them to bury him with his fathers in a double spelunke which is in the field of Ephron the Hittite against Mamre in the land of Canaan which Abraham bought. And this said he gathered to him his feet and died. Which anon as Joseph saw, he fell on his visage and kissed him. He commanded to his masters of physic and medicines, which were his servants, that they should embalm the body of his father with sweet spices aromatic; which was all done, and then went they sorrowing him forty days.

The Egyptians wailed him seventy days, and when the wailing was past, Joseph did say to Pharaoh how he had sworn and promised to bury him in the land of Canaan. To whom Pharaoh said: Go and bury thy father like as thou hast sworn.

Which then took his father's body and went, and with him were accompanied all the aged men of Pharaoh's house, and the noblest men of birth of all the land of Egypt, the house of Joseph with his brethren, without the young children, flocks and beasts, which they left in the land of Goshen. He had in his fellowship chariots, carts and horsemen, and was a great tourbe and company, and came over Jordan where as they hallowed the exequies by great wailing seven days long.

And when they of the country saw this plaint and sorrowing they said: This is a great sorrow to the Egyptians. And that same place is named yet the bewailing of Egypt. The children of Israel did as they were commanded, and bare him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the double spelunke which Abraham had bought. Then when Jacob the father was buried, Joseph with all his fellowship returned into Egypt.

Then his brethren after the death of their father spake together privily, and dreading that Joseph would avenge the wrong and evil that they had done to him, came to him and said: Thy father commended us ere he died that we should say thus to thee: We pray thee that thou wilt forget, and not remember the sin and trespass of thy brethren, ne the malice that they executed in thee. We beseech thee that thou wilt forgive to thy father, servant of God, this wickedness.

Which when Joseph heard he wept bitterly, and his brethren came to him kneeling low to the ground and worshipped him, and said, We be thy servants. To whom he answered: Be ye nothing afeard ne dread you not, ween ye that ye may resist God's will? Ye thought to have done to me evil, but God hath turned it into good, and hath exalted me as ye see and know, that he should save much people. Be ye nothing afeard, I shall feed you and your children.

And comforted them with fair words, and spake friendly and joyously to them. And he abode and dwelled still in Egypt with all the house

of his father, and lived an hundred and ten years, and saw the sons of Ephraim in to the third generation. After these things he said to his brethren: "After my death, God shall visit you and shall do you depart from this land unto the land that he promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. When that time shall come, take my bones and lead them with you from this place," and then died. Whose body was embalmed with sweet spices and aromatics and laid in a chest in Egypt.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE HISTORY OF ST. JOHN PORT LATIN

Chapter 69 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

When St. John the apostle and evangelist preached in a city of Greece named Ephesus, he was taken of the judge, which commanded him that he should make sacrifice to the false idols, and when he would not do it he put him in prison. And after, he sent a letter to Domitian the emperor which said that he held an enchanter in prison which had despised their gods and worshipped him that was crucified. Then commanded Domitian that he should be brought to Rome, and when he was there they did do shave off all the hairs of his head in derision, and after, they brought him tofore the gate called Port Latin, and put him in a ton full of burning oil. But he never felt harm ne pain, and without suffering any harm he issued out.

In that place Christian men did do make a fair church, and this day made a solemn feast, as it were the day of his martyrdom. And when the emperor saw that he ceased not of preaching for the commandment that he had made, he sent him in exile into an isle named Patmos.

It ought not to be believed that the emperor did these persecutions unto Christian people because they believed in God, for they refused none, but it was a displeasure to them that they worshipped God without authority of the senators. Another reason there was, and that was that the service of their other gods was lessed and minished thereby. The third reason was that he preached to despise the worship, the honour, and the avoir of the world, and that was the thing principal that the Romans loved. But Jesu Christ would no thing permit it lest they held that it was done by puissance human. Another cause there was, as Master John Beleth saith, why that the

emperor and the senate pursued Christ and his apostles, and that was that them seemed that God was over proud and envious, because he deigned not to have a fellow. Another cause allegeth Orosius, and saith that the senate had despite of this, that Pilate had written the miracles of Jesu Christ to the emperor only, and not to the senators, wherefore they would not accord that he should be admitted to be worshipped among the gods. Therefore Tiberius the emperor did do slay some of the senators and some he sent in exile.

The mother of St. John hearing that her son was prisoner, moved with motherly compassion, came to Rome; and when she came she found that he was sent in exile, she went then into the champain to a city named Vorulana, 1 and there died and yielded her soul to Christ. Whose body was buried in a cave where it long rested, but after, by St. James her other son, it was showed, which then was taken up and found sweet smelling, and many miracles showed in her translation in the said city. Then let us pray to St. John that he pray for us.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE STORY OF JUDITH WHICH IS READ THE LAST SUNDAY OF OCTOBER.

This story was in the earlier English translation used by Caxton in his compilation of the Golden Legend, but it was not in the Latin original. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

Arphaxad, king of the Medes, subdued into his empire many peoples and edified a mighty city, which he named Ecbatane, and made it with stones squared, and polished them. The walls thereof were of height seventy cubits, and breadth thirty cubits, and the towers thereof of were an hundred cubits high. And he glorified himself as he that was mighty in puissance and in the glory of his host and of his chariots.

Nebuchadnezzar then in the twelfth year of his reign, which was king of the Assyrians, and reigned in the city of Nineveh, fought against Arphaxad and took him in the field, whereof Nebuchadnezzar was exalted and enhanced himself, and sent unto all regions about and unto Jerusalem till the Mounts of Ethiopia, for to obey and hold of him. Which all gainsaid him with one will, and without worship sent home his messengers void, and set nought by him.

Then Nebuchadnezzar, having them at great indignation, swore by his reign and by his throne that he would avenge him on them all, and thereupon called all his dukes, princes, and men of war, and held a counsel in which was decreed that he should subdue all the world unto his empire. And thereupon he ordained Holofernes prince of his knighthood, and bade him go forth, and in especial against them that had despised his empire; and bade him spare no realm ne town but subdue all to him.

THE CONQUESTS OF HOLOFERNES

Then Holofernes assembled dukes and masters of the strength of Nebuchadnezzar, and numbered one hundred and twenty thousand footmen, and horsemen shooters twelve thousand. And tofore them he commanded to go a multitude of innumerable camels laden with such things as were needful to the host, as victual, gold and silver, much that was taken out of the treasury of the kings. And so went to many realms which he subdued; and occupied a great part of the orient till he came approaching the land of Israel.

And when the children of Israel heard thereof they dreaded sore lest he should come among them into Jerusalem and destroy the temple, for Nebuchadnezzar had commanded that he should extinct all of the gods of the earth, and that no god should be named ne worshipped but he himself, of all the nations that Holofernes should subdue.

THE ISRAELITES PREPARE THE RESISTANCE AGAINST HOLOFERNES

Eliachim, then priest in Israel, wrote unto all them in the mountains that they should keep the strait ways of the mountains, and so the children of Israel did as the priest had ordained. Then Eliachim, the priest, went about all Israel and said to them: Know ye that God hath heard your prayers, if ye abide and continue in your prayers and fastings in the sight of God. Remember ye of Moses, the servant of God, which overthrew Amalek trusting in his strength, and in his power, in his host, in his helmets, in his chariots, and in his horsemen; not fighting with iron but with praying of holy prayers. In like wise shall it be with all the enemies of Israel if ye persevere in this work that ye have begun.

With this exhortation they continued praying God. They persevered in the sight of God, and also they that offered to our Lord were clad with sackcloth, and had ashes on their heads, and with all their heart they prayed God to visit his people Israel.

ACHIOR EXPLAINS TO HOLOFERNES THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

It was told to Holofernes prince of the knighthood of the Assyrians that the children of Israel made them ready to resist him, and had closed the ways of the mountains, and he was burned in overmuch fury in great ire. He called all the princes of Moab and dukes of Ammon and said to them: Say ye to me, what people is this that besiege the mountains, or what or how many cities have they? And what is their virtue, and what multitude is of them? Or who is king of their knighthood?

Then Achior, duke of all of them of Ammon, answering said:

"If thou deignest to hear me I shall tell thee truth of this people that dwelleth in the mountains, and there shall not issue out of my mouth one false word. This people dwelled first in Mesopotamia, and was of the progeny of the Chaldees, but would not dwell there for they would not follow the gods of their fathers that were in the land of Chaldees, and going and leaving the ceremonies of their fathers, which was in the multitude of many gods, they honoured one, God of heaven, which commanded them to go thence that they should dwell in Canaan.

"Then after was there much hunger, that they descended into Egypt, and there abode four hundred years, and multiplied that they might not be numbered. When the king of Egypt grieved them in his buildings, bearing clay tiles, and subdued them, they cried to our Lord, and he smote the land of Egypt with divers plagues. When they of Egypt had cast them out from them, the plagues ceased from them and then they would have taken them again and would have called them to their service, and they fleeing, their God opened the sea to them that they went through dry-foot, in which the innumerable host of the Egyptians pursuing them were drowned, that there was not one of them saved for to tell to them that came after them. They passed thus the Red Sea, and he fed them with manna forty years, and made bitter waters sweet, and gave them

water out of a stone.

"And wheresoever this people entered without bow or arrow, shield or sword, their God fought for them, and there is no man may prevail against this people but when they departed from the culture and honor of their God. And as oft as they have departed from their God and worshipped other strange gods, so oft have they been overcome with their enemies. And when they repent and come to the knowledge of their sin, and cry their God mercy, they be restored again, and their God giveth to them virtue to resist their enemies.

"They have overthrown Cananeum the king, Jebusee, Pheresee, Eneum, Etheum and Amoreum, and all the mighty men in Esebon, and have taken their lands and cities and possess them, and shall, as long as they please their God. Their God hated wickedness, for tofore this time when they went from the laws that their God gave to them, he suffered them to be taken of many nations into captivity, and were disperpled. And now late they be come again and possess Jerusalem, wherein is sancta sanctorum, and be come over these mountains whereas some of them dwell.

"Now therefore, my lord, see and search if there be any wickedness of them in the sight of their God, and then let us go to them, for their God shall give them into thy hands and they shall be subdued under the yoke of thy power."

HOLOFERNES SENDS ACHIOR INTO EXILE IN BETHULIA

And when Achior had said thus, all the great men about Holofernes were angry and had thought for to have slain him, saying each to other: Who is this that may make the children of Israel resist the king Nebuchadnezzar and his army and host? Men cowards and without might and without any wisdom of war. Therefore that Achior may know that he saith not true, let us ascend the mountains, and when the mighty men of them be taken let him be slain with them, that all men may know that Nebuchadnezzar is god of the earth,

and that there is none other but he.

Then when they ceased to speak, Holofernes having indignation said to Achior: Because thou hast prophesied us of the children of Israel saying, that their God defended them, I shall show to thee that there is no god but Nebuchadnezzar, for whom we have overcome them all and slain them as one man, then shalt thou die with them by the sword of the Assyrians, and all Israel shall be put into ruin and perdition, and then shall be known that Nebuchadnezzar is lord of all the earth, and the sword of my knighthood shall pass through thy sides. And thou shalt depart hence and go to them, and shalt not die unto the time that I have them and thee. And when I have slain them with my sword thou shalt in like wise be slain with like vengeance.

After this Holofernes commanded his servants to take Achior, and lead him to Bethulia and to put him in the hands of them of Israel. And so they took Achior and ascended the mountains, against whom came out men of war. Then the servants of Holofernes turned aside and bound Achior to a tree hands and feet with cords, and left him and so returned to their lord.

Then the sons of Israel coming down from Bethulia loosed and unbound him, and brought him to Bethulia, and he being set amid the people was demanded what he was, and why he was so sore there bounden. And he told to them all the matter like as it is aforesaid, and how Holofernes had commanded him to be delivered unto them of Israel.

Then all the people fell down on to their faces worshipping God, and with great lamentation and weeping, with one will made their prayers unto our Lord God of heaven, and that he would behold the pride of them, and to the meekness of them of Israel, and take heed to the faces of his hallows and show to them his grace and not forsake them, and prayed God to have mercy on them and defend them from their enemies.

ATTACKED BY HOLOFERNES, THE PEOPLE CONSIDER SURRENDER

And on that other side, Holofernes commanded his hosts to go up and assail Bethulia, and so went up, of footmen one hundred and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand horsemen, and besieged the town, and took their water from them, in so much that they that were in the town were in great penury of water, for in all the town was not water enough for one day, and such as they had was given to the people by measure. Then all the people young and old came to Ozias which was their prince, with Charmis and Gothoniel, all with one voice crying: God the Lord deem between us and thee, for thou hast done to us evil what thou spakest not peaceably with the Assyrians, for now we shall be delivered into the hands of them. It is better for us to live in captivity under Holofernes and live, than to die here for thirst, and see our wives and children die before our eyes.

And when they had made this piteous crying and yelling, they went all to their church, and there a long while prayed and cried unto God knowledging their sins and wickedness, meekly beseeching him to show his grace and pity on them. Then at last Ozias arose up, and said to the people: Let us abide yet five days, and if God send us no rescue ne help us not in that time that we may give glory to his name, else we shall do as ye have said.

JUDITHÂ□□S COUNSEL TO THE PRIESTS

And when that Judith heard thereof, which was a widow and a blessed woman, and was left widow three years and six months after that Manasses her husband died, anon she went into the overest part of her house in which she made a privy bed, which she and her servants closed, and having on her body a hair, had fasted all the days of her life save Sabbaths and of new moons, and the feasts of the house of Israel. She was a fair and her husband had left her much riches, with plentiful meiny, and possessions of droves of oxen and flocks of sheep, and she was a famous woman and dreaded God greatly.

And when she had heard that Ozias had said, that the fifth day the city should be given over if God helped them not, she sent for the priests Chambris and Charmis and said to them:

"What is this word in which Ozias hath consented that the city should be delivered to the Assyrians if within five days there come no help to us? And who be ye that tempt the Lord God? This word is not to stir God to mercy but rather to arouse wrath and woodness. Ye have set a time of mercy doing by God, and in your doom ye have ordained a day to him.

"O good Lord, how patient is he, let us ask him for forgiveness with weeping tears; he shall not threaten as a man, ne inflame in wrath as a son of a man, therefore meek we our souls to him and in a contrite spirit and meeked, serve we to him, and say we weeping to God, that after his will he show to us his mercy, and as our heart is troubled in the pride of them, so also of our humbleness and meekness let us be joyful.

"For we have not followed the sin of our fathers that forsook their God and worshipped strange gods, wherefore they were given and be taken into hideous and great vengeance, into sword, ravin, and into confusion to their enemies; we forsooth know no other god but him. Abide we meekly the comfort of him, and he shall keep us from our enemies, and he shall make all Gentiles that arise against him, and shall make them without worship the Lord our God.

"And now ye brethren, ye that be priests, on whom hangeth the life of the people of God, pray ye unto Almighty God that he make me steadfast in the purpose that I have proposed. Ye shall stand at the gate and I shall go out with my handmaid. And pray ye the Lord that he steadfast make my soul, and do ye nothing till I come again."

JUDITH SETS OUT FOR HOLOFERNESÂ□□ CAMP

And then Judith went into her oratory, and arrayed her with her precious clothing and adornments, and took unto her handmaid certain victuals such as she might lawfully eat, and when she had made her prayers unto God she departed in her most noble array toward the gate, whereas Ozias and the priests abode her, and when they saw her they marvelled of her beauty. Notwithstanding they let her go, saying: God of our fathers give thee grace and strengthen all the counsel of thine heart with his virtue and glory to Jerusalem, and be thy name in the number of saints and of righteous men.

And they all that were there said : Amen and, fiat! fiat! [Let it be done!]

Then she praising God passed through the gate, and her handmaid with her. And when she came down the hill, about the springing of the day, anon the spies of the Assyrians took her saying: Whence comest thou, or whither goest thou?

The which answered: I am a daughter of the Hebrews and flee from them, knowing that they shall be taken by you, and come to Holofernes for to tell him their privities, and I shall show him by what entry he may win them, in such wise as one man of his host shall not perish.

And the men that heard these words beheld her visage and wondered of her beauty, saying to her: Thou hast saved thy life because thou hast founden such counsel. Come therefore to our Lord, for when thou shalt stand in his sight he shall accept thee. And they led her to the tabernacle of Holofernes.

JUDITH INGRATIATES HERSELF WITH HOLOFERNES

And when she came before him anon Holofernes was caught by his eyes, and his tyrant knights said to him: Who despised the people of Jews that have so fair women, that not for them of right we ought against them?

And so Judith seeing Holofernes sitting in his canape that was of purple, of gold, smaragdos and precious stones within woven, and when she had seen his face she honored him, falling down herself unto the earth. And the servants of Holofernes took her up, he so commanding. Then Holofernes said to her: Be thou not afeard ne dread thee not. I never grieved ne noyed man that would serve Nebuchadnezzar. Thy people soothly, if they had not despised me, I had not raised my people ne strength against them. Now tell to me the cause why thou wentest from them, and that it hath pleased thee to come to us.

And Judith said:

"Take the words of thine handmaid, and if thou follow them, a perfect thing God shall do with thee. Forsooth Nebuchadnezzar is the living king of the earth, and thou hast his power for to chastise all people, for men only serve not him, but also the beasts of the field obey to him, his might is known over all.

"And the children of Israel shall be yielded to thee, for their God is angry with them for their wickedness. They be enfamined and lack bread and water, they be constrained to eat their horse and beasts, and to take such holy things as be forbidden in their law, as wheat, wine, and oil, all these things God hath showed to me. And they purpose to waste such things as they ought not touch, and therefore and for their sins they shall be put in the hands of their enemies. And our Lord hath showed me these things to tell thee.

"And I thine handmaid shall worship God, and shall go out and pray him, and come in and tell thee what he shall say to me, in such wise that I shall bring thee through the middle of Jerusalem, and thou shalt have all the people of Israel under thee, as the sheep be under the shepherd, in so much there shall not an hound bark against thee.

"And because these things be said to me by the providence of God,

and that God is wroth with them, I am sent to tell thee these things."

Forsooth, all these words pleased much to Holofernes, and to his people, and they marvelled of the wisdom of her. And one said to another. There is not such a woman upon earth in sight, in fairness, and in wit of words.

And Holofernes said to her: God hath done well that he hath sent thee hither for to let me have knowledge, and if thy God do to me these things he shall be my God, and thou and thy name shall be great in the house of Nebuchadnezzar.

Then commanded Holofernes her to go in where his treasure lay, and to abide there, and to give to her meat from his feast, to whom she said that she might not eat of his meat, but that she hath brought meat with her for to eat. Then Holofernes said: When that meat faileth what shall we give to thee to eat?

And Judith said that she should not spend all "till God shall do in my hands those things that I have thought." And the servants led her into his tabernacle, and she desired that she might go out in the night and before day to pray, and come in again. And the lord commanded his cubiculers that she should go and come at her pleasure three days during.

And she went out into the valley of Bethulia and baptized her in the water of the well. And she stretched her hands up to the God of Israel, praying the good Lord that he would govern her way for to deliver his people; and thus she did unto the fourth day.

JUDITH COMES TO HOLOFERNESÂ□□ FEAST

Then Holofernes made a great feast, and sent a man of his which was gelded, named Bagoas, for to entreat Judith to lie with his lord, and to come eat and drink with him. And Judith said: What am I that should gainsay my lord's desire? I am at his commandment. Whatsomever he will that I do, I shall do, and please him all the

days of my life.

And she rose and adorned herself with her rich and precious clothes, and went in and stood before Holofernes. And Holofernes' heart was pierced with her beauty, and he burned in the lust and desire of her, and said to her: Sit down and drink in joy, for thou hast found grace before me.

Judith said: I shall drink my lord, for my life is magnified this day before all the days of my life.

And she ate and drank such as her handmaid had ordained for her. And Holofernes was merry and drank so much wine that he never drank so much in one day in all his life, and was drunken. And at even, when it was night, Holofernes went into his bed, and Bagoas brought Judith in to his chamber and closed the door.

JUDITH BEHEADS HOLOFERNES IN HIS TENT

And when Judith was alone in the chamber, and Holofernes lay and slept in overmuch drunkenness, Judith said to her handmaid that she should stand without forth before the door of the privy chamber and wait about, and Judith stood before the bed praying with tears and with moving of her lips secretly, saying: O Lord God of Israel, confirm me in this hour look to the works of my hands, that thou raise up the city of Jerusalem as thou hast promised, and that I may perform this that I have thought to do.

And when she had thus said, she went to the pillar that was at his bed's head, and took his sword and loosed it, and when she had drawn it out, she took his hair in her hand and said, "Confirm me God of Israel in this hour," and smote twice in the neck and cut off his head, and left the body lie still, and took the head and wrapped it in the canape and delivered it to her maid, and bade her to put it in her scrip, and they two went out after their usage to pray.

SHE EXHIBITS THE HEAD TO HER PEOPLE

And they passed the tents, and going about the valley came to the gate of the city, and Judith said to the keepers of the walls: Open the gates, for God is with us that hath done great virtue in Israel. And anon when they heard her call, they called the priests of the city, and they came running for they had supposed no more to have seen her, and lighting lights all went about her.

She then entered in and stood up in a high place and commanded silence, and said: Praise ye the Lord God that forsaketh not men hoping in him; and in me his handwoman, hath fulfilled his mercy that he promised to the house of Israel, and hath slain in my hand the enemy of his people this night.

And then she brought forth the head of Holofernes and showed it to them saying: Lo here the head of Holofernes, prince of the chivalry of Assyrians, and lo the canape of him in which he lay in his drunkenhood, where our Lord hath smitten him by the hand of a woman. Forsooth God liveth, for his angel kept me hence going, there abiding, and from thence hither returning, and the Lord hath not suffered me, his handwoman, to be defouled, but without pollution of sin hath called me again to you joying in his victory, in my escaping and in your deliverance. Knowledge ye him all for good, for his mercy is everlasting, world without end.

And all they, honouring our Lord, said to her: The Lord bless thee in his virtue, for by thee he hath brought our enemies to naught.

Then Ozias, the prince of the people, said to her: Blessed be thou of the high God before all women upon earth, and blessed be the Lord that made heaven and earth, that hath addressed thee in the wounds of the head of the prince of our enemies.

After this Judith bade that the head should be hanged up on the walls, "and at the sun rising every man in his arms issue out upon your enemies, and when their spies shall see you, they shall run into the tent of their prince, to raise him and to make him ready to fight, and when his lords shall see him dead, they shall be smitten

with so great dread and fear that they shall flee, whom ye then shall pursue, and God shall bring them and tread them under your feet."

Then Achior seeing the virtue of the God of Israel, left his old heathen's customs and believed in God, and was circumcised in his privy members, and put himself to the people of Israel, and all succession of his kindred unto this day. Then at the springing of the day they hung the head of Holofernes on the walls, and every man took his arms and went out with great noise.

THE ASSYRIANS TAKE FLIGHT

Which thing seeing, the spies ran together to the tabernacle of Holofernes, and came making noise for to make him to arise, and that he should awake, but no man was so hardy to knock or enter into his privy chamber. But when the dukes and leaders of thousands came, and other, they said to the privy chamberlains: Go and awake your lord, for the mice be gone out of their caves and be ready to call us to battle.

Then Bagoas his bawd, went into his privy chamber and stood before the curtain, and clapped his hands together, weening he had slept with Judith. And when he perceived no moving of him, he drew the curtain and seeing the dead body of Holofernes, without head, lying in his blood, cried with great voice, weeping and rending his clothes, and went in to the tabernacle of Judith and found her not, and started out to the people and said: A woman of the Hebrews hath made confusion in the house of Nebuchadnezzar. She hath slain Holofernes, and he is dead, and she hath his head with her.

And when the princes and captains of the Assyrians heard this, anon they rent their clothes, and intolerable dread fell on them, and were sore troubled in their wits and made a horrible cry in their tents. And when all the host had heard how Holofernes was beheaded, counsel and mind flew from them, and with great trembling for succour began to flee, in such wise that none would speak with other, but with their heads bowed down fled for to

escape from the Hebrews, whom they saw armed coming upon them, and departed fleeing by fields and ways of hills and valleys.

THE ASSYRIANS ARE DRIVEN OUT OF ISRAEL

And the sons of Israel, seeing them fleeing, followed them, crying with trumps and shouting after them, and slew and smote down all them that they overtook. And Ozias sent forth unto all the cities and regions of Israel, and they sent after all the young men and valiant to pursue them by sword, and so they did unto the uttermost coasts of Israel.

The other men soothly, that were in Bethulia, went in to the tents of the Assyrians, and took all the prey that the Assyrians had left, and when the men that had pursued them were returned, they took all their beasts and all the movable goods and things that they had left, so much that every man from the most to the least were made rich by the prey that they took.

Then Joachim the high bishop of Jerusalem came unto Bethulia, with all the priests, for to see Judith, and when she came tofore them all, they blessed her with one voice, saying: Thou glory of Jerusalem, thou gladness of Israel, thou the worship doing of our people, thou didst manly, and thine heart is comforted because thou lovedst chastity and knewest no man after the death of thy husband, and therefore the hand of God hath comforted thee. And therefore thou shalt be blessed world without end, and all the people said: *Fiat! fiat!* be it done, be it done.

Certainly the spoils of the Assyrians were unnethe gathered and assembled together in thirty days, of the people of Israel, but all the proper riches that were appertaining to Holofernes and could be found that had been his, they were given to Judith as well gold, silver, gems, clothes, as all other appurtenances to household; and all was delivered to her of the people, and the folks, with women and maidens, joyed in the Lord in cymbals, mannerly sing to him a

new psalm: "Fully joy ye, and inwardly call ye his name," and so forth.

THE PEOPLE REJOICE IN THE LORD

And for this great miracle and victory all the people came to Jerusalem for to give laud, honour, and worship unto our Lord God. And after they were purified they offered sacrifices, vows, and behests unto God, and the joy of this victory was solemnised during three months, and after that, each went home again into his own city and house, and Judith returned into Bethulia, and was made more great and clear to all men of the land of Israel.

She was joined to the virtue of chastity, so that she knew no man all the days of her life after the death of Manasses, her husband, and dwelled in of the house of her husband an hundred and five years, and she left her demoiselle free. And after this she died and is buried in Bethulia and all the people bewailed her seven days. During her life after this journey was no trouble among the Jews, and the day of this victory of the Hebrews was accepted for a feastful day, and hallowed of the Jews and numbered among their feasts unto this day.

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ST. JUSTINA

Chapter 142 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Justina the virgin was of the city of Antioch, daughter of a priest of the idols. And every day she sat at a window by a priest which read the gospel, of whom at the last she was converted. And when the mother of her had told it unto her father in his bed, Jesu Christ appeared to them with his angels, saying: Come to me, I shall give to you the kingdom of heaven. And when he awoke, anon they did them to be baptized with their daughter.

JUSTINAÂ□□S CONVERSION OF THE MAGICIAN CYPRIAN

And this virgin was strongly grieved and vexed of Cyprian, and at the last she converted him to the faith of Jesu Christ. And Cyprian from his childhood had been an enchanter, for from the time that he was seven years old he was consecrated by his parents to the devil. And he used the craft of necromancy, and made women to turn into juments and beasts as them seemed, and many other things semblable. And he was covetous of the love of Justina, and burnt in the concupiscence of her, and resorted to his art magic that he might have her for himself, or for a man named Acladius, which also burnt in her love.

Then he called a devil to him, to the end that he might by him have Justina, and when the devil came he said to him: Why hast thou called me?

And Cyprian said to him: I love a virgin, canst thou not so much that I may have my pleasure of her?

And the devil answered: I that might cast man out of Paradise, and

procured that Cain slew his brother, and made the Jews to slay Christ, and have troubled the men, trowest thou I may not do that thou have a maid with thee, and use her at thy pleasure? Take this ointment and anoint withal her house withoutforth, and I shall come and kindle her heart in thy love, that I shall compel her to assent to thee.

And the next night following the devil went and enforced him to move her heart unto unlawful love. And when she felt it, she recommended herself devoutly to God, and garnished her with the sign of the cross, and the devil, all afraid of the sign of the cross, fled away from her, and came again to Cyprian and stood before him.

And Cyprian said to him: Why hast thou not brought to me this virgin?

And the devil said: I see in her a sign which feared me, that all strength is failed in me.

Then Cyprian left him, and called another devil more stronger than he was. And he said: I have heard thy commandment and have seen the non-power of him, but I shall amend it and accomplish thy will.

Then the devil went to her, and enforced to move her heart in love, and inflame her courage in things not honest. And she recommended her to God devoutly, and put from her that temptation by the sign of the cross, and blew on the devil, and threw him anon away from her. And he fled all confused and came tofore Cyprian, and Cyprian said to him: Where is the maid that I sent thee for? and the devil said: I acknowledge that I am overcome and am rebutted, and I shall say how, for I saw in her a sign horrible, and lost anon all my virtue.

Then Cyprian left him, and blamed him, and called the prince of the devils. And when he was come he said: Wherefore is your strength

so little, which is overcome of a maid ?

Then the prince said to him: I shall go and vex her with great fevers, and I shall inflame more ardently her heart, and I shall arouse and bedew her body with so ardent desire of thee that she shall be all frantic: and I shall offer to her so many things that I shall bring her to thee at midnight.

Then the devil transfigured himself in the likeness of a maid, and came to this holy virgin, and said: I am come to thee for to live with thee in chastity, and I pray thee that thou say what reward shall we have for to keep us so.

And the virgin answered: The reward is great, and the labour is small.

And the devil said to her: What is that then that God commanded when he said: Grow and multiply and replenish the earth? Then, fair sister, I doubt that if we abide in virginity that we shall make the word of God vain, and be also despising and inobedient, by which we shall fall into a grievous judgment, where we shall have no hope of reward, but shall run in great torment and pain.

Then by the enticement of the devil the heart of the virgin was smitten with evil thoughts, and was greatly inflamed in desire of the sin of the flesh, so that she would have gone thereto, but then the virgin came to herself, and considered who that it was that spake to her. And anon she blessed her with the sign of the cross, and blew against the devil, and anon he vanished away and melted like wax, and incontinent she was delivered from all temptation.

A little while after, the devil transfigured him in the likeness of a fair young man, and entered into her chamber, and found her alone in her bed, and without shame sprang into her bed and embraced her, and would have had a done with her. And when she saw this she knew well that it was a wicked spirit, and blessed her as she had done tofore, and he melted away like wax.

And then by the sufferance of God she was vexed with axes and fevers. And the devil slew many men and beasts, and made to be said by them that were demoniacs that, a right great mortality should be throughout all Antioch, but if Justina would consent unto wedlock and have Cyprian. Wherefore all they that were sick and languishing in maladies lay at the gate of Justina's father and friends, crying that they should marry her and deliver the city of that right great peril. Justina then would not consent in no wise, and therefore everybody menaced her. And in the sixth year of that mortality she prayed for them, and chased and drove thence all that pestilence.

And when the devil saw that he profited nothing, he transumed and transfigured him in the form of Justina for to defoul the fame of Justina, and in mocking Cyprian he advanced him that he had brought to him Justina. And came to him in likeness of her, and would have kissed him as if she had languished for his love. And when Cyprian saw him and supposed that it had been Justina, he was all replenished with joy, and said: Thou art welcome, Justina, the fairest of all women.

And anon as Cyprian named Justina, the devil might not suffer the name, but as soon as he heard it he vanished away as a fume or smoke. And when Cyprian saw him deceived, he was all heavy and sorrowful, and was then more burning and desirous in the love of Justina, and woke long at the door of the virgin, and as him seemed he changed him sometimes into a bird by his art magic, and sometimes into a woman, but when he came to the door of the virgin he was neither like woman nor bird, but appeared Cyprian as he was.

Acladius, by the devil's craft, was anon turned into a sparrow, and when he came to the window of Justina, as soon as the virgin beheld him, he was not a sparrow, but showed himself as Acladius, and began to have anguish and dread, for he might neither fly ne leap, and Justina dreading lest he should fall and break himself, did

do set a ladder by which he went down, warning him to cease of his woodness, lest he should be punished as a malefactor by the law.

Then the devil, being vanquished in all things, returned to Cyprian, and held him all confused tofore him, and Cyprian said to him: And how art not thou overcome, what unhappy is your virtue that ye may not overcome a maid, have ye no might over her, but she overcometh you and breaketh you all to pieces? Tell me, I pray thee, in whom she hath all this great might and strength.

And the devil said: If thou wilt swear to me that thou wilt not depart from me ne forsake me, I shall show to thee her strength and her victory.

To whom Cyprian said: By what oath shall I swear?

And the devil said: Swear thou by my great virtues that thou shalt never depart from me.

And Cyprian said: I swear to thee by thy great virtues that I shall never depart from thee.

Then the devil said to him, weeping to be sure of him: This maid maketh the sign of the cross, and anon then we wax feeble and lose all our might and virtue, and flee from her, like as wax fleeth from the face of the fire.

And Cyprian said then to him: The crucified God is then greater than thou?

And the devil said: Yea, certainly he is greater than all others, and all them that we here deceive, he judgeth them to be tormented with fire inextinguishable.

And Cyprian said: Then ought I to be made friend of him that was crucified, lest I fall hereafter into such pains.

To whom the devil said: Thou hast sworn by the might and virtues of my strengths, the which no man may forswear, that thou shalt never depart from me.

To whom Cyprian said: I despise thee, and forsake thee and all thy power, and renounce thee and all thy devils, and garnish and mark me with the sign of the cross, and anon the devil departed all confused.

Then Cyprian went to the bishop, and when the bishop saw him he weened that he were come to put the Christian men in error, and said: Let it suffice unto thee, Cyprian, them that be without forth, for thou mayst nothing prevail against the church of God, for the virtue of Jesu Christ is joined thereto, and is not overcome.

And Cyprian said: I am certain that the virtue of our Lord Jesu Christ is not overcome.

And then he recounted all that was happened, and did him to be baptized of him. And after, he profited much, as well in science as in life. And when the bishop was dead, Cyprian was ordained bishop, and placed the blessed virgin Justina with many virgins in a monastery, and made her abbess over many holy virgins. St. Cyprian sent then epistles to martyrs and comforted them in their martyrdom.

THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINTS JUSTINA AND CYPRIAN

The earl of that country heard of the fame and renomee of Cyprian and Justina, and he made them to be presented tofore him and demanded them if they would do sacrifice. And when he saw that they abode steadfastly in the faith of Jesu Christ, he commanded that he should be put in a caldron full of wax, pitch, and grease, burning and boiling. And all this gave to them marvellous refreshing, and did to them no grief ne pain.

And the priest of the idols said to the provost of that place:

Command me, sire, to stand and to be tofore the caldron, and I shall anon overcome all their virtue.

And then he came tofore the caldron and said: Great is the god Hercules, and Jupiter the father of gods. And anon the great fire issued from under the caldron and anon consumed and burnt him.

Then Cyprian and Justina were taken out of the caldron and sentence was given against them, and they were both beheaded together. And their bodies were thrown to hounds and were there seven days, and after they were taken up and translated to Rome, and as it is said, now they rest at Placentia. And they suffered death in the seventh calends of October, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty, under Diocletian.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. LAMBERT

Chapter 133 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Lambert was of a noble lineage, but he was more noble by holiness, and was informed in lettrure in his first age. So, for his holiness, he was loved of all the people in such wise that after his master Theodardus, he deserved to be promoted to be bishop of Utrecht. Whom Childeric, king of France, loved much and had him always dear before other bishops.

But when the malice of the Jews grew, the felons put him out of his honour without cause, and set Ferramund in his chair. And Lambert entered into a monastery, and was there and conversed seven years goodly.

On a night when he arose from prayer, he let wind go behind by ignorance, and when the abbot heard it he said: He that hath done that, let him go out to the cross barefoot.

And anon Lambert went out to the cross barefoot in his hair, and was there and went in the snow and in the frost when the brethren chauffed them after matins. And the abbot demanded where Lambert was, and a brother said that he was gone to the cross by his commandment. He did do call him, and then the abbot and his monks required him to pardon them, but he not only pardoned them, but also preached to them the virtue of patience.

And after seven years Ferramund was put out, and St. Lambert was brought again by the commandment of Pepin to his first see, and there he shone by word and by ensample in all virtue.

Then two wicked men addressed them against him and began to rebuke and blame him strongly, and the friends of the same bishop slew them.

In that time Lambert began to blame strongly Pepin, for a common woman that he held. And Dodo, a cousin of them that had been slain, and brother of the same common woman, and officer of the king's hall, assembled a great fellowship and assieged all about the bishop's place, and would avenge the death of his cousins on St. Lambert. And when a child came to St. Lambert, which was in his prayers, and told him thereof, he, trusting well in our Lord, thought he should well vanquish them, and took a sword. And when he had remembered himself he threw away his sword, and judged himself better to vanquish in suffering of death, than to leye his holy hands in the blood of the felons. And this holy man warned his people that they should confess their sins, and suffer patiently death. And anon the felons came upon them, and slew forthwith St. Lambert whom they found in orison and prayer. And when they were gone, some of his men that escaped, bare the body to the cathedral church secretly by water in a boat, and buried it with great heaviness of them of the city, in the year of our Lord four hundred and ten.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. LAURENCE

Chapter 117 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Laurence, martyr and subdeacon, was of the lineage of Spain, and St. Sixtus brought him thence. And as Master John Beleth saith: When the blessed Sixtus went into Spain, he found there two young men, Laurence, and Vincent his cousin, right ordinate by honesty of manners, and noble in all their works, and brought them with him to Rome. Of whom that one, that was Laurence, abode with him, and Vincent his cousin returned into Spain, and there finished his life by glorious martyrdom.

But in this reason Master Beleth repugneth the time of martyrdom of that one and of that other. For it is said that Laurence suffered death under Decius, and Vincent under Diocletian, and between Decius and Diocletian were about forty years. And there were seven emperors between them, so that the blessed Vincent might not be young, and the blessed Sixtus ordained Laurence his archdeacon.

DECIUS USURPS THE IMPERIAL THRONE

And in his time Philip the emperor, and Philip his son, received the faith of Jesu Christ. And when they were christened, they entended greatly to enhance the church. And this emperor was the first that received the faith of Jesu Christ, whom, as it is said, Origen converted to the faith. How be it that it is read in another place otherwise, and that St. Pontius had done it. And he reigned the year one thousand from the building of Rome, so that the year one thousand should rather be given to Christ than to the idols.

And that year was hallowed of the Romans with right great apparel

of games and great esbatements. And there was a knight with Philip the emperor named Decius, which was noble, and much renowned in arms and in battles. And when in that time France rebelled against this emperor, he sent thither Decius for to take away the contentious and subdue them to Rome. And Decius, so sent thither, made all things well, and subdued them all to Rome, and had victory. And when the emperor heard his coming, and would honour him more highly, and went against him unto Verona.

But for as much as evil people feel them more honoured, so much more they are swollen in pride, then Decius, elate in pride, began to covet the empire, and on a time when Decius knew that the emperor slept in his pavilion, he entered in secretly and cut the throat of his lord sleeping. And then he drew to him by gifts and prayers, and also by promises, all them of the host that the emperor had brought, and went anon to the city of Rome. And when Philip the younger heard this thing, he was sore afraid and doubted strongly. And as Sicardus saith in his chronicle, he delivered all his father's treasure and his, to St. Sixtus and to St. Laurence, to the end that if it happed to him to be slain of Decius that they should give this treasure to poor people and to the churches. And wonder not that the treasures that Laurence gave be not named the treasures of the emperor, but of the church, or peradventure they were said treasures of the church. For Philip had left them to be dispended to the church, and after, Philip fled and hid him for fear of Decius. And then the Senate went against Decius and confirmed him in the empire.

THE PERSECUTION OF DECIUS

And because he was not seen to have slain his lord by treason, but only for he had renied the idols, therefore he began right cruelly to persecute the church and Christian men, and commanded that they should be destroyed without mercy. And many thousand martyrs were slain, among whom Philip was crowned with martyrdom. And after that Decius made a search of the treasures of his lord. Then was Sixtus brought to him as he that adored Jesu Christ, and had

the treasures of the empire. And then commanded Decius that he should be put in prison so long that, by torments he should reny God, and tell where the treasures were.

And the blessed Laurence followed him, and cried after him: Whither goest thou, father without a minister? What thing is in me that hath displeased thy fatherhood, or what thing hast thou seen in me? Hast thou seen me forsake my lineage, or go out of kind? Prove me whether thou hast chosen a convenable minister to whom thou hast committed the dispensation of the body and blood of our Lord.

To whom St. Sixtus said: I shall not leave thee, my son, but greater strifes and battles be due to thee for the faith of Jesu Christ. We, as old men, have taken more lighter battle, and to thee as to a young man shall remain a more glorious battle of which thou shalt triumph and have victory of the tyrant, and shalt follow me within three days.

Then he delivered to him all the treasures, commanding him that he should give them to churches and poor people. And the blessed man sought the poor people night and day, and gave to each of them that as was needful, and came to the house of an old woman, which had hid in her house many Christian men and women, and long she had had the headache, and St. Laurence laid his hand opon her head, and anon she was healed of the ache and pain.

And he washed the feet of the poor people and gave to each of them alms. The same night he went to the house of a Christian man and found therein a blind man, and gave to him his sight by the sign of the cross. And when the blessed Sixtus would not consent to Decius, ne offer to the idols, he commanded that he should be led forth and beheaded.

And the blessed Laurence ran after him and said: Forsake me not, holy father, for I have dispended the treasures that thou deliveredst to me.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. LAWRENCE

And when the knights heard speak of the treasures, they took Laurence and brought him to the provost, and the provost delivered him to Decius. And Decius Cæsar said to him: Where be the treasures of the church, which we know well that thou hast hid?

And he answered not. Wherefore he delivered him to Valerianus the provost to the end that he should show the treasures and do sacrifice to the idols, or to put him to death by divers torments. And Valerianus delivered him to a provost named Hippolitus for to be in prison. And he enclosed him in prison with many others.

And there was in prison a paynim named Lucillus, which had lost the sight of his eyes with overmuch weeping. And St. Laurence promised to him to re-establish his sight if he would believe in Jesu Christ and receive baptism, and he required anon to be baptized. Then St. Laurence took water and said to him, "All things in confession be washed." And when he had diligently informed him in the articles of the faith, and he confessed that he believed all, he shed water on his head, and baptized him in the name of Jesu Christ. And anon, he that had been blind received his sight again. And therefore came to him many blind men, and went again enlumined from him, and having their sight.

And then again Hippolitus said to him: Show to me the treasures; to whom Laurence said: Hippolitus, if thou wilt believe in our Lord Jesu Christ, I shall show to thee the treasures, and promise to thee the life perdurable.

And Hippolitus said: If thou dost this that thou sayest, I shall do that thou requirest.

And in that same hour Hippolitus believed and received the holy baptism, he and all his meiny. And when he was baptized he said: I have seen the souls of the innocents joyous and glad.

And after this, Valerianus sent to Hippolitus that he should bring him Laurence. And Laurence said to him: Let us go together, for the glory is made ready to me and to thee.

And then they came to judgment. And he was inquired again of the treasures, and Laurence demanded dilation of three days, and Valerianus granted him on pledge of Hippolitus. And St. Laurence in these three days gathered together poor people, blind and lame, and presented them tofore Decius, in the palace of Salustine, and said: These here be the treasures perdurable, which shall not be minished, but increase, which he departed to each of them. The hands of these men have borne the treasures into heaven.

Then Valerianus in the presence of Decius said: What variest thou in many things? Sacrifice anon, and put from thee thine art magic.

And Laurence said to him: Whether ought he to be adored that maketh, or he that is made?

And then Decius was angry, and commanded that he should be beaten with scorpions, and that all manner of torments should be brought tofore him. And then commanded he him that he should do sacrifice for to eschew these torments, and St. Laurence answered: Thou cursed man, I have always coveted these meats.

To whom Decius said: If these be meats for thee, show to me them that be like to thee, that they may eat with thee.

To whom Laurence said: They have given their names in to heaven, and thou art not worthy to see them.

And then, by the commandment of Decius, he was beaten all naked with rods and staves, and pieces of iron burning were laid to his sides. And Laurence said: Lord Jesu Christ, God! Son of God, have mercy upon me, thy servant, which am accused, and I have not renied thee, and they have demanded me, and I have confessed thee to be my Lord.

And then Decius said to him: I know well that thou despisest the torments by thine art magic, but me thou mayst not despise. I swear by my gods and goddesses but that thou wilt do sacrifice to them, thou shalt be punished by divers torments.

Then he commanded that he should be long beaten with plummets, and then he prayed, saying: Lord Jesu Christ, receive my spirit.

And then came a voice from heaven, Decius hearing, which said: Yet many torments be due to thee.

And then Decius said, replenished with felony: Ye men of Rome, have ye heard the devils comforting this cursed man, which adored not the gods, ne doubted not the torments, ne dreaded not the prince's wrath?

And then commanded he again that he should be beaten with scorpions. And then Laurence smiling rendered thankings to God, and prayed for them that were there. And in that same hour a knight named Romaine believed in God, and said to St. Laurence: I see tofore thee a right fair youngling standing, and with a linen cloth cleansing thy wounds. I adjure thee by the living Lord God that thou leave not, but haste thee to baptize me.

And then said Decius to Valerianus: I ween that we shall now be overcome by art magic. And then he commanded that he should be unbounden and enclosed in the prison of Hippolitus. And then Romaine brought an urcelle or a cruse with water, and fell down at the feet of St. Laurence, and received baptism of him. And when Decius knew it, he commanded that Romaine should be beaten with rods, and he was so much beaten that he might not hold him upon his legs, but in no manner might no man make him say but that he was a good Christian and freely baptized.

And then Decius did do smite off his head. And that night was Laurence led to Decius, and when Hippolitus, which was there, saw

that, he began to weep, and would have said that he was christened. And Laurence said to him: Hide Jesu Christ within thee, and when I shall cry, hear and come thither.

And then all manner of torments that could be devised or thought were brought tofore Decius. And then said Decius to Laurence: Or thou shalt make sacrifice to the gods, or this night shall all these torments be dispended on thee.

And then Laurence said to him: My night hath no darkness, but all things shine in my sight.

And then said Decius: Bring hither a bed of iron, that Laurence *contumax* may lie thereon.

And the ministers despoiled him, and laid him stretched out upon a gridiron of iron, and laid burning coals under, and held him with forks of iron. Then said Laurenee to Valerianus: Learn, thou cursed wretch, that thy coals give to me refreshing of coldness, and make ready to thee torment perdurable, and our Lord knoweth that I, being accused, have not forsaken him, and when I was demanded I confessed him Christ, and I being roasted give thankings unto God.

And after this he said with a glad cheer unto Decius, Thou cursed wretch, thou hast roasted that one side, turn that other, and eat.

And then he, rendering thankings to our Lord, said: I thank thee, Lord Jesu Christ, for I have deserved to enter into thy gates.

And so gave up his spirit. And then Decius, being all confused, walked into the palace of Tiberius with Valerianus, and left the body lying upon the fire, which Hippolitus in the morning took away, with Justin the priest, and buried it with precious ointments in the field Veranus. And the Christian men that buried him fasted three days and three nights and hallowed the vigils, weeping there and wailing.

Problems with Dating Lawrenceâ□□s Story

But many doubt if he suffered under this Decius, for it is read in the chronicle that Sixtus was long after Decius. Eutropius nevertheless affirmeth and saith that, Decius moving persecution against Christian men, among other he slew the blessed Laurence, deacon and martyr. And it is said in a chronicle authentic enough, that it was not under this Decius, the emperor that succeeded to Philip, but under another Decius younger, which was Cæsar and not emperor, that he suffered martyrdom. For between Decius the emperor and this Decius the younger, under whom it is said that Laurence was martyred, there were many emperors and popes. Also, it is said that Gallus, and Volusianus his son, succeeded Decius. And after them, Valerianus, with Gallianus his son, held the empire, and they made Decius the younger, Cæsar, and not emperor. For, anciently, when any was made Cæsar, neverthemore he was Augustus ne emperor, as it is read in the chronicles, that Diocletian made Maximian Cæsar, and after from Cæsar he was made Augustus and emperor. In the time of these emperors, Valerianus and Gallianus, Sixtus held the see of Rome, and this Decius was called Cæsar, and not emperor but Decius Cæsar only. And he martyred the blessed Fabian, and Cornelius succeeded after Fabian which was martyred under Valerianus and Gallianus, which reigned fifteen years. And Lucian succeeded Cornelius, and Stephen the pope succeeded Lucian, and Denys succeeded Stephen, and Sixtus succeeded Denys. And this is contained in that chronicle, and if this be true, that which Master John Beleth putteth may be true. And it is read in another chronicle that the said Gallianus had two names, and was called Gallianus and Decius, and under him Sixtus and Laurence suffered martyrdom, about the year of our Lord two hundred and sixty. Godfrey, in his book that is called *Pantheonides* , affirmeth that Gallianus was called by another name, Decius.

Miracles of St. Lawrence

The Gossipy Nun

St. Gregory saith in his dialogues that there was a nun Sabina which held her continent of her flesh, but she eschewed not the

janglery of her tongue, and she was buried in the church of St. Laurence the holy martyr, and was laid tofore the altar of the martyr, and was taken of the devils and departed and sawn asunder, and that one part was burnt, and that other part remained whole, so that on the morning the burning appeared visibly.

The Wooden Church-Beam

Gregory of Tours saith that when a certain priest repaired the church of St. Laurence, and one of the beams was over short, and required St. Laurence that he which had nourished poor men would help his poverty, and the beam grew so suddenly that there remained a great part, and the priest cut that part into small pieces, and cured and healed therewith many maladies.

And this witnesseth St. Fortunatus: It happed at Prioras, a castle in Italy, that a man was sore vexed with toothache, and he attouched this wood, and anon the ache was gone.

The Workmenâ□□s Loaf

St. Gregory telleth in his book of dialogues that a priest named Sanctulus repaired a church of St. Laurence, which had been burnt of Lombards, and hired many workmen; and one time he had nothing to set tofore them, and then he made his prayers, and after looked in his panier, and there he found a much white loaf of bread, but him seemed that it sufficed not for one dinner for three persons. St. Laurence, which would not fail his workmen, did do multiply it, that his workmen were sustained thereby ten days.

The Broken Chalice

In the church of St. Laurence at Milan was a chalice of crystal, marvellously clear, and as the deacon bare it on a day suddenly to the altar, it fell out of his hands to the ground, and was all tobroken. And then the deacon, weeping, gathered together the pieces and laid them on the altar, and prayed the holy martyr St. Laurence that

the chalice broken might be made whole again, and then anon it was founden all whole.

The Corrupt Judge

It is read in *The Book of the Miracles of Our Blessed Lady St. Mary* 1 that a judge named Stephen was at Rome and took gladly gifts, and perverted the judgments. And this judge took away by force three houses that were longing to the church of St. Laurence, and a garden of St. Agnes, and possessed them wrongfully. It happed that the judge died and was brought to judgment tofore God. And when St. Laurence saw him, he went to him in great despite, and target strained him three times by the arm right hard, and tormented him by great pain. And St. Agnes and other virgins deigned not to look on him, but turned their visages away from him, and then the judge giving sentence against him, said: Because he hath withdrawn other men's things, and hath taken gifts and sold truth, that he should be put in the place of Judas the traitor.

And St. Projecte, whom the said Stephen had much loved in his life, came to the blessed Laurence and to St. Agnes, and cried them mercy for him. Then the Blessed Virgin Mary, and they, prayed to God for him, and then it was granted to them that the soul of him should go again to the body, and there should do his penance thirty days; and our Blessed Lady commanded him that as long as he lived he should say the psalm: *Beati immaculati* . 2 And when the soul came to the body again, his arm was like as it had been burnt, like as he had suffered that hurt in his body, and that token and sign was in him as long as he lived. Then rendered he that which he had taken and did his penance. And at the thirtieth day he passed out of this world to our Lord.

St. Laurenceâ□□s Intercession for St. Henry

It is read in the life of Henry the emperor, that he and Cunegonde his wife were virgins together. By the atisement of the devil he had his wife suspected of a knight, and he made his wife go barefoot upon burning ashes fifteen paces, and when she ascended upon

them she said this: As I am not corrupted ne defouled of Harry ne of all other, so Jesu Christ help me.

Then Henry the emperor was ashamed, and gave her a buffet on the cheek, and a voice said: The Virgin Mary hath delivered thee, virgin.

And she went without any hurt upon the burning ashes.

And when the emperor was dead, there went a great multitude of devils tofore the cell of an hermit, and he opened the window and demanded at the last what they were, and one answered: A legion of devils we be that go to the death of the emperor, if peradventure we may find anything in him.

He adjured him that he should come again to him, which returning said: We have profited nothing, for when this false suspicion of his wife and all the good things and evil things were laid in a balance, this burnt and bruled Laurence brought forth a pot of gold of much great weight. And when we supposed to have surmounted, he cast that pot in the balance on that other side, so that it weighed more and was heavier. And then I was angry and brake an ear of the pot, and he called that pot a chalice, which the emperor had given to the church of Eichstadt, which he had in special devotion, and had do made it in the honour of St. Laurence. And for the greatness of it, it had two ears. And it was founden then that the emperor died that time, and one ear was broken off the chalice.

The Finding of St. Lawrenceâ□□s Body

Gregory rehearseth in his Register that his predecessor coveted to make better some things about the body of St. Laurence, but he wist not where it lay. Nevertheless, the body of St. Laurence was discovered and unheled by ignorance, but all they that were there present, as well monks as others, were dead in fifteen days after.

The Excellence of the Passion of St. Lawrence

It is to wit that the passion of St. Laurence was most excellent in four things, like as it is founden by the sayings of St. Maximin bishop, and of St. Austin. First, in the sourness of his passion or bitterness; secondly, in profit or effect; thirdly, in constancy or strength; and fourthly, in the marvellous battle and manner of his victory.

The Bitterness of His Pain

First, it was right excellent in the bitterness of the pain; this saith St. Maximin; and after some books of St. Ambrose: Brethren, St. Laurence was not slain by short and simple passion, for who that is smitten by a sword he dieth but once, and who that is cast in a fire is delivered at once, but this holy man was tormented by long and multiplied pains, so that the death should not fail him at torment ne fail him at the end. We read that the blessed children went through the flames, and have gone upon the coals burning bare foot, 3 whereof St. Laurence is not to be preferred of lesser glory, for as they went in their pains through the flames, this, in his torment, lay upon the fire. They defouled and trod upon the fire with their feet, and this was restrained for to lay his sides therein.

They prayed in their pains holding up their hands to our Lord God, but he was stretched in his pain, and prayed our Lord with all his body.

And it is to wit that the blessed Laurence is he that, after St. Stephen, ought to hold the primacy. Not only for that he suffered greater pain than other martyrs, as is well found and read that many have suffered as much pain, but it is said for six causes.

First, for the place of the passion, for it was at Rome, which is head of the world, and siege of the apostles.

Secondly, for the office of the predication, for he accomplished diligently the office of preaching.

Thirdly, for the laudable distribution of the treasures, that he gave all to poor men wisely. And these three reasons putteth master William of Auxerre.

Fourthly, for the antiquity and proved martyrdom. For if it be said that some other have had greater pain, always it is not so authentic, and also some time in doubt, but the passion of St. Laurence is much solemn and approved in the church. And therefore many saints approve his passion in their sermons and affirm it.

Fifthly, for the degree of dignity. For he was archdeacon of the siege of Rome, and as it is said, there was never sith archdeacon in Rome.

Sixthly, for the cruelty of torments, for he suffered them right grievous, as he that was roasted upon a gridiron of iron. Whereof St. Austin saith: Sith that the members were broken by many diverse beatings, he was commanded to be tormented upon a griddle of iron, and was laid thereupon, which by continual heat that was thereunder, the griddle had the force to burn, so that he was tormented by the turning of his members more forcibly for the pain was the more long.

The Profit or Effect of His Martyrdom

Secondly, he was right excellent in effect or profit, for after this that Austin and Maximin say, this bitterness of pain made him high by glorification, and honourable by opinion, and laudable by devotion, and noble by contention.

First, it made him high by glorifcation, whereof St. Austin saith: "Persecutor, thou wert wood [mad] against the martyr and more than wood, for when thou assembledst pain thou increasedst his glory, thine engine found not glory of the aid when the instruments of the torments transported him in the honour of victory.rcles" And after Maximin, and in some books of Ambrose, it is said: "How be it that the members were bounden in the heat of the sparcles, the

force of the faith was not corrupt. The body suffered impairing, but he gat the gain of health." And St. Austin saith truly: "His body is blessed, for torment never changeth him out of the faith of God, but his religion crowned him in holy rest."

Secondly, he was honourable by opinion, and renomee after Maximin and Ambrose, that say: "We may liken the blessed Laurence to mustard seed which is broken by many manners, when by the grace of his mystery he replenished the world of good odour, for tofore that he was constitute in his body, he was humble, unknown, and serviceable; and after that he was all tobroken and burnt, he shed in all the churches of the world the odour of his nobleness." Also "this is a holy thing and pleasant, that the solemnity of St. Laurence be nobly honoured, whose shining flames, he as vanquisher, holy church halloweth this day in all the world," "in so much that his glorious passion enlumineth all the world by the glory of his martyrdom." 4

Thirdly, he was louable by devotion. Wherefore was he so louable, and so with devotion to be reputed, St. Austin showeth it by three reasons, and saith thus: "We ought to receive the blessed man with devotion; first, for he gave his precious blood for the love of our Lord, and after, for because he had unto our Lord great affinity, showing that the faith of Christian men ought to deserve to be of the company of martyrs; thirdly, because he was so holy of conversation that in the time of peace he deserved the crown of martyrdom."

Fourthly, he made himself noble by following, whereof St. Austin saith that the cause of all his passion was because he exhorted others to be like to him. In three things he showed him to us following: First, in strong suffering of adversities, whereof St. Austin saith: The most profitable form for to inform the people to God is the fair speech of martyrs. It is light to pray, and it is profitable to admonish and warn, the things and the examples be better than the words. And it is more to teach by work than by voice. And in this right excellent manner of teaching the persecutors might feel of

Laurence how he shone by great dignity. And how the marvellous strength of his courage gave not only place of belief, but also comforted and strengthened others by ensample of his suffering. Secondly, by greatness of the faith and fervour of love. Whereof Maximin saith, and Ambrose also, when he vanquished by faith the flames of the persecutors, he showed to us by the fire of faith that he overcame the embracements of the fire of hell, and by the love of Christ not to fear the day of doom. Thirdly, in burning love. Maximin and Ambrose say that, St. Laurence enlumined the world plainly of the same light that he was embraced with, and chauffed the hearts of all Christian people by the flames that he suffered. By these three things saith St. Maximin, after the books of St. Ambrose, that we be called to the faith by the example of St. Laurence, and embraced to martyrdom, and chauffed to devotion.

His Constancy and Strength

Thirdly, he was right excellent in constancy and in strength. And hereof saith St. Austin: The blessed Laurence dwelled in Jesu Christ unto the temptation, unto the demand of the tyrant, and unto the death, in whom the occision was long, and because that he had well eaten and well drunken [of this drawn-out death], he was fat of this meat, and drunken of the chalice, so that he felt not the torments ne eschewed them, but succeeded to the realm of heaven.

He was so constant that he set not by the torments; but after that St. Maximin saith: He was made more perfect in dread, more ardent in love, and more joyous in burning. For the first it is said thus: He was stretched upon the flames of the great brands of fire, and turned oft from that one side to that other. And how much more he suffered of pains, so much more he dreaded God.

And of the second he saith thus: When the grain of the mustard is ground it chauffeth, and when Laurence suffered torments he was inflamed again, and tormented of a new manner of marvellous torments, and the greater torments that the wood persecutors did, the more devout was Laurence to our Saviour.

And as to the third, he saith thus: He was chauffed in the law of Jesu Christ, that by great highness of courage he despised the torments of his own body, that in having victory of his wood tormentor, he was joyous for to despise it by the fire.

The Marvelous Manner of His Victory

Fourthly, he was right excellent in the marvellous battle, and in the manner of his victory, and as it appeareth openly by the words of St. Maximin and of St. Austin, the blessed Laurence had five burnings without forth, which he all overcame manly and extincted them. The first was the fire of hell, the second material flame, the third carnal concupiscence, the fourth of burning covetise, and the fifth of a mad woodness.

The quenching of the first fire, that is of hell, Maximin saith: It might give no place of burning to the worldly fire; for to burn his body which quenched the fire perdurable of hell, he went through the fire earthly and material of this world, but he escaped and eschewed then the horrible flame of the fire perdurable of hell.

The quenching of the second fire, he saith also, he travailed by bodily burning but the divine ardour quenched the material burning. And yet saith he: How be it the evil people put under the fagots and wood for to increase and make great flame, St. Laurence esprised by the heat of the faith felt not the flames. And St. Austin saith: The charity of Jesu Christ may not be surmounted with flames, for the fire that burnt without forth was more feeble than that which he embraced within forth.

And of the quenching of the third fire of carnal concupiscence, saith St. Maximin: St. Laurence passed through the fire which he abhorred being not burnt, but he enlumined shone; he burned lest he should burn, and because he should not burn he was burnt.

Of the quenching of the fourth fire, that is of avarice; of them that

covet the treasures of which they be deceived, said St. Austin thus: A man covetous is armed by double ardour of money, and is enemy of truth; his avarice is for to steal gold, and by his felony he loseth our Lord. He hath nothing, he profiteth nothing, human cruelty is withdrawn by his winds and corporal matter, and Laurence goeth to heaven, and he faileth in his flames.

Of the quenching of the fifth fire, that is of the furious woodness, how, that is to say, furious woodness of the persecutors was deceived and brought to nought, saith Maximin thus: When the woodness of the ministers of the flames was surmounted, he restrained the burning of the worldly woodness, and till that time the devil's entent profited till that the true man ascended and mounted into heaven gloriously unto his Lord God. And he made to cool the cruelty of the persecutors, confused all with their fires, and showeth that the woodness of the persecutors was fire, when he said: The woodness of the paynims made ready a griddle of iron upon the fire strongly burning, and that was done to the end that he should avenge the fires and great heats of indignation.

And it was no wonder though he surmounted these three great fires without forth. For as it is had of the words of the said Maximin: He had within forth three refroidours or colds, and bare in his heart three fires by which he assuaged by coldness all the fire without forth, and surmounted with the embracing of more fire. And the first coldness was the desire of celestial glory, the second was the remembrance of the law of God, and the third was the cleanness of his conscience. By this treble coldness he quenched all the fire without forth.

And he was cold of the first refroidour, which is desire of heavenly glory. As St. Ambrose saith: The blessed Laurence might not feel the torments of fire in his entrails, which within him possessed the refroidour of paradise. Though the burnt flesh lay tofore the tyrant, and the body burnt, nevertheless the body suffered no pain in earth whose soul and courage was in heaven.

Of the second coldness or refroidure that is the remembrance of the law of God, he saith thus: When he remembered tofore the commandments of Jesu Christ, all was cold that he suffered.

Of the third, which is purity and cleanness of conscience, he saith thus: The right strong martyr truly is burnt in his entrails, but he, seeking the kingdom of heaven, enjoyeth as a vanquisher by the refroidure of the cleanness of his conscience.

And as St. Maximin saith: He had three fires within forth, by the which he surmounted by embracing all the fires without forth. The first was the greatness of the faith; the second the ardent dilection; the third the very knowledge of God, which embraced him as fire.

Of the first fire saith St. Ambrose: As much as the burning of the faith chauffed him, so much cooled him the flame of the torment. We read in the gospel that the fire of the faith is the fire of the Saviour. The evangelist said: I came into the earth to put fire therein, and with this fire was St. Laurence embraced, and felt not the burning of the flames.

And of the second fire he saith thus: The martyr Laurence burned withoutforth of the embracements of the tyrants, but the greater flame of the love of God burneth him withinforth.

Of the third fire he saith thus: The right cruel flame of the persecutor might not surmount the martyr, for he was overmuch more ardently chauffed in his thought by the rays of truth, that he felt not the flame withoutforth, which he vanquished and overcame.

Laurence, among the other martyrs, hath three privileges as towards office. The first, he hath only a vigil among all the other martyrs. But at this day the vigils of saints be changed into fastings by many, and as Master John Beleth rehearseth: It was sometime the custom that men went with their wives and children at the solemnity of feasts, and woke there all the night with tapers and light; but because many adventures were made in these vigils, it

was established that the vigils should be turned into fastings, and nevertheless the ancient name is retained, and is yet retained, and is called vigil. The second privilege is in the octaves or utas; for he only with St. Stephen have their octaves among all other martyrs, like as St. Martin hath among the confessors. The third is in the reprising of the anthems, for he only and St. Paul have that only. But Paul hath that for the excellence of his preaching, and Laurence for the excellence of his passion.

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1 William of Malmesbury, *Miracles of the Virgin Mary* . Ed. R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom. Rochester, N.Y. and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Medieval Texts, 2015.

2 Psalm 119 (Vulgate 118), which begins *Beati immaculati* , "Blessed are the undefiled."

3 These "children" are the three young Hebrews whom Nebuchadnezzar ordered to be placed into a fiery furnace and who "walked in the midst of the flame, praising God and blessing the Lord" (Daniel 3:24).

4 These two quotations are from St. Augustine.

ST. LEO THE POPE

Chapter 88 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

THE MIRACLE OF THE HAND

Leo the pope, as it is read in the miracles of our blessed Lady, 1 in the church of St. Mary the More, as he sang there mass, and much people by order were communed and houseled, and a matron, a certain woman, kissed his hand, whereof he was tempted vehemently in his flesh. And this holy man was a great wreaker and avenger on himself, and cut off his hand that same day privily, and threw it from him.

Afterward the people murmured among them because the pope sang no mass, and did not divine service solemnly as he was wont to do. Then Leo turned him unto the Blessed Virgin, our Lady, and committed himself wholly to her providence.

Then she anon appeared to him and restored to him his hand and reformed it with her holy hands, commanding that he should go forth and offer sacrifice unto her son. Then this holy man Leo preached unto all the people that came thither, and showed evidently how his hand was restored to him again.

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON

This Leo the pope held the council at Chalcedon, and ordained virgins to be veiled. It was also made there a statute that the Virgin Mary should be called the mother of God.

POPE LEO AND ATTILA

That same time Attila destroyed Italy. Then Leo waking, prayed in the church of the apostles 2 three days and three nights, and after said to his men: Who that will follow me, let him follow. When then he approached to Attila, anon as he saw St. Leo he descended from his horse, and fell down plats to his feet, and prayed him that he should ask what he would. And he desired that he should go out of Italy and release the Christian people that he had in captivity.

Raphael's *Leo the Great and Attila* (1514) pictures Attila falling from his horse when threatened not by a "knight" with a sword but by St. Peter and St. Paul. Follow this link for a larger view of the fresco. (Source: Wikimedia Commons .)

And his servants reproved him that the triumphing prince of the world should be overcome of a priest. He answered: I have provided for myself and to you. I saw on his right side a knight standing with a sword drawn and saying to me: But if thou spare this man thou shalt be slain, and all thy men.

HIS EPISTLE TO FABIAN

Then St. Leo wrote an epistle to Fabian, bishop of Constantinople, against Eutichius and Nestorius, which he laid upon the sepulchre of St. Peter, and was in continual fastings and prayers, saying: O holy Peter, what that I have erred in this epistle as man, thou to whom the cure of the Church is committed, correct and amend.

And after forty days Peter appeared to him praying, and said: I have read it and amended it. Then Leo took the epistle, and found it corrected and amended with the hands of the apostle.

Other forty days also he was continually in fastings and prayers at the sepulchre of St. Peter, beseeching to get him forgiveness of his sins. To whom Peter appeared and said: I have prayed our Lord for thee, and he hath forgiven thee all thy sins, save only of the imposition of thy hand [i.e. in ordination of priests] thou shalt be

examined.

He died about the year of our Lord four hundred and sixty

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1 William of Malmesbury, *Miracles of the Virgin Mary* . Ed. R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom. Rochester, N.Y. and Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Medieval Texts, 2015.

2 Pope Leo's meeting with Attila occurred in 452, 47 years earlier than the first known reference to the Church of the Holy Apostles. Either the Golden Legend errs in naming the church or the church went for half a century without being mentioned in any papal documents. In 1348, twelve years before Voragine composed the Legend, the church was ruined by an earthquake. It was not restored until 1417.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. LEONARD

Chapter 155 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

It is said that Leonard was about the year of our Lord five hundred. And he was baptized in the holy font of St. Remigius, archbishop of Rheims, and was instructed of him and induced in holy discipline of health. And the parents and kinsmen of St. Leonard were chief and highest in the palace of the king of France. This Leonard gat so much grace of the king, that all the prisoners that he visited were anon delivered.

And when the renomee of his holiness grew and increased, the king constrained him for to dwell with him long time, till that he had time convenable, and gave to him a bishopric. And he refused it and left all, desiring to be in desert, and went to Orleans, preaching there with his brother Lifardus, and there lived a little while in a convent.

And then Lifardus had desire to dwell alone in a desert upon the river of Loire, and Leonard was warned by the Holy Ghost to preach in Guienne, and then they kissed together and departed. Then Leonard preached there and did many miracles, and dwelled in a forest nigh to the city of Limoges.

In which forest the king had do make a hall or a lodge, which was ordained for him when he should go hunt. And it happed on a day that the king went for to hunt in that forest, and the queen, which was gone thither with him for her recreation, which then was great with child, began to travail of child. And the travail endured long, and she was in point to perish, so that the king and all the meiny wept for the peril of the queen.

And then Leonard passed through the forest and heard the voice of them that wept, and was moved with pity and went thither. And the king called him, and demanded him what he was, and he said that he was a disciple of St. Remigius. And then the king had good hope because he had been informed of a good master, and brought him to the queen, and prayed him that he would pray for her, and for the fruit that she bare, that she might get of God double joy. And anon as he had made his prayer, he gat of God that he required.

Then the king offered to him much gold and silver, but he refused all, and desired him to give it to poor men, and said: I have no need of such things, it sufficeth me to despise the riches of the world and to serve God in this wood, and that is that I desire.

And then the king would have given to him all the wood. I will not have all, but as much as I may go about with mine ass in a night, I desire, which the king gladly granted to him. And there was made a monastery in which he lived long in abstinence, and two monks with him. And their water was a mile from them, wherefore he did do make a pit all dry, the which he filled with water by his prayers, and called that place noble, because he had received it of a noble king. And he shone there by so great miracles, that who that was in prison and called his name in aid, anon his bonds and fetters were broken, and went away without any gainsaying freely, and came presenting to him their chains or irons. And many of them that were so delivered dwelled still with him and served there our Lord.

And there were seven of his noble lineage which sold away all their goods and dwelled with him, and he delivered to each of them a part of that wood. And by his holy example he drew many to him. And at the last this holy man, being endowed with many virtues, the eighth ides of November [i.e., November 6th] departed out of this world, and slept in our Lord.

THE BUILDING OF ST. LEONARDÂ□□S CHURCH

Whereafterward for the many miracles that God showed there, it was showed to the clerks of the church that because that place was over little for the great multitude of people that came thither, that they should do make in another place another church, and bear therein the body of St. Leonard honourably.

And then the clerks and the people were all three days in fastings and in prayers. And on the third day they saw all the country covered with snow, save only the place wherein St. Leonard would rest, which was all void. And thither was the body transported, and the church made. And the great multitude of irons of diverse manners witness well how many miracles our Lord hath showed for him, and specially to prisoners, of whom the fetters and irons hang tofore his tomb.

MIRACLES OF ST. LEONARD

The Prisoner Chained to the Pillar

The viscount of Limoges had do make a great chain for to fear withal the malefactors, and commanded that it should be fastened unto a trunk in his tower. And whosomever was bounden with this chain to that trunk thereas it was set, he might see no light. And it was a place right dark, and whoso died there, died not of one death only, but more than of a thousand torments.

And it happed that one of the servants of St. Leonard was bounden with this chain without deserving, so that almost he gave over his spirit. And then as he might, in his courage he avowed to St. Leonard, and prayed him that sith he delivered other that he would have pity on his servant. And anon St. Leonard appeared to him in a white vesture and said: Fear thee nothing, for thou shalt not die. Arise up, and bear thou this chain with thee to my church; follow me, for I go tofore.

Then he arose and took the chain and followed St. Leonard, which went tofore him till he came to the church. And anon, as he was

tofore the gates, St. Leonard left him there, and he then entered into the church and recounted to all the people what St. Leonard had done. And he hung that great chain tofore his tomb.

The Prisoner in the Pit

There was a certain man which dwelled in the place of St. Leonard, and was much faithful and devout to St. Leonard. And it happed that this good man was taken of a tyrant, which began to think in himself that "St. Leonard unbindeth and looseth all them that be bounden in irons, and the might of iron hath no more might against him than wax hath against the fire. If I set this man in irons Leonard shall anon deliver him, and if I may keep him I shall make him pay for his ransom a thousand shillings. I wot well what I shall do. I shall go make a right great and deep pit under the earth in my tower, and I shall cast him therein bounden with many bonds. And after I shall do make a chest of tree upon the mouth of the pit, and shall make my knights to lie therein all armed. And how be it that if Leonard break the irons, yet shall he not enter into it under the earth."

And when he had made all this that he thought, this man which was enclosed therein cried oft to St. Leonard, so that on a night St. Leonard came and turned the chest wherein the knights lay armed, and closed them therein like as dead men be in a tomb. And after entered into the fosse or pit with great light, and took the hand of his true servant, and said to him: Sleepest thou or wakest, lo here is Leonard whom thou so much desirest.

And he, sore marvelling, said, "Lord help me!" And anon his chains were broken, and took him in his arms and bare him out of the tower, and then spake to him as a friend doth to a friend, and set him at home in his house.

The Pilgrim Held for Ransom

There was a pilgrim which returned from the visiting of St. Leonard, and was taken in Almaine and put in a pit or fosse, and fast closed therein. And this pilgrim prayed strongly St. Leonard and also them

that took him, that they would for the love of St. Leonard let him go, for he had never trespassed to them. And they answered, but if he would pay much money he should not depart.

And he said: Be it between you and St. Leonard, to whom I remit the matter.

And the night following St. Leonard appeared to the lord of the castle and commanded him that he should deliver his pilgrim, and on the morn he supposed he had dreamed, and would not deliver him. The next night he appeared to him again, and commanded him to let him go, but yet he would not obey. The third night St. Leonard took this pilgrim and brought him out of the castle, and anon the tower and half the castle fell, and oppressed many of them that were therein, and the prince only was left, to his confusion, alive, and had his thighs broken. et cetera.

The Knight of Brittany

There was a knight in prison in Brittany which oft called on St. Leonard, which anon appeared to him in the sight of all men, and knowing him, and they being sore abashed, entered into the prison and brake his bonds and put them in the man's hand, and brought him forth before them all, being sore afeard.

ST. LEONARD THE ABBOT [LEONARD OF VANDOEUVRE] 1

There was another Leonard, which was of the same profession and of one virtue, of whom the body resteth at Corbigny. And when this Leonard was prelate in a monastery he was of so great humility that he was seen to be lowest of all. And much people came to him, so fast and so many, that they that were envious said to the king Clothair that, if he took not good heed to the realm of France he should suffer damage, and that great, by Leonard, which gathered to him much people under the shadow of religion.

And then this cruel king commanded that he should be chased away, but the knights that came for to chase him were so converted

by his words that, they were compunct, and promised to be his disciples. And then the king repented him, and required pardon of him, and put them from him that had so missaid of him, and from their goods and honours, and loved much St. Leonard, so that unnethe the king would not re-establish them again to their estate at the prayers of the holy saint. And this holy saint impetred and had grant of God, that whosomever were holden in prison and prayed in his name that he should anon be delivered.

And on a day, as he was in his prayers, a right great serpent stretched him from the foot of St. Leonard along upward unto his breast, and he never therefore left his orison. And when he had accomplished his orisons, he said to the serpent: I know well that sith the beginning of thy creation thou tormentest men as much as thou mayst, but thy might is given to me now, do to me now that which I have deserved.

And when he had said thus the serpent sprang out of his hood and fell down dead at his feet. After this, on a time when he had appeased two bishops that had been in discord, he said that he should on the morn finish his life. And so he did, and that was about the year of our Lord five hundred and seventy.

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1 For the life of Leonard of Vandoeuvre see Butler , IV, 121-22 and *Acta Sanctorum* , October vol. 7, 45-49; His feast day is October 15. As the Legend says, he died in 570. I have not yet found any images of this saint.

THE LIFE OF ST. LONGINUS

This story is not in the original text of the Golden Legend, but it is included in William Caxton's 1483 translation. It uses a number of words derived from French and may have been in the French source that Caxton said he had used. This "reader's version" of the text provides rubrics, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

THE GOOD THIEF

Longinus, which was a puissant knight, was with other knights, by the commandment of Pilate, on the side of the cross of our Lord, and pierced the side of our Lord with a spear; and when he saw the miracles, how the sun lost his light, and great earthquaving of the earth was, when our Lord suffered death and passion in the tree of the cross, then believed he in Jesu Christ.

Some say that when he smote our Lord with the spear in the side, the precious blood avaled by the shaft of the spear upon his hands, and of adventure with his hands he touched his eyes, and anon he that had been tofore blind saw anon clearly, wherefore he refused all chivalry and abode with the apostles, of whom he was taught and christened, and after, he abandoned him to lead an holy life in doing alms and in keeping the life of a monk about thirty-eight years in Cæsarea and in Cappadocia, and by his words and his example many men converted he to the faith of Christ.

ST. LONGINUS BEFORE OCTAVIAN THE PROVOST

And when this came to the knowledge of Octavian the provost, he took him and would have constrained him to do sacrifice to the idols, and St. Longinus said: There may no man serve two lords which be contrary to other; thine idols be lords of thy malices, corrupters of all good works and enemies to chastity, humility and to bounty, and friends to all ordure of luxury, of gluttony, of idleness, of pride and of avarice, and my Lord is Lord of soberness that bringeth

the people to the everlasting life.

Then said the provost: It is nought that thou sayest; make sacrifice to the idols and thy God shall forgive thee because of the commandment that is made to thee.

Longinus said: If thou wilt become Christian God shall pardon thee thy trespasses.

Then the provost was angry, and made the teeth of St. Longinus to be drawn out of his mouth, and did do cut his mouth open. And yet for all that Longinus lost not his speech, but took an axe that he there found, and hewed and brake therewith the idols and said: Now may we see if they be very gods or not.

And anon the devils issued out and entered into the body of the provost and his fellows, and they brayed like beasts and fell down to the feet of St. Longinus and said: We know well that thou art servant unto the sovereign God.

And St. Longinus demanded of the devils why they dwelled in these idols, and they answered: We have found place in these idols for us, for over all where Jesu Christ is not named ne his sign is not showed, there dwell we gladly; and because when these paynims come to these idols for to adore and make sacrifice in the name of us, then we come and dwell in these idols, wherefore we pray thee, man of God, that thou send us not in the abysm of hell.

And St. Longinus said to the people that there were: What say ye: will ye have these devlls for your gods and worship them or have ye liefer that I hunt them out of this world in the name of Jesu Christ?

And the people said with a high voice: Much great is the God of Christian people, holy man, we pray thee that thou suffer not the devils to dwell in this city.

Then commanded St. Longinus to the devils that they should issue

out of these people, in such wise that the people had great joy and believed in our Lord.

OCTAVIAN ARRAIGNS ST. LONGINUS A SECOND TIME

A little time after, the evil provost made St. Longinus to come tofore him, and said to him that all the people were departed, and by his enchantment had refused the idols; if the king knew it he should destroy us and the city also.

Aphrodisius answered: How wilt thou yet torment this good man, which hath saved us and hath done so much good to the city?

And the provost said: He hath deceived us by enchantry.

Aphrodisius said: His God is great and hath none evil in him.

Then did the provost cut out the tongue of Aphrodisius, wherefore St. Longinus signed unto God, and anon the provost became blind and lost all his members. When Aphrodisius saw that, he said: Lord God, thou art just and thy judgment is veritable.

And the provost said to Aphrodisius: Fair brother, pray to St. Longinus that he pray for me, for I have done ill to him.

And Aphrodisius said: Have not I well told it to thee, do no more so to Longinus: Seest not thou me speak without tongue?

And the provost said, I have not only lost mine eyes, but also my heart and my body is in great pain.

And St. Longinus said: If thou wilt be whole and guerished put me appertly to death, and I shall pray for thee to our Lord, after that I shall be dead, that he heal thee.

And anon then the provost did do smite off his head, and after, he came and fell on the body of St. Longinus and said all in weeping,

Sire: I have sinned; I knowledge and confess my filth.

And anon came again his sight, and he received health of his body and buried honorably the body of St. Longinus. And the provost believed in Jesu Christ and abode in the company of Christian men, and thanked God, and died in good estate. All this happed in Cæsarea of Cappadocia to the honour of our Lord God, to whom be given laud and glory *in secula seculorum* .

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE

William Caxton translated this life of St. Louis from a French text that had added it into the Golden Legend. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Louis, sometime the noble king of France, had to his father a king right Christian, named Louis. This Louis father battled and fought against the heretics and Albigenses and of the country of Toulouse, and extirpated their heresy, and as he returned into France he passed unto our Lord. Then the child of holy childhood fatherless, abode and dwelled under the keeping of the queen Blanche his mother, sometime daughter to the king of Castile, and as she that loved him tenderly betook him for to be learned and taught under the cure and governance of a special master in conditions and in letters, and he also, as the young Solomon child, wise and disposed to have a good soul, profited right greatly in all things, more than any child of his age. Of which good life and childhood his debonair mother enjoying herself, said ofttimes to him in this manner: Right dear son, rather I would see the death coming on thee than to see thee fall into a deadly sin against thy creator.

HIS EARLY YEARS

The which word the devout child took and shut it so within his courage, that, by the grace of God which defended and kept him, it is not found that ever he felt any atouchment, tache or spot of mortal crime. In the end, by the purveyance of his mother, and of the barons of the land, to the end that so noble a realm should not fail of succession royal, the holy man took a wife, of the which he received and gat on her fair children, which by sovereign cure he made to be nourished, endoctrined, and taught to the love of God and despite of the world, and to know themselves by holy admonishing and ensamples. And when he might tend secretly to

them, visiting them and requiring of their profit as the ancient Tobias, gave to them admonishing of salute, teaching them over all things to dread God and to keep and abstain them assiduously from all sin.

HIS PIETY

Garlands made of roses and of other flowers he forbade and defended them to wear on the Friday, for the crown of thorns that was on such a day put on the head of our Lord.

And because that he wist well and knew that chastity in delices, pity in riches, and humility in honour often perish, he took and gave his courage to sobriety and good diet, to humility and misericorde, keeping himself right curiously from the pricking sautes and watch of the world, the flesh and the devil, and chastised his body and brought it to servitude by the ensample of the apostles. He forced himself to serve his spirit by diverse castigation or chastising, he used the hair many times next his flesh, and when he left it for cause of over feebleness of his body, at the instance of his own confessor, he ordained the said confessor to give to the poor folk, as for recompensation of every day that he failed of it, forty shillings.

He fasted always the Friday, and namely in time of lent and advent he abstained him in those days from all manner of fish and from fruits, and continually travailed and pained his body by watchings, orisons, and other secret abstinences and disciplines.

Humility, beauty of all virtues, replenished so strong in him, that the more better he waxed, so, as David, the more he showed himself meek and humble, and more foul he reputed him before God. For he was accustomed on every Saturday to wash with his own hands, in a secret place, the feet of some poor folk, and after dried them with a fair towel, and kissed much humbly and semblably their hands, distributing or dealing to every one of them a certain sum of silver. Also to seven score poor men which daily came to his court, he administered meat and drink with his own hands, and were fed

abundantly on the vigils solemn. And on some certain days in the year to two hundred poor, before that he ate or drank, he with his own hands administered and cerved them both of meat and drink.

He ever had, both at his dinner and supper, three ancient poor, which ate nigh to him, to whom he charitably sent of such meats as were brought before him, and sometimes the dishes and meats that the poor of our Lord had touched with their hands, and special the sops of which he fain ate, made their remnant or relief to be brought before him, to the end that he should eat it; and yet again to honour and worship the name of our Lord on the poor folk, he was not ashamed to eat their relief.

Also he would not use scarlet, ne gowns of rich cloth, ne also furring of over great price and cost.

HIS CRUSADE IN THE HOLY LAND

He Leads a Host That Takes Damietta

And namely sith he came from the parts of beyond sea the first time again, he coveted by great desire the growing up of the faith. Wherefore he, as very lover of the faith and covetous for to enhance it, as he yet that of late convalesced and issued out of a grievous sickness, lying at Pontoise, took the cross with great devotion from the hands of the bishop of Paris, led with him three of his brethren with the greatest lords and barons in his realm. And many a knight and other people with him appliked on his way, and with right great host arrived into Egypt, the which, setting foot on ground, occupied and took by force of men of arms that same city renowned which is called Damietta, and all the region about.

Disasters Befall the Army and the King

Then after, the Christian host, esprised and beat with a much great and wonderful sickness by the just judgment of God, many Christian men died there, insomuch that of the number of two and thirty thousand fighting men, ne was there left on live but six thousand

men. And God, father of misericorde, willing himself showed wonderful and marvellous on his saint, gave and betook the same king, champion, or defensor of the faith, into the hands of the evil paynims, to the end that He should appear more marvellous.

And as the debonair king might have escaped by the next ship nigh thence, always he yielded himself with his good gree, to the end that he might deliver his people through the encheson of him.

He was put to great ransom, which paid, he would yet abide prisoner for the payment or ransom of other his lords and barons.

St. Louisâ□□ Good Works in Syria

And then after, he put and left so as Joseph out of the chartre or prison of Egypt, not as fleeing or dreadful returned anon unto the proper or own parts, but first abode continually by the space of five years in Syria, where he converted many paynims to the faith, and he being there, the Christians out of the paynim hands target ditched and fortified many towns and castles with strong walls. He found then about Sidon many dead bodies of Christian men, of which many one was dismembered and eaten with beasts and stank over much; the which he gathered and assembled with his own hands, with the aid and help of his meiny, which unnethe might endure ne suffer the stench of them, and humbly and devoutly betook them to the burying of holy church.

The Storm During His Return Voyage

And after this, understanding the sickness of the queen his mother, by the counsel of his barons he assented to return into France. And as he was upon the sea, on the third night after, nigh the rising of Aurora, the ship where the king was in, hurted and smote twice against the rock so strongly that the mariners and other there weened that the ship should have broken and been plunged in the sea. And then the priests, clerks, and the other folk there, abashed with so great hurting of the said ship, found the holy king devoutly praying before the body of our Lord, wherefore they firmly believed

that God Almighty, by the merits and prayers of this holy king, had saved them from the foresaid peril of death.

HIS WORKS OF CHARITY

Then the said saint, so returned into France, was received of all there with great joy, and the more ardently or burningly profiting from virtue into virtue, became to all manner perfection of life. And howbeit that miseration and pity was growing in him from his youth, nevertheless he showed then more evidently his charitable deeds on the poor folk, succouring them profitably, so as he might at their need.

He began then to build and found hospitals or houses for poor people to lie in, edified minsters of religion, and gave yearly to other poor sufferers in divers places in the realm much money, pecunies or silver. He founded many convents of the Order of Friars Preachers, and to many other poor religious builded churches, cloisters, dortoirs, and other edifices convenable, gave for God largely alms to the blind, Beguines, daughters of God, and releved the minster of many a poor nunnery. He enriched many a church founded by him with great revenues and rente, in which he many times exercised the office of charity and of marvellous humility, humbly and devoutly serving the poor with his own hands by great misericorde.

When he came in Paris, or in other cities, he visited the hospitals and other small houses where poor people lay in, and without abomination of deformity ne of ordure or filth of some patient or sick, administered, many times kneeling, giving meat to the poor with his own hands. In the abbey of Royalmont, which he founded and endowed with great revenue and rents, is showed notorily that such and semblable alms he made there many times.

And yet greater marvel, a monk of the said abbey, a leper, an abominable, and as then deprived both of nose and eyes by corruption of the said sickness, the blessed St. Louis administered,

humbly putting, kneeling, with his own hands both meat and drink within the mouth of the said leper without any abomination. The abbot there present which unnethe might see that, wept and sighed piteously.

And howbeit that to all indigent he opened the bosom of misericorde, nevertheless to them that watched in divine services, and that prayed for souls, he made greater alms and ofter. And by the great alms that he dealt every year to the convents in Paris, both of the friars predicators and minors, said sometime to his familiars: O God, how this alms is well set or bestowed on so much and so great number of friars affluing and coming to Paris out from all lands for to learn the divine scriptures, and to the end they might show and utter them through all the world to the cure and salvation of souls.

Other alms that he did through the year, no tongue should suffice for to rehearse it.

He worshipped the holy relics with much great devotion, and assiduously grew the cultiving of God and the honour of the saints. He builded in Paris a fair chapel within the palace royal, in which he purposed and put right diligently the holy crown of thorns of our Lord, with a great part of the holy cross. Also the iron or head of the spear wherewith the side of our Lord was opened, with many other relics which he received of the emperor of Constantinople.

HIS PUBLIC POLICIES

He would speak to nobody while that he was at church hearing the divine service, without it were for great need or great utility of the commonweal, and then with short and substantious words uttered that he would say, to the end that his devotion should not be letted. He might not hear, ne forbear the reproaches or blasphemies done to the Christian faith, but he, enamoured of the love of God, as Phineas, punished them right grievously.

Whereof it befell that a citizen of Paris who loathly swearing had blasphemed Jesu Christ, against the act or statute royal, which St. Louis by the counsel of the prelates and princes had ordained and made for the swearers and blasphemers, at the commandment of the said saint he was marked or tokened, at the lips of him with a hot and burning iron, in sign of punition of his sin, and terror and dreadfulness to all others. And how for cause of that, he hearing some say and cast in on him many cursings, said: I would fain sustain on my lips such laidure or shame as long as I shall live, so that all the evil vice of swearing were left and cast out from all our realm.

He had the signacle or figure of the holy cross in so great reverence that he eschewed to tread on it, and required of many religious that, within their churchyard and tombs they ne should from thence forthon portray ne depict the form or figure of the cross and that the crosses so portrayed and figured, they should make to be planed. O how great reverence he had! He also went every year on the good Friday to the chapel within the palace royal for to worship there the holy cross, kneeling, both feet and head bare.

Of diligent discussing of causes and matters he rendered or yielded just judgment. Of very love or love, he doubting that the strife, actions, and pleadings of the poor should come only to the presence and knowledge of his councillors, he went and presided among them at the least twice in a week for to hear the plaints which lightly he made to be discussed and soon after justly urged. He stablished also, for to have away the burning covetise of the usurers, that no justicer should compel ne constrain them that were bounden to the Jews or to other public usurers by letters, ne by none other manner, to pay or yield to them their usury or growing.

ST. LOUIS DIES ON CRUSADE

In the end, after the course or running of many years, understanding that by true report knowing the desolation and perplexity and perils of the holy land, as another Maccabeus with his sons, not willing

that the Christian folk and holy persons should sustain ne bear any longer evil or pain, inspired with the Holy Ghost, he passed and sailed again over the high sea unto the Holy Land accompanied with the nobles and much commonalty of his realm.

And when the ships were ready for to sail, St. Louis, beholding his three sons and specially dressing his words towards the eldest, said: Son, consider thou must, how as now I am farforth in age, and that once I have passed over the sea, also how that the Queen thy mother is of great age, proceeding nigh her last days, how now, blessed be God, we possess peaceably our realm, without any war, in delices, riches and honours, as much as pleaseth to us or appertaineth, look then that for the love of Jesu Christ and his church I ne spare mine old age, and have no pity of thy discomforted and woeful mother, but I leave both delices and honours, and expose mine own self to peril for Jesu Christ. Which things I will thou hear and know, to the end that when thou comest to the succession of the realm thou do so.

The ships then ready, sailed on the sea so long that the host arrived at the haven of Carthage in Africa, where by force of arms the Christian men took the castle, and enjoyed the land thereabout. And betwixt Tunis and Carthage they dressed their tents for to dwell there a little time.

And in this meanwhile St. Louis – after so many virtuous works, after so many pains and labours which he had suffered for the faith of Jesu Christ – God, that would benewrely consume his life for to yield to him fruit glorious for his labours and benefits, sent to him an axes continual. And then the holy enseignments or teachings, which before he had written in French, exposed diligently to Philip his eldest son and commanded that soon they should be accomplished.

And then, he being thought of sight and hearing whole, saying his seven psalms and calling on all the saints devoutly, took all the sacraments of the church, and at the last, he coming to the last hour, stretching his arms in manner of a cross, and proffering the

last words: I commend my soul into thine hands, died and passed unto our Lord, the year twelve hundred and seventy.

MIRACLES OF ST. LOUIS

The corpse of the glorious St. Louis was transporte unto the sepulchre of his fathers and predecessors at St. Denis in France, there to be buried. In which place, also in divers others, this glorious saint resplendisseth of many miracles.

Miraculous Cures

On that day that St. Louis was buried, a woman of the diocese of Sens recovered her sight, which she had lost and saw nothing, by the merits and prayers of the said debonair and meedful king.

Not long after, a young child of Burgundy both dumb and deaf of kind, coming with others to the sepulchre or grave of the saint, beseeching him of help, kneeling as he saw that the others did, and after a little while that he thus kneeled were his ears opened and heard, and his tongue redressed and spake well.

In the same year a woman blind was led to the said sepulchre, and by the merits of the saint recovered her sight. Also that same year two men and five women, beseeching St. Louis of help, recovered the use of going, which they had lost by divers sickness and languors.

In the year that St. Louis was put or written in the catalogue of the holy confessors, many miracles worthy to be prised, befell in divers parts of the world at the invocation of him, by his merits and by his prayers.

A Child Raised to Life

Another time at Evreux a child fell under the wheel of a water-mill. Great multitude of people came thither, and supposing to have kept him from drowning, invoked God, our Lady and his saints to help the

said child, but our Lord willing his saint to be enhanced among so great multitude of people, was there heard a voice saying that the said child, named John, should be vowed unto St. Louis. He then, taken out of the water, was by his mother borne to the grave of the saint, and after her prayer done to St. Louis, her son began to sigh and was raised on life.

Ten Men Crushed in a Quarry

It befell the same time in the diocese of Beauvais that ten men were broken within a quarry there, as they did fetch out great stones for to build withal, for on them fell a great quantity of earth insomuch that they were covered with it. A clerk then that passed there foreby, heard their sighing, and having pity on them that were nigh dead, kneeled down to the earth, and remembering the new canonisation of the blessed St. Louis, sore weeping, made for the foresaid men his prayer to him, and after his prayer was done he saw folk coming that way. He called them, and forthwith they delved with such staves as they had, so much that by the merits of the saint to whom they trusted much, they had out of the quarry the foresaid ten men, the which were found unhurt, and as whole as ever they were before, howbeit that in certain they were dead.

A Child Crushed by a Falling Wall

It happed on another time that a great wall fell on a child which was reputed as dead by all the folk, his mother vowed him to the said saint, made the stones that covered him to be had away, and found her child laughing, and whole of all his members.

A Woman with St. Anthonyâ□□s Fire

A woman aggrieved with a sickness which men call the fire of St. Anthony came to Poissy, thereas St. Louis was born, and before the font wherein the said saint was baptized, she kneeled, and sore weeping made her prayer there to God and to the saint, by the merits of whom her body was clean delivered from the foresaid sickness.

A Crippled Man

Item two days after this, a worshipful man which of long time had been oppressed and beaten with sickness of feet, that he could not go ne stand without he had two crutches or staves under his arms, came unto the said font, made there his prayer, left his staves there, and home he returned as whole as ever he was. And yet sithe were there, and are as now done, many other miracles through the prayers and merits of St. Louis to the glory and praising of our redeemer.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN LUCY

Chapter 4 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

ST. LUCY'S MOTHER IS CURED OF THE FLUX

St. Lucy, the holy virgin, was born in Sicily, and extract and engendered of a noble lineage, in the city of Syracuse. When she heard of the good fame and renown of St. Agatha or Agaas, which was published and spread all about, anon she went to her sepulchre with her mother which was named Euthicia, which had a malady, named the bloody flux, by the space of four years, the which no master in physic ne surgery could heal.

And when they were at a mass, one read a gospel which made mention of a woman which was healed of the bloody flux by touching of the hem of the coat of Jesu Christ. When St. Lucy heard this, anon she said to her mother: Mother, if ye believe that this which is read be true, and also that St. Agatha hath now presently with her Jesu Christ, and also that for his name she suffered martyrdom, and if ye, with this belief, touch her sepulchre, without doubt ye shall be anon guerished and healed.

Upon this they, after the mass, when the people were departed, they twain fell down on their knees on the sepulchre of St. Agatha in prayers, and weeping began to pray for her help and aid. St. Lucy in making her prayers for her mother fell asleep, and she saw in her sleep St. Agatha among the angels, nobly adorned and arrayed with precious stones, which said thus to her: Lucy, my sweet sister, devout virgin to God, wherefore prayest thou to me for thy mother, for such thing as thou mayest thyself right soon give to her? For I tell the for truth, that for thy faith, and thy good, thy mother is safe and whole.

With these words St. Lucy awoke all afraid, and said to her mother: Mother, ye be guerished and all whole; I pray you for her sake by whose prayers ye be healed, that ye never make mention to me for to take an husband ne spouse, but all that good that ye would give me with a man, I pray you that ye will give it to me for to do alms withal that I may come to my saviour Jesu Christ.

Her mother answered to her: Fair daughter, thy patrimony, which I have received this nine years, sith thy father died, I have nothing aminished, but I have multiplied and increased it; but abide till I am departed out of this world, and then forthon do as it shall please thee.

MOTHER AND DAUGHTER SELL LUCY'S PATRIMONY FOR THE POOR

St. Lucy said: Sweet mother, hear my counsel: he is not beloved of God, that for his love giveth that which he may not use himself, but if thou wilt find God debonair to thee, give for him that which thou mayest dispend, for after thy death thou mayest in no wise use thy goods. That which thou givest when thou shalt die, thou givest it because thou mayest not bear it with thee. Give then for God's sake whiles thou livest: and as to such good as thou oughtest to give to me with an husband or spouse, begin to give all that to your people for the love of Jesu Christ.

Hereof spake alway Lucy to her mother, and every day they gave alms of their goods. And when they had almost sold their patrimony and their jewels, tidings came to the knowledge of her spouse that should have wedded her, and that she was promised to, the which he demanded hereof the truth of the nurse of St. Lucy, and wherefore they sold thus their patrimony.

She answered cautelously, and said that they did it because that St. Lucy, which should have been his wife, had found one which had a more fairer and nobler heritage than his was, the which they would buy tofore ere they should assemble by marriage. The fool believed

it, for he understood carnally this that the nurse had said to him spiritually, and helped them to sell their heritage. But when he understood that she gave all for God's love, and that he felt himself deceived, anon he complained on Lucy, and made her to come tofore a judge named Paschasius, which was a miscreant and heathen man.

ST. LUCY BEFORE THE JUDGE

Her Words with Paschasius

And it was because she was Christian, and that she did against the law of the Emperor, Paschasius blamed her, and admonested her to worship and do sacrifice to the idols. She said: Sacrifice which pleaseth God is to visit the widows and orphans, and to help them in their need: I have not ceased these three years past to make to God such sacrifice, and forasmuch as I have no more of which I may make yet such sacrifice, I offer to him myself, let him do with his offering as it pleaseth him.

Paschasius said: Thou mightest say these words unto Christian people, semblable to thee, but to me which keep the commandments of the emperors, thou sayest them in vain.

St. Lucy said: If thou wilt keep the law of thy lords, I shall keep the law of God; thou doubtest to anger them, and I shall keep me that I anger not my God; thou wilt please them, and I covet only to please our Lord Jesu Christ.

Paschasius said: Thou hast dispended thy patrimony with the ribalds, and therefore thou speakest as a ribald.

She said. I have set my patrimony in a sure place; unto the corruption of my heart ne body, I never agreed ne suffered it.

Paschasius said: Who be they that corrupt the heart and the body?

She said: Ye be that corrupt the hearts, of whom the apostle said, "The evil words corrupt the good manners." Ye counsel the souls to forsake their creator and to ensue the devil in making sacrifice to the idols; the corrupters of the body be they that love the short delectations corporal, and despite delights spiritual that endure for ever.

Paschasius said: These words that thou sayest shall finish when thou shalt come to thy pains.

She said: The words of God may not end ne finish.

Paschasius said: How then! art thou God?

She said: I am the handmaid of God, and for so much as I say, they be the words of God, for he saith, "Ye be not they that speak tofore the princes and judges, but the Holy Ghost speaketh in you." 1

Paschasius said: And therefore the Holy Ghost is in thee?

She said: The apostle saith that they be the temple of God that live chastely, and the Holy Ghost dwelleth in them. 2

Paschasius said: I shall do bring thee to the bordel, where thou shalt lose thy chastity, and then the Holy Ghost shall depart from thee.

She said: The body may take no corruption but if the heart and will give thereto assenting: for if thou madest me to do sacrifice by my hands, by force, to the idols, against my will, God shall take it only but as a derision, for he judgeth only of the will and consenting. And therefore, if thou make my body to be defouled without mine assent, and against my will, my chastity shall increase double to the merit of the crown of glory. What thing that thou dost to the body, which is in thy power, that beareth no prejudice to the handmaid of Jesu Christ.

Consigned to the Procurers of the Town, She Proves Immovable

Then commanded Paschasius that the ribalds of the town should come, to whom he delivered St. Lucy, saying: Call other to you for to defoul her, and labour her so much till she be dead.

Anon the ribalds would have drawn her from thence where she was, and have brought her to the bordel, but the Holy Ghost made her so pesant and heavy that in no wise might they move her from the place. Wherefore many of the servants of the judge put hand to, for to draw with the other, and she abode still. Then they bound cords to her hands and feet, and all drew, but she abode alway still as a mountain, without moving. Whereof Paschasius was all anguishous and angry, and did do call his enchanters, which might never move her for all enchantery. Then Paschasius did do yoke for her oxen many, for to draw her, and yet they might not move her from the place. Then Paschasius demanded her for what reason might it be that a frail maid might not be drawn ne moved by a thousand men.

She said: It is the work of God, and if thou settest thereto yet ten thousand they should not move me.

Of these words the judge was sore tormented, and St. Lucy said to him: Wherefore tormentest thou thyself thus? If thou hast proved and assayed that I am the temple of God, believe it. If thou hast not assayed, learn to assay.

She is Put in a Fire

And hereof was the judge more tormented, for he saw that she made but her mockery with him. Wherefore he did do make about St. Lucy a right great fire, and made to be cast on her pitch, resin, and boiling oil, and she abode all still tofore the fire, and said: I have prayed to Jesu Christ that this fire have no domination in me to the end that the Christian men that believe in God make of thee their derision. And I have prayed for respite of my martyrdom for to take

away from the Christian men the fear and dread to die for the faith of Jesu Christ, and to take away from the miscreants the avaunting of my martyrdom.

Stabbed in the Throat, She Prophesies to the People

The friends of the judge saw that he was confused by the words of St. Lucy, and of the drawing much greatly tormented, and therefore they roof a sword through her throat, and yet for all that she died not anon, but spake to the people, saying: I announce and show to you that holy church shall have peace, for Diocletian the emperor, which was enemy to holy church is this day put out of his seignory, and Maximian, his fellow, is this day dead. And in likewise as St. Agatha is patroness and keeper of Catania, in the same wise shall I be committed to be patroness of Syracuse, this city.

And as she spake thus to the people, the sergeants and ministers of Rome came for to take Paschasius and bring him to Rome, because he was accused tofore the senators of Rome of that he had robbed the province; wherefore he received his sentence of the senate, and had his head smitten off.

HER DEATH

St. Lucy never removed from the place where she was hurt with the sword, ne died not till the priest came and brought the blessed body of our Lord Jesu Christ. And as soon as she had received the blessed sacrament she rendered and gave up her soul to God, thanking and praising him of all his goodness. In that same place is a church edified in the name of her, whereas many benefits have been given to the honour of our Lord Jesu Christ, which is blessed world without end. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE

Chapter 96 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Mary Magdalene had her surname of Magdalo, a castle, and was born of right noble lineage and parents, which were descended of the lineage of kings. And her father was named Cyrus, and her mother Eucharis. She with her brother Lazarus, and her sister Martha, possessed the castle of Magdalo, which is two miles from Nazareth, and Bethany, the castle which is nigh to Jerusalem, and also a great part of Jerusalem, which, all these things they departed among them. In such wise that Mary had the castle Magdalo, whereof she had her name Magdalene. And Lazarus had the part of the city of Jerusalem, and Martha had to her part Bethany. And when Mary gave herself to all delights of the body, and Lazarus entended all to knighthood, Martha, which was wise, governed nobly her brother's part and also her sister's, and also her own, and administered to knights, and her servants, and to poor men, such necessities as they needed. Nevertheless, after the ascension of our Lord, they sold all these things, and brought the value thereof, and laid it at the feet of the apostles.

MARY MAGDALENE AND JESUS

Then when Magdalene abounded in riches, and because delight is fellow to riches and abundance of things; and for so much as she shone in beauty greatly, and in riches, so much the more she submitted her body to delight, and therefore she lost her right name, and was called customably a sinner. And when our Lord Jesu Christ preached there and in other places, she was inspired with the Holy Ghost, and went into the house of Simon leprous, whereas our Lord dined. Then she durst not, because she was a sinner, appear tofore

the just and good people, but remained behind at the feet of our Lord, and washed his feet with the tears of her eyes and dryed them with the hair of her head, and anointed them with precious ointments. For the inhabitants of that region used baths and ointments for the overgreat burning and heat of the sun. And because that Simon the Pharisee thought in himself that, if our Lord had been a very prophet, he would not have suffered a sinful woman to have touched him, then our Lord reproved him of his presumption, and forgave the woman all her sins.

And this is she, that same Mary Magdalene to whom our Lord gave so many great gifts. And showed so great signs of love, that he took from her seven devils. He embraced her all in his love, and made her right familiar with him. He would that she should be his hostess, and his target procuress on his journey, and he ofttimes excused her sweetly; for he excused her against the Pharisee which said that she was not clean, and unto her sister that said she was idle, unto Judas, who said that she was a wastresse of goods. And when he saw her weep he could not withhold his tears. And for the love of her he raised Lazarus which had been four days dead, and healed her sister from the flux of blood which had held her seven years. And by the merits of her he made Martelle, chamberer of her sister Martha, to say that sweet word: Blessed be the womb that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee suck. But, after St. Ambrose, it was Martha that said so, and this was her chamberer.

This Mary Magdalene is she that washed the feet of our Lord and dried them with the hair of her head, and anointed them with precious ointment, and did solemn penance in the time of grace, and was the first that chose the best part, which was at the feet of our Lord, and heard his preaching. Which anointed his head; at his passion was nigh unto the cross; which made ready ointments, and would anoint his body, and would not depart from the monument when his disciples departed. To whom Jesu Christ appeared first after his resurrection, and was fellow to the apostles, and made of our Lord apostolesse of the apostles, then after the ascension of our Lord, the fourteenth year from his passion, long after that the Jews

had slain St. Stephen, and had cast out the other disciples out of the Jewry, which went into divers countries, and preached the word of God.

MARY MAGDALENE GOES TO MARSEILLE WITH MARTHA AND LAZARUS

There was that time with the apostles St. Maximin, which was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord, to whom the blessed Mary Magdalene was committed by St. Peter, and then, when the disciples were departed, St. Maximin, Mary Magdalene, and Lazarus her brother, Martha her sister, Marcelle, chamberer of Martha, and St. Cedony which was born blind, and after enlumined of our Lord; all these together, and many other Christian men were taken of the miscreants and put in a ship in the sea, without any tackle or rudder, for to be drowned. But by the purveyance of Almighty God they came all to Marseilles, where, as none would receive them to be lodged, they dwelled and abode under a porch tofore a temple of the people of that country.

And when the blessed Mary Magdalene saw the people assembled at this temple for to do sacrifice to the idols, she arose up peaceably with a glad visage, a discreet tongue and well speaking, and began to preach the faith and law of Jesu Christ, and withdrew from the worshipping of the idols. Then were they amarvelled of the beauty, of the reason, and of the fair speaking of her. And it was no marvel that the mouth that had kissed the feet of our Lord so debonairly and so goodly, should be inspired with the word of God more than the other.

THE MIRACLE CHILD

And after that, it happed that the prince of the province and his wife made sacrifice to the idols for to have a child. And Mary Magdalene preached to them Jesu Christ and forbade them those sacrifices. And after that a little while, Mary Magdalene appeared in a vision to that lady, saying: Wherefore hast thou so much riches and sufferest the poor people our Lord 1 to die for hunger and for cold?

And she doubted, and was afraid to show this vision to her lord. And then the second night she appeared to her again and said in likewise and adjousted thereto menaces, if she warned not her husband for to comfort the poor and needy, and yet she said nothing thereof to her husband.

And then she appeared to her the third night, when it was dark, and to her husband also, with a frowning and angry visage like fire, like as all the house had burned, and said: Thou tyrant and member of thy father the devil, with that serpent thy wife, that will not say to thee my words, thou restest now enemy of the cross, which hast filled thy belly by gluttony, with divers manner of meats and sufferest to perish for hunger the holy saints of our Lord. Liest thou not in a palace wrapped with clothes of silk. And thou seest them without harbour, discomforted, and goest forth and takest no regard to them. Thou shalt not escape so ne depart without punishment, thou tyrant and felon because thou hast so long tarried.

And when Mary Magdalene had said thus she departed away. Then the lady awoke and sighed. And the husband sighed strongly also for the same cause, and trembled. And then she said: Sir, hast thou seen the sweven that I have seen?

I have seen, said he, that I am greatly amarvelled of, and am sore afraid what we shall do.

And his wife said: It is more profitable for us to obey her, than to run into the ire of her God, whom she preacheth.

For which cause they received them into their house, and ministered to them all that was necessary and needful to them.

Then as Mary Magdalene preached on a time, the said prince said to her: Weenest thou that thou mayst defend the law that thou preachest?

And she answered: Certainly, I am ready to defend it, as she that is confirmed every day by miracles, and by the predication of our master, St. Peter, which now sitteth in the see at Rome.

To whom then the prince said: I and my wife be ready to obey thee in all things, if thou mayst get of thy god whom thou preachest, that we might have a child.

And then Mary Magdalene said that it should not be left, and then prayed unto our Lord that he would vouchsafe of his grace to give to them a son. And our Lord heard her prayers, and the lady conceived. Then her husband would go to St. Peter for to wit if it were true that Mary Magdalene had preached of Jesu Christ. Then his wife said to him: What will ye do sir, ween ye to go without me? Nay, when thou shalt depart, I shall depart with thee, and when thou shalt return again I shall return, and when thou shalt rest and tarry, I shall rest and tarry.

To whom her husband answered, and said: Dame, it shall not be so, for thou art great, and the perils of the sea be without number. Thou mightest lightly perish, thou shalt abide at home and take heed to our possessions.

And this lady for nothing would not change her purpose, but fell down on her knees at his feet sore weeping, requiring him to take her with him. And so at last he consented, and granted her request. Then Mary Magdalene set the sign of the cross on their shoulders, to the end that the fiend might not empesh ne let them in their journey. Then charged they a ship abundantly of all that was necessary to them, and left all their things in the keeping of Mary Magdalene, and went forth on their pilgrimage.

And when they had made their course, and sailed a day and a night, there arose a great tempest and orage. And the wind increased and grew over hideous, in such wise that this lady, which was great, and nigh the time of her childing, began to wax feeble, and had great anguishes for the great waves and troubling of the sea, and soon

after began to travail, and was delivered of a fair son, by occasion of the storm and tempest, and in her childing died.

And when the child was born he cried for to have comfort of the teats of his mother, and made a piteous noise. Alas! what sorrow was this to the father, to have a son born which was the cause of the death of his mother, and he might not live, for there was none to nourish him. Alas! what shall this pilgrim do, that seeth his wife dead, and his son crying after the breast of his mother? And the pilgrim wept strongly and said: Alas! caitiff, alas! What shall I do? I desired to have a son, and I have lost both the mother and the son.

And the mariners then said: This dead body must be cast into the sea, or else we all shall perish, for as long as she shall abide with us, this tempest shall not cease.

And when they had taken the body for to cast it into the sea, the husband said: Abide and suffer a little, and if ye will not spare to me my wife, yet at least spare the little child that cryeth, I pray you to tarry a while, for to know if the mother be aswoon of the pain, and that she might revive.

And whilst he thus spake to them, the shipmen espied a mountain not far from the ship. And then they said that it was best to set the ship toward the land and to bury it there, and so to save it from devouring of the fishes of the sea. And the good man did so much with the mariners, what for prayers and for money, that they brought the body to the mountain. And when they should have digged for to make a pit to lay the body in, they found it so hard a rock that they might not enter for hardness of the stone. And they left the body there lying, and covered it with a mantle.

And the father laid his little son at the breast of the dead mother and said weeping: O Mary Magdalene, why camest thou to Marseilles to my great loss and evil adventure? Why have I at thine instance enterprised this journey? Hast thou required of God that my wife should conceive and should die at the childing of her son? For now

it behoveth that the child that she hath conceived and borne, perish because it hath no nurse. This have I had by thy prayer, and to thee I commend them, to whom I have commended all my goods. And also I commend to thy God, if he be mighty, that he remember the soul of the mother, that he by thy prayer have pity on the child that he perish not.

Then covered he the body all about with the mantle, and the child also, and then returned to the ship, and held forth his journey. And when he came to St. Peter, St. Peter came against him, and when he saw the sign of the cross upon his shoulder, he demanded him what he was, and wherefore he came, and he told to him all by order. To whom Peter said: Peace be to thee, thou art welcome, and hast believed good counsel. And be thou not heavy if thy wife sleep, and the little child rest with her, for our Lord is almighty for to give to whom he will, and to take away that he hath given, and to reestablish and give again that he hath taken, and to turn all heaviness and weeping into joy.

Then Peter led him into Jerusalem, and showed to him all the places where Jesu Christ preached and did miracles, and the place where he suffered death, and where he ascended into heaven. And when he was well-informed of St. Peter in the faith, and that two years were passed sith he departed from Marseilles, he took his ship for to return again into his country.

And as they sailed by the sea, they came, by the ordinance of God, by the rock where the body of his wife was left, and his son. Then by prayers and gifts he did so much that they arrived thereon. And the little child, whom Mary Magdalene had kept, went oft sithes to the seaside, and, like small children, took small stones and threw them into the sea. And when they came they saw the little child playing with stones on the seaside, as he was wont to do. And then they marvelled much what he was. And when the child saw them, which never had seen people tofore, he was afraid, and ran secretly to his mother's breast and hid him under the mantle. And then the father of the child went for to see more appertly, and took the

mantle, and found the child, which was right fair, sucking his mother's breast. Then he took the child in his arms and said: O blessed Mary Magdalene, I were well happy and blessed if my wife were now alive, and might live, and come again with me into my country. I know verily and believe that thou who hast given to me my son, and hast fed and kept him two years in this rock, mayst well re-establish his mother to her first health.

And with these words the woman respired, and took life, and said, like as she had been waked of her sleep: O blessed Mary Magdalene thou art of great merit and glorious, for in the pains of my deliverance thou wert my midwife, and in all my necessities thou hast accomplished to me the service of a chamberer.

And when her husband heard that thing he amarvelled much, and said: Livest thou my right dear and best beloved wife?

To whom she said: Yea, certainly I live, and am now first come from the pilgrimage from whence thou art come, and all in like wise as St. Peter led thee in Jerusalem, and showed to thee all the places where our Lord suffered death, was buried and ascended to heaven, and many other places, I was with you, with Mary Magdalene, which led and accompanied me, and showed to me all the places which I well remember and have in mind. And there recounted to him all the miracles that her husband had seen, and never failed of one article, ne went out of the way from the sooth.

And then the good pilgrim received his wife and his child and went to ship. And soon after they came to the port of Marseilles. And they found the blessed Mary Magdalene preaching with her disciples. And then they kneeled down to her feet, and recounted to her all that had happened to them, and received baptism of St. Maximin. And then they destroyed all the temples of the idols in the city of Marseilles, and made churches of Jesu Christ. And with one accord they chose the blessed St. Lazarus for to be bishop of that city.

And afterward they came to the city of Aix, and by great miracles

and preaching they brought the people there to the faith of Jesu Christ. And there St. Maximin was ordained to be bishop.

MARY MAGDALENE IN THE DESERT

In this meanwhile the blessed Mary Magdalene, desirous of sovereign contemplation, sought a right sharp desert, and took a place which was ordained by the angel of God, and abode there by the space of thirty years without knowledge of anybody. In which place she had no comfort of running water, ne solace of trees, ne of herbs. And that was because our Redeemer did do show it openly, that he had ordained for her refection celestial, and no bodily meats. And every day at every hour canonical she was lifted up in the air of angels, and heard the glorious song of the heavenly companies with her bodily ears. Of which she was fed and filled with right sweet meats, and then was brought again by the angels unto her proper place, in such wise as she had no need of corporal nourishing.

A Priest is Granted a Vision of St. Mary Magdalene

It happed that a priest, which desired to lead a solitary life, took a cell for himself a twelve-furlong from the place of Mary Magdalene. On a day our Lord opened the eyes of that priest, and he saw with his bodily eyes in what manner the angels descended into the place where the blessed Magdalene dwelt, and how they lifted her in the air, and after by the space of an hour brought her again with divine praisings to the same place. And then the priest desired greatly to know the truth of this marvellous vision, and made his prayers to Almighty God, and went with great devotion unto the place.

And when he approached nigh to it a stone's cast, his thighs began to swell and wax feeble, and his entrails began within him to lack breath and sigh for fear. And as soon as he returned he had his thighs all whole, and ready for to go. And when he enforced him to go to the place, all his body was in languor, and might not move.

And then he understood that it was a secret celestial place where no man human might come, and then he called the name of Jesu,

and said: I conjure thee by our Lord, that if thou be a man or other creature reasonable, that dwellest in this cave, that thou answer me, and tell me the truth of thee.

And when he had said this three times, the blessed Mary Magdalene answered: Come more near, and thou shalt know that thou desirest.

And then he came trembling unto the half way, and she said to him: Rememberest thou not of the gospel of Mary Magdalene, the renowned sinful woman, which washed the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and dried them with the hair of her head, and desired to have forgiveness of her sins?

And the priest said to her: I remember it well, that is more than thirty years that holy church believeth and confesseth that it was done.

She Sends the Priest to St. Maximin

And then she said: I am she that by the space of thirty years have been here without witting of any person, and like as it was suffered to thee yesterday to see me, in like wise I am every day lift up by the hands of the angels into the air, and have deserved to hear with my bodily ears the right sweet song of the company celestial. And because it is showed to me of our Lord that I shall depart out of this world, go to Maximin, and say to him that the next day after the resurrection of our lord, in the same time that he is accustomed to arise and go to matins, that he alone enter into his oratory, and that by the ministry and service of angels he shall find me there.

And the priest heard the voice of her, like as it had been the voice of an angel, but he saw nothing; and then anon he went to St. Maximin, and told to him all by order.

St. Maximinâ□□s Vision of St. Mary Magdalene

Then St. Maximin was replenished of great joy, and thanked greatly our Lord. And on the said day and hour, as is aforesaid, he entered

into his oratory, and saw the blessed Mary Magdalene standing in the quire or choir yet among the angels that brought her, and was lift up from the earth the space of two or three cubits. And praying to our Lord she held up her hands, and when St. Maximin saw her, he was afraid to approach to her. And she returned to him, and said: Come hither mine own father, and flee not thy daughter.

And when he approached and came to her, as it is read in the books of the said St. Maximin, for the customable vision that she had of angels every day, the cheer and visage of her shone as clear as it had been the rays of the sun.

Her Soul is Taken to Heaven

And then all the clerks and the priests aforesaid were called, and Mary Magdalene received the body and blood of our Lord of the hands of the bishop with great abundance of tears, and after, she stretched her body tofore the altar, and her right blessed soul departed from the body and went to our Lord.

And after it was departed, there issued out of the body an odour so sweet-smelling that it remained there by the space of seven days to all them that entered in. And the blessed Maximin anointed the body of her with divers precious ointments, and buried it honourably, and after commanded that his body should be buried by hers after his death.

THE WITNESS OF HEGESIPPUS AND JOSEPHUS

Hegesippus, with other books of Josephus accord enough with the said story, and Josephus saith in his treatise that the blessed Mary Magdalene, after the ascension of our Lord, for the burning love that she had to Jesu Christ and for the grief and discomfort that she had for the absence of her master our Lord, she would never see man. But after when she came into the country of Aix, she went into desert, and dwelt there thirty years without knowing of any man or woman. And he saith that, every day at the seven hours canonical she was lifted in the air of the angels. But he saith that, when the

priest came to her, he found her enclosed in her cell; and she required of him a vestment, and he delivered to her one, which she clothed and covered her with. And she went with him to the church and received the communion, and then made her prayers with joined hands, and rested in peace.

MIRACLES OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE

The Duke of Burgundy and the Translation of Her Relics

In the time of Charles the great, in the year of our Lord seven hundred and seventy-one, Gerard, duke of Burgundy might have no child by his wife, wherefore he gave largely alms to the poor people, and founded many churches, and many monasteries. And when he had made the abbey of Vesoul, he and the abbot of the monastery sent a monk with a good reasonable fellowship into Aix, for to bring thither if they might of the relics of St. Mary Magdalene.

And when the monk came to the said city, he found it all destroyed of paynims. Then by adventure he found the sepulchre, for the writing upon the sepulchre of marble showed well that the blessed lady Mary Magdalene rested and lay there, and the history of her was marvellously entailed and carved in the sepulchre. And then this monk opened it by night and took the relics, and bare them to his lodging. And that same night Mary Magdalene appeared to that monk, saying: Doubt thee nothing, make an end of the work. Then he returned homeward until he came half a mile from the monastery. But he might in no wise remove the relics from thence, till that the abbot and monks came with procession, and received them honestly. And soon after the duke had a child by his wife.

The Pilgrim Knight Revived

There was a knight that had a custom every year to go a pilgrimage unto the body of St. Mary Magdalene, which knight was slain in battle. And as his friends wept for him lying on his bier, they said with sweet and devout quarrels, why she suffered her devout servant to die without confession and penance. Then suddenly he

that was dead arose, all they being sore abashed, and made one to call a priest to him, and confessed him with great devotion, and received the blessed sacrament, and then rested in peace.

The Mother Saved from Shipwreck

There was a ship charged with men and women that was perished and all to-brake, and there was among them a woman with child, which saw herself in peril to be drowned, and cried fast on Mary Magdalene for succour and help, making her avow that if she might be saved by her merits, and escape that peril, if she had a son she should give him to the monastery. And anon as she had so avowed, a woman of honourable habit and beauty appeared to her, and took her by the chin and brought her to the rivage all safe, and the other perished and were drowned. And after, she was delivered and had a son, and accomplished her avow like as she had promised.

The Story of Mary Magdalene and St. John

Some say that St. Mary Magdalene was wedded to St. John the Evangelist when Christ called him from the wedding, and when he was called from her, she had thereof indignation that her husband was taken from her, and went and gave herself to all delight, but because it was not convenable that the calling of St. John should be occasion of her damnation, therefore our Lord converted her mercifully to penance, and because he had taken from her sovereign delight of the flesh, he replenished her with sovereign delight spiritual tofore all other, that is the love of God. And it is said that he ennobled St. John tofore all other with the sweetness of his familiarity, because he had taken him from the delight aforesaid.

She Helps a Blind Man See Her Church

There was a man which was blind on both his eyes, and did him to be led to the monastery of the blessed Mary Magdalene for to visit her body. His leader said to him that he saw the church. And then the blind man escried and said with a high voice: O blessed Mary Magdalene, help me that I may deserve once to see thy church.

And anon his eyes were opened, and saw clearly all things about him.

The Man Whose Sins Were Erased

There was another man that wrote his sins in a schedule and laid it under the coverture of the altar of Mary Magdalene, meekly praying her that she should get for him pardon and forgiveness, and a while after, he took the schedule again, and found all his sins effaced and struck out.

The Man in Debtorsâ□□ Prison

Another man was holden in prison for debt of money, in irons. And he called unto his help ofttimes Mary Magdalene. And on a night a fair woman appeared to him and brake all his irons, and opened the door, and commanded him to go his way; and when he saw himself loose he fled away anon.

The Sinful Clerk of Flanders

There was a clerk of Flanders named Stephen Rysen, and mounted in so great and disordinate felony, that he haunted all manner sins. And such thing as appertained to his health he would not hear. Nevertheless he had great devotion in the blessed Mary Magdalene and fasted her vigil, and honoured her feast.

And on a time as he visited her tomb, he was not all asleep nor well awaked, when Mary Magdalene appeared to him like a much fair woman, sustained with two angels, one on the right side, and another on the left side, and said to him, looking on him despitously: Stephen, why reputest thou the deeds of my merits to be unworthy? Wherefore mayst not thou at the instance of my merits and prayers be moved to penance? For sith the time that thou begannest to have devotion in me, I have alway prayed God for thee firmly. Arise up therefore and repent thee, and I shall not leave thee till thou be reconciled to God.

And then forthwith he felt so great grace shed in him, that he forsook and renounced the world and entered into religion, and was after of right perfect life. And at the death of him was seen Mary Magdalene, standing beside the bier with angels which bare the soul up to heaven with heavenly song in likeness of a white dove.

Then let us pray to this blessed Mary Magdalene that she get us grace to do penance here for our sins, that after this life we may come to her in everlasting bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY OF OUR LORD AND OF THE THREE KINGS

Chapter 14 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

THE FOUR MIRACLES THAT ADORN THIS FEAST

The Feast of the Epiphany of our Lord is adorned of four miracles, and after them it hath four names. On this day the kings worshipped Jesu Christ, and St. John Baptist baptized him. And Jesu Christ changed this day water into wine, and he fed five thousand men with five loaves of bread.

The Epiphany

When Jesu Christ was in the age of thirteen days the three kings came to him the way like as the star led them, and therefore this day is called *Epiphany* , or "the thiephanye" in common language. And is said of this term *epi* , which is as much as to say as "above," and of this term *phanes* which is as much to say as "apparition." For then the star appeared above them in the air, where the same Jesus by the star that was seen above them showed him to the kings.

The Theophany

And that day twenty-nine years passed, that was at the entry of thirty years, for he had twenty-nine years and thirteen days, and began the thirtieth year as saith St. Luke. Or after this that Bede saith, he had thirty years complete, as the Church of Rome holdeth. And then he was baptized in the flood or river of Jordan, and therefore it is called the *thiephanie* said of *Theos* , which is as much to say as "God," and *phanes* "apparition." For then God, that is the Trinity, appeared, God the Father in voice, God the Son in flesh human, God the Holy Ghost in likeness of a dove.

The Miracle at Cana

After this, that same day a year, when he was thirty-one year old and thirteen days, he turned water into wine, and therefore it is called *Bethania* , said of beth, that is to say "an house," and *phanes* , that is "apparition." And this miracle was done of the wine in an house by which he showed him very God.

The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes

And this same day a year after that was thirty-two years, he fed five thousand men with five loaves, like as Bede saith. And is also sung in an hymn which beginneth: *Illuminans altissimus* . And therefore it is called *phagiphania* , of *phage* , that is to say "meat." And of this fourth miracle some doubt if it were done on this day, for it is not written of Bede expressly, and because that in the gospel of St. John is read that it was done nigh unto Pasque.

Therefore the four apparitions were set on this day. The first by the star unto the crib or racke; the second by the voice of the Father on flom Jordan; the third of the water into wine at the house of Archedeclyn; the fourth by the multiplication of five loaves in desert. Of the first apparition we make solemnity on this day principally, and therefore pursue we the history such as it is.

THE NAMES OF THE MAGI

When our Lord was born, the three kings came into Jerusalem, of whom the names be written in Hebrew, that is to wit Galgalath, Magalath, and Tharath. And in Greek Appelius, Amerius, and Damascus. And in Latin Jaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar.

And it is to wit that this name Magus hath three significations. It is said "illuser" or "deceiver," "enchanter," and "wise."

They been illusers or deceivers because they deceived Herod. For they returned not by him when they departed from the place where they had honoured and offered to Jesus, but returned by another

way into their country.

Magus also is said "enchanter." And hereof be said the enchanters of Pharaoh, Magi, which by their malefice made their marvels by the enchanting of the craft of the devil. And St. John Chrysostom calleth these kings Magos, as wicked and evil-doers. For first they were full of malefices, but after they were converted. To whom God would show his Nativity, and bring them to him to the end that to sinners he would do pardon.

Item, Magus in same "wise." For *Magus* in Hebrew is said "doctor," in Greek, "philosopher," and in Latin, "wise," whereof they be said Magi, that is to say great in wisdom.

WHY THEY CAME TO JERUSALEM

And these three came into Jerusalem with a great company and great estate. But wherefore came they to Jerusalem when the child was not born there? St. Remigius assigneth four reasons.

The first reason is that the kings had knowledge of the nativity of the Child that was born of the Virgin Mary but not of the place. And because that Jerusalem was the most city royal and there was the see of the sovereign priest, they thought that so noble a child, so nobly showed ought to be born in the most noble city that was royal.

The second cause was, for in Jerusalem were the doctors and the wise men by whom they might know where the said child was born.

The third cause was to the end that the Jews should have none excusation. For they might have said that they had knowledge of the place where he should be born, but the time knew they not, and therefore they might say, we believe it not. And the kings showed to them the time, and the Jews showed the place.

The fourth to the doubt of the Jews and their curiosity, for these kings believed one only prophet, and the Jews believed not many.

They sought a strange king, and the Jews sought not their own king. These kings came from far countries, and the Jews were neighbours fast by. These kings were successors of Balaam, and came at the vision and sight of the star, by the prophecy of their father, which said that a star shall be born or spring out of Jacob, and a man shall arise of the lineage of Israel.

That other cause that moveth them to come to Jerusalem putteth St. John Chrysostom, which saith that there were some that affirmed for truth that, there were great clerks that curiously studied to know the secrets of heaven; and after, they chose twelve of them to take heed. And if any of them died, his son or next kinsman shall be set in his place. And these twelve every year ascended upon a mountain which was called Victorial, and three days they abode there, and washed them clean, and prayed our Lord that he would show to them the star that Balaam had said and prophesied before. Now it happened on a time that they were there the day of the Nativity of Jesu Christ, and a star came over them upon this mountain which had the form of a right fair child, and under his head was a shining cross, which spake to these three kings saying: Go ye hastily into the land of Judea, and there ye shall find the king that ye seek, which is born of a virgin.

Another cause putteth St. Austin; for it might well be that the angel of heaven appeared to them which said: the star that ye see is Jesu Christ, go ye anon and worship him.

Another cause putteth St. Leo, that by the star which appeared to them, which was more resplendent and shining than the other, that it showed the sovereign king to be born on the earth. Then anon departed they for to come to that place.

WHY THEIR JOURNEY WAS SO SPEEDY

Now may it be demanded how, in so little space of thirteen days they might come from so far as from the East unto Jerusalem, which is in the middle of the world, which is a great space and a long way.

Thereto answereth St. Remigius the doctor, and saith that, the child to whom they went, might well make them to go so much way in that while. Or after this that St. Jerome saith, that they came upon dromedaries, which be beasts that may go as much in one day as an horse in three days.

THEIR WORDS IN JERUSALEM

And when they came into Jerusalem, they demanded in what place the King of Jews was born. And they demanded not if he was born, for they believed it firmly that he was born. And if any had demanded of them: Whereby know ye that he is born? They would have answered: "We have seen his star in the Orient, and therefore we come to worship him." This is to understand, "we being in the Orient saw his star that showed that he was born in Judea, and we be come to worship him."

And therefore saith this doctor Remigius, that they confessed this child very man, very King, and very God. Very man when they said where is he that is born? very King when they said King of Jews; very God when they said we be come to worship him. For there was a commandment that none should be worshipped but God.

And thus as saith St. John Chrysostom: They confessed the child very God by word, by deed, and by gifts of their treasures that they offered to him.

WHY HEROD WAS TROUBLED

And when Herod had heard this he was much troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. Herod was troubled for three causes, first, because he dreaded that the Jews would receive the child born for their King, and refuse he would worship also him, and thought that he would go slay him.

WHY THE STAR WAS NOT VISIBLE IN JERUSALEM

And it is to wit that as soon as they were entered into Jerusalem, the sight of the star was taken from them and for three causes: First, that they should be constrained to seek that place of his nativity like as they were certified by the appearing of the star and by the prophecy of the place of his birth, and so it was done. Secondly, that they that sought the help [of} the world, had deserved to lose the aid divine. The third because that the signs be given to miscreants, and prophecies to them that believe well like, as the apostle saith. And therefore the sign which was given to the three kings, which yet were paynims ought not to appear to them as long as they were with the Jews. And when they were issued of Jerusalem, the star appeared to them, which went before them, and brought them till it came above the place where the Child was.

WHAT THE STAR WAS

Three Opinions Of This Star

And ye ought to know that there be three opinions of this star, which Remigius the doctor putteth, saying that: Some say that it was the Holy Ghost which appeared to the three kings in the form of a star, which after appeared upon the head of Jesu Christ in the likeness of a dove. Others say, like to St. John Chrysostom, that it was an angel that appeared to the shepherds, and after appeared to the kings, but to the shepherds, Jews, as to them that use reason in form of a reasonable creature, and to the paynims as unreasonable, that is to say of a star. Others say more reasonably and more veritably that it was a star new created, and made of God, the which when he had done his office was brought again into the matter whereof it was first formed.

The Uniqueness of the Star

And this star was this that Fulgentius saith: It differenced from the other stars in three things. First, in situation, for it was not fixed in the firmament, but it hung in the air nigh to the earth. Secondly, in clearness, for it was shining more than the others. It appeared so that the clearness of the sun might not hurt nor appale her light, but

at plain mid-day it had right great light and clearness. Thirdly, in moving, for it went alway before the kings in manner of one going in the way, ne it had none turning as a circle turneth, but in such manner as a person goeth in the way. And when the kings were issued out of Jerusalem, and set in their way, they saw the star whereof they had lost the sight, and were greatly enjoyed.

The Five Manners Of Stars That These Kings Saw

And we ought to note that there be five manners of stars that these kings saw. The first is material, the second spiritual, the third intellectual, the fourth reasonable, the fifth substantial.

The first, that is material, they saw in the East.

The second, that is spiritual, they saw in heart, and that is in the faith. For if this faith had not been in their hearts that had lighted them, they had never seen the star material. They had faith of the humanity [of Christ] when they said: Where is he that is born? and of his royal dignity when they called him King of Jews, and of his deity when they said they went to worship him.

The third intellectual, which is, that the angel that they saw in vision, when it was by the angel showed to them that they should not return by Herod, how be it that after one gloss it was our Lord that warned them.

The fourth, that was reasonable, that was the Virgin Mary whom they saw in the stable holding her child.

The fifth, that is substantial, that is to say that he had substance above all other singular. And that was Jesu Christ whom they saw in the crib.

COMMENTS OF THE FATHERS ON THE EPIPHANY

And hereof is it said in the gospel that they entered into the house and found the child with Mary his mother, and then they worshipped

him. And when they were entered into the house secretly and had found the child, they kneeled and offered to him these three gifts, that is to wit gold, incense, and myrrh. And this saith St. Austin: O infantia, cui astra subduntur, etc.

O infancy or childhood, to whom the stars be subject, to whose clothes angels bow, the stars give virtue, the kings joy, and the followers of wisdom bow their knees. O blessed tigury or little house, O holy seat of God.

And St. Jerome saith:

This is an heaven where is no light but the star. O palace celestial in which thou dwellest, not as King adorned with precious stones, but incorporate. To whom, for a soft bed was duresse and hard crib, for curtains of gold and silk, the fume and stench of dung, but the star of heaven was clearly embellished. I am abashed when I behold these clothes and see the heaven. The heart burneth me for hete when I see him in the crib, a poor mendicant, and over him the stars. I see him right clear, right noble, and right rich. O ye kings, what do ye? Ye worship the child in a little foul house wrapped in foul clouts. Is he then not God? Ye offer to him gold, and whereof is he King, and where is his royal hall? Where is his throne? Where is his court royal, frequented and used with nobles? The stable is that not his hall? And his throne the rack or crib? They that frequent this court, is it not Joseph and Mary? they be as unwitting, to the end that they become wise.

Of whom saith Hilary in his second book that he made of the Trinity:

The Virgin hath borne a child, but this that she hath childed is of God; the child is lying in the rack, and the angels be heard singing and praising him, the clothes be foul, and God is worshipped. The dignity of his puissance is not taken away though the humility of his flesh is declared. Lo, how in this child Jesus were not only the humble and small things, but also the rich, and the noble, and the high things.

And hereof saith St. Jerome upon the Epistle ad Hebreos:

Thou beholdest the rack of Jesu Christ; see also the heaven. Thou seest also the child lying in the crib, but take heed also how the angels sing and praise God. Herod is persecuted and the kings worship the child. The pharisees knew him not, but the star showed him. He is baptized of his servant, but the voice of the Father is heard above thundering. He is plunged in the water, but the Holy Ghost The descended upon him in likeness of a dove.

WHEREFORE THESE KINGS OFFERED THESE GIFTS

And of the cause wherefore these kings offered these gifts, many reasons be assigned.

One of the causes is, as saith Remigius the doctor, that the ancient ordinance was that no man should come to God ne to the king with a void hand, but that he brought him some gift. And they of Chaldea were accustomed to offer such gifts. They, as Scholastica Historia saith, came from the end of Persia, from the Chaldeans whereas is the flood of Saba, of which flood the region of Saba is named.

The second reason is of St. Bernard: For they offered to Mary, the mother of the child, gold for to relieve her poverty, incense against the stench of the stable and evil air, myrrh for to comfort the tender members of the child and to put away vermin.

The third reason was that they offered gold for to pay the tribute, the incense for to make sacrifice, the myrrh for the sepulture of dead men.

The fourth for the gold signifieth dilection or love; the incense, orison or prayer; the myrrh, of the flesh mortification. And these three things ought we offer to God.

The fifth because by these three be signified three things that be in

Jesu Christ: The precious deity, the soul full of holiness, and the entire flesh all pure and without corruption. And these three things be signified that were in the ark of Moses. The rod which flourished, that was the flesh of Jesu Christ that rose from death to life; the tables wherein the commandments were written, that is the soul, wherein be all the treasures of sapience and science of godhead. The manna signifieth the godhead, which hath all sweetness of suavity. By the gold which is most precious of all metals is understood the Deity; by the incense the soul right devout, for the incense signifieth devotion and orison; by the myrrh which preserveth from corruption, is understood the flesh which was without corruption.

WHAT HAPPENED AFTERWARDS

And the kings when they were admonished and warned by revelation in their sleep that they should not return by Herod, and by another way they should return into their country, lo hear then how they came and went in their journey. For they came to adore and worship the King of kings in their proper persons, by the star that led them, and by the prophet that enseigned and taught them. And by the warning of the angel returned and rested at their death in Jesu Christ.

Of whom the bodies were brought to Milan, where as now is the convent of the friars preachers, and now be at Cologne in St. Peter's Church, which is the Cathedral and See of the Archbishop.

Then let us pray unto Almighty God that this day showed him to these kings and at his baptism, where the voice of the Father was heard and the Holy Ghost seen, and at the feast turned water into wine, and fed five thousand men, besides women and children, with five loaves and two fishes, that at the reverence of this high and great feast he forgive us our trespasses and sins, and after this short life we may come to his everlasting bliss in heaven. Amen.

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BEGINNETH OF ST. MARCIAL

Caxton added this life to his edition of the Golden Legend, but it was not a part of Voragineâ□□s original, nor does its style suggest an origin in the French translation that Caxton said he had used along with the Latin and an earlier English translation.

In the time that our Lord Jesu Christ preached in Jewry, in the lineage of Benjamin, much people came to him for to have that was necessary to them, as well of drink as of meat, and in especial for to hear and understand such things as touched the salvation of the soul.

THE CONVERSION OF ST. MARCIAL

On a day, in the midst of all the company, came a man that was of the said lineage of Benjamin, the most noble of all the Jews, named by his right name Marcial, and his wife was called Elizabeth, which had between them both a child of the age of fifteen years, that was named also Marcial. When they heard our Lord Jesu Christ preach, which said in his predication, "Do ye penance, the realm of heaven is nigh to them that do penance, and who that is not regenerate in water by the sacrament of baptism he may not enter into the realm of heaven," then by the commandment of our Lord Jesu Christ Marcial, his wife, and their son Marcial, which was a child replenished in holy doctrine, were baptized of St. Peter.

Then Zaccheus and Joseph, the which buried our Lord, were baptized also, and many other of the people of the Jews, which were over long to tell here all their names.

HE TRAVELS WITH ST. PETER

When all this was accomplished, and that every each turned homeward to his house, the child Marcial returned not with his father and mother, but gave himself all over to our Lord Jesu Christ, and put him in the company as one of his disciples, and held him

always by St. Peter, which was right nigh of his kin, and from then forthon he was so enlumined and endoctrined of our Lord and of St. Peter that he nothing desired so much as for to accomplish commandments solitaries.

After this St. Peter came to Rome, and prayed to Marcial that he would go with him, and thus as they had been together endoctrined with one holy doctrine, and of one meritorious dilection, in like wise that together they receive the common reward of the joy perdurable. And thus as they went they were accompanied of some disciples of Antioch, among whom were Alphinian and Austridiman, and many other.

When they were entered within Rome, they were received of a man named Marcel, at that time consul of the Romans. Thus as they dwelled there God appeared to St. Peter, and commanded him that he should send St. Marcial into the provinces of Gaul for to preach the faith and the belief to the people which were in the bonds of the devil of hell. Then St. Peter called to him St. Marcial and told him all by order that our Lord had said and commanded him. When St. Marcial heard that, he began strongly to weep, because he doubted the far region, and the people which had no knowledge of God.

When St. Peter saw him thus weep he began much sweetly to comfort him in saying to him: My holy brother, be not heavy ne sorrowful, for God shall be always with thee like as he hath promised to us saying, "Lo! I am always and shall be with you unto the consummation of the world." Thus, my sweet brother, he commanded us after his resurrection saying, "Go ye unto and through the universal world and preach the gospel to all creatures, that who shall believe and shall be baptized he shall be saved, and they that will not do so shall be damned." Which things, my blessed brother, behoveth us to keep and put in effect, to the end that we forget not the commandments of God. Anon after these blessed words St. Marcial took leave of St. Peter, and brought with him the two disciples aforesaid; that is to wit Alphinian and Austridinian and departed like as God had commanded to St. Peter.

HIS MISSION TO GAUL

Thus then as they went, and that they were weary and sore travelled by the way, which was long and grievous, St. Austridinian departed out of this world and died. When St. Marcial saw that he was dead he returned in great haste to Rome, and told to St. Peter that which was befallen in their way. When St. Peter had heard him he said: Return as hastily as thou mayest, and take my bourdon in thy hand, and thou shalt come where thou hast left thy brother, touch his body with this bourdon and anon he shall arise and go in thy company as he did tofore.

When St. Marcial came again to the corpse he touched it with the bourdon like as St. Peter bade him, and anon he was raised from death to life.

ST. MARCIAL EXORCISES A DEMON

After, when St. Marcial had journeyed long by divers countries in long preaching and sowing the word of God, they came in to Guienne unto a castle called Tulle and there were received of a rich and a mighty man named Arnold, which had a daughter that daily was tormented with the enemy. Thus as St. Marcial entered into the house the fiend began to cry, saying: I know well now that I must issue out of the body of this maid, for the angels of paradise that be with thee, Marcial, torment me right grievously; but I pray thee by the name of him that was crucified, whom thou preachest of, that thou send me not into the abysm of hell.

Then St. Marcial said to him: I conjure thee in the name of Jesu Christ that was crucified for us, that thou issue out of the body of this maid, and never return again, but that thou go unto a place desert where bird, ne fowl, ne person dwelleth. With this commandment the maid cast out the enemy and she fell down as dead. Then St. Marcial took her by the hand and raised her up and delivered her to her father, whole and safe.

HE RAISES A CHILD MURDERED BY A FIEND

Holiness and benignity, with all humility, shone in St. Marcial, and he was always in prayers. Another miracle also our Lord showed by the prayers of St. Marcial in the same place. The prince of the said castle, which was called Nerva, and was cousin to the emperor Nero, had a daughter which was suffocated and murdered by the fiend, and was dead. Then the father and mother of the child, that were much sorrowful and heavy, with a great part of the people, brought the body of the child tofore St. Marcial, tenderly weeping, and saying to him: O man of God, help us at this time, thou seest how it is with us.

When St. Marcial saw the lamentation and the sorrow that they made, he had pity on them, and said with an high voice: I pray you all, as well Christians as paynims, that ye will devoutly pray God Almighty that by his benign grace it please him to give again the life to this child.

The two disciples of St. Marcial, and a few of Christian people that were there, put them to prayers, and sith St. Marcial himself made his prayer, saying: Sire, I pray thee in the name of thy blessed dear Son and of thy good friend St. Peter, by the ordinance and commandment of whom I am come hither, that it please thee to raise this child here: to the end that when she shall be raised many may believe in thine holy and precious name.

Then St. Marcial, trusting in the help of God, took the child by the hand, saying to her: In the name of our Lord Jesu Christ, that of the Jews for us was crucified, and the third day rose from death to life, arise up and stand right on thy feet.

Anon the child arose right upon her feet, and sith kneeled down to the feet of the holy man, saying to him: O man of God, I require thee to baptize me to the end that I may be saved, and mark me with the sign of the holy cross, for otherwise may none be saved but if he be baptized.

Anon, St. Marcial baptized him and with him in the same place were

well christened also, as well men as women three thousand and six hundred.

And after this, St. Marcial went and destroyed the idols and brought them to nought. From thence went St. Marcial and his two disciples, and departed and came to Limoges, where they were benignly received of a matron that was named Susanna, in whose presence Marcial healed one that was frenatic. When the good woman Susanna saw the miracle that so was made in her presence, anon she and her meiny were baptized.

ST. MARCIAL IN PRISON

After this St. Marcial went into the temple where the priests of the idols were, the which beat him grievously, and sith put him in prison. On the morn, as he made his prayer, there descended a light so great upon him that men might not behold him, the chains of iron burst, and the doors of the prison opened, the keepers and they that were there required to be baptized, and the priests that had so beaten him were smitten to death by thunder and lightning.

Then the others that were there came to St. Marcial, in to the prison, and prayed him that he would raise them that so were smitten to death by the thunder, promising to him that if he so did they all would be baptized. Then our Lord by his prayer raised them again from death to life. Then that same time were turned to Christian faith and baptized twelve thousand creatures, as well men as women.

CHASTE VALERIENNE AND THE CONVERSION OF DUKE STEVEN

And after this, on a time died the holy woman Susanna, and tofore her death she recommended to St. Marcial her daughter, that was called Valerienne, which had promised and avowed to our Lord chastity as long as she lived, and gave away all her riches to poor folk for the love of God. After, when the holy maid knew that there should come to Limoges a lord named Steven, which was lord of all the province from the river of Rhone unto the sea, she was sore

afraid lest he would do to her any grief or noyance against her vow. When the said Steven was come to Limoges, he made to do come tofore him the holy maid, to the end to have his will of her. But when she was come and he saw that she would not consent to do his will, anon he made her head to be smitten off.

Then the squire that beheaded her heard the angels sing, that bare the soul of the holy virgin into heaven, with much great joy and solemnity, and anon he returned unto his master and told him all that he had seen and heard, and sith fell down dead at his feet. Then the duke and all his company had much great dread, and the duke himself clad him next his flesh in a sharp hair and hard, for great repentance, and prayed St. Marcial that he would pray God that it might please him to raise his squire from death to life, and he would believe in the faith of Jesu Christ and be christened.

Anon after that St. Marcial had prayed, our Lord raised the squire. Then the duke and well fifteen thousand persons in his company were baptized.

In this time the same duke by the commandment of the emperor Nero went in to Italy with a great company of men of arms. When he had accomplished the commandment of Nero, they went to Rome for to see St. Peter, whom they found preaching to the people, which people were barefoot and had clothed them with the hair, lying on the ground tofore St. Peter in demanding him pardon of their sins.

When St. Peter saw the duke and so much fair people in his company, he demanded them what they were, and of what country. Then the duke told him by order how he and his company had been converted and baptized of St. Marcial.

THE DEAD CHILD AND THE DEMONS

After, when they were departed from Rome, they thought that they would go see St. Marcial tofore ere they returned in to their country.

Thus then as they were lodged nigh by a river, and the son of the Earl of Poictiers bained him in the said river, the enemy the devil drowned and smothered him to the death.

When his father knew it he went weeping tenderly to St. Marcial, and prayed him to raise his son from death to life. Then St. Marcial went to the place where he was drowned and commanded to the fiend to bring the body out of the water, and that he should appear in a likeness visible tofore them all.

Anon issued out of the water three fiends, like Ethiopians, more black than coals, and had terrible feet and eyes, and great hair that covered all the body, and cast out at their mouths and nostrils fire like sulphur, and cried like ravens. When they had told to St. Marcial the harms and evils that they had done, he commanded them that they should depart and go into places desert, whereas they might never noy ne grieve persons living.

St. Marcial, which had pity and compassion on them that wept for the dead child raised him from death to life, and then the child told, tofore them all that were there, how the fiend had drowned and smothered him, and how they would have bounden him with chains of iron burning, but an angel of heaven delivered him, and showed him the fire of purgatory, and from thence led him to the gate of Paradise, and as the fiends required to have him, a voice came from heaven and commanded that he should arise again, and that he should live yet twenty-six years.

When he had told him all this he gave himself all over to St. Marcial, and from then forthon lived in great abstinence and holy life, like as the angel had taught him.

THE HUSBAND SICK OF PALSY

St. Marcial did many miracles and virtues. There was in that time a woman that had an husband sick of the palsy, to which woman St. Marcial delivered his bourdon, with which she touched a little her

husband, and incontinent he was whole. Another time the fire was so great in the city of Bordeaux that all was on a flame. St. Marcial held up his bourdon against the fire and anon it was quenched.

THE MARRIED COUPLE VEXED BY DEMONS

Another time, as he would have hallowed a church at Limoges, the prince aforesaid conveyed and summoned all the people, poor and rich, to come to the dedication of this church, and when they were all assembled, St. Marcial admonished and warned them to be in very chastity. It happed among them whilst the mass was on saying that there was a knight, which he and his wife were sore vexed and troubled with fiends, and as they were brought tofore St. Marcial, he demanded of the fiends why they vexed them so, and they answered to him: Thou hast commanded them that the people maintain chastity, and these two have all night exposed them in lechery, and this is the cause that wherefore we be entered into them.

St. Marcial, at the request of the prince and people, healed them.

THE DEATH OF ST. MARCIAL

This same year, that is to say the fortieth year after the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, the same, our Lord Jesu Christ, appeared to him and showed how that hastily he should depart from this world, and be with his other friends in the realm of heaven. Then he did do assemble all the Christian people that he had converted, and to them made a much sweet sermon in taking leave of them. Soon after he was sick of the fevers, and then our Lord appeared to him with a great quantity of angels, which with much joy and gladness bare the soul of St. Marcial into heaven, Ubi est honor et gloria in secula seculorum [where there is honor and glory for ever and ever], Amen.

HIS ROLE IN SCRIPTURE

This St. Marcial of whom we speak here was the same child, as some say, on whom our Lord laid his hand upon his head, when the contention and strife was among the apostles which of them should be greatest in the realm of heaven, and then our Lord set the child Marcial in the midst of them, laying his hand upon his head, as said is, and said to them: If ye be not little and humble as this child is, ye shall not enter into heaven; he that shall be least among you he shall be greatest in my realm, as the gospel maketh more plain mention.

The which glorious St. Marcial let us pray unto, that he procure unto our Lord Jesu Christ, that all we may have part with him in the joy and glory perdurable. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE GLORIOUS LIFE AND PASSION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND MARTYR ST. MARGARET

Chapter 93 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

The holy St. Margaret was of the city of Antioch, daughter of Theodosius, patriarch and prince of the idols of paynims. And she was delivered to a nurse for to be kept. And when she came to perfect age she was baptized, wherefor she was in great hate of her father.

On a certain day, when she was fifteen years of age, and kept the sheep of her nurse with other maidens, the provost Olybrius passed by the way whereas she was, and considered in her so great beauty and fairness, that anon he burned in her love, and sent his servants and bade them take her and bring her to him, "for if she be free I shall take her to my wife, and if she be bond, I shall make her my concubine."

And when she was presented tofore him he demanded her of her lineage, name and religion. And she answered that she was of noble lineage, and for her name Margaret, and Christian in religion. To whom the provost said: The two first things be convenient to thee, that is that thou art noble, and art called Margaret which is a most fair name, but the third appertaineth nothing to thee, that so fair a maid and so noble should have a God crucified.

To whom she said: "How knowest thou that Christ was crucified?"

He answered: "By the books of Christian men."

To whom Margaret said: "O what shame is it to you, when you read

the pain of Christ and the glory, and believe one thing and deny another." And she said and affirmed him to be crucified by his will for our redemption, and now liveth ever in bliss.

And then the provost, being wroth, commanded her to be put in prison. And the next day following commanded that she should be brought to him, and then said to her: "O good maid, have pity on thy beauty, and worship our gods, that thou mayest be well."

To whom she said: "I worship him that maketh the earth to tremble, whom the sea dreadeth and the winds and creatures obey."

To whom the provost said: " But if thou consent to me I shall make thy body to be all to-torn."

To whom Margaret said: "Christ gave himself over to the death for me, and I desire gladly to die for Christ."

Then the provost commanded her to be hanged in an instrument to torment the people, and to be cruelly first beaten with rods, and with iron combs to rend and draw her flesh to the bones, insomuch that the blood ran about out of her body, like as a stream runneth out of a fresh springing well. They that were there wept, and said: "O Margaret, verily we be sorry for thee, which see thy body so foul, and so cruelly torn and rent. O how thy most beauty hast thou lost for thy incredulity and misbelief. Now believe, and thou shalt live."

Then said she to them: "O evil counsellors, depart ye, and go from me, this cruel torment of my flesh is salvation of my soul." Then she said to the provost: "Thou shameless hound and insatiable lion, thou hast power over my flesh, but Christ reserveth my soul."

The provost covered his face with his mantle, for he might not see so much effusion of blood, and then commanded that she should be taken down, and to shut her fast in prison, and there was seen a marvellous brightness in the prison, of the keepers.

And whilst she was in prison, she prayed our Lord that the fiend that had fought with her, he would visibly show him unto her. And then appeared a horrible dragon and assailed her, and would have devoured her, but she made the sign of the cross, and anon he vanished away. And in another place it is said that he swallowed her into his belly, she making the sign of the cross. And the belly brake asunder, and so she issued out all whole and sound. This swallowing and breaking of the belly of the dragon is said that it is apocryphal.

After this the devil appeared to her in likeness of a man for to deceive her. And when she saw him, she went to prayer and after arose, and the fiend came to her, and took her by the hand and said: "It sufficeth to thee that thou hast done, but now cease as to my person."

She caught him by the head and threw him to the ground, and set her right foot on his neck saying: "Lie still, thou fiend, under the feet of a woman."

The devil then cried: "O blessed Margaret, I am overcome. If a young man had overcome me I had not recked, but alas! I am overcome of a tender virgin; wherefore I make the more sorrow, for thy father and mother have been my good friends."

She then constrained him to tell why he came to her, and he answered, that he came to her to counsel her for to obey the desire and request of the provost. Then she constrained him to say wherefore he tempted so much and so often Christian people. To whom he answered that naturally he hated virtuous men, "and though we be oft put aback from them, yet our desire is much to exclude them from the felicity that they fell from, for we may never obtain ne recover our bliss that we have lost."

And she then demanded what he was, and he answered: "I am Veltis, one of them whom Solomon closed in a vessel of brass. And after his death it happed that they of Babylon found this vessel; and

supposed to have founden great treasure therein, and brake the vessel, and then a great multitude of us devils flew out and filled full the air alway, awaiting and espying where we may assail rightful men."

And when he had said thus, she took off her foot and said to him: "Flee hence, thou wretched fiend." And anon the earth opened, and the fiend sank in.

Then she was sure, for when she had overcome the master, she might lightly overcome the minister.

Then the next day following, when all the people was assembled, she was presented tofore the judge. And she not doing sacrifice to their false gods, was cast into the fire, and her body broiled with burning brands, in such wise that the people marvelled that so tender a maid might suffer so many torments. And after that, they put her in a great vessel full of water, fast bounden, that by changing of the torments, the sorrow and feeling of the pain should be the more.

But suddenly the earth trembled, and the air was hideous, and the blessed virgin without any hurt issued out of the water, saying to our Lord: "I beseech thee, my Lord, that this water may be to me the font of baptism to everlasting life."

And anon there was heard great thunder, and a dove descended from heaven, and set a golden crown on her head. Then five thousand men believed in our Lord, and for Christ's love they all were beheaded by the commandment of the provost Olybrius, that time in Campolymeath the city of Aurelia.

Then Olybrius, seeing the faith of the holy Margaret immoveable, and also fearing that others should be converted to the Christian faith by her, gave sentence and commanded that she should be beheaded. Then she prayed to one Malchus that should behead her, that she might have space to pray. And that got, she prayed to

our Lord, saying: "Father Almighty, I yield to thee thankings that thou hast suffered me to come to this glory, beseeching thee to pardon them that pursue me. And I beseech thee, good Lord, that of thy abundant grace, thou wilt grant unto all them that write my passion, read it or hear, and to them that remember me, that they may deserve to have plain remission and forgiveness of all their sins. And also, good Lord, if any woman with child travailing in any place, call on me that thou wilt keep her from peril, and that the child may be delivered from her belly without any hurt of his members."

And when she had finished her prayer there was a voice heard from heaven saying, that her prayers were heard and granted, and that the gates of heaven were open and abode for her, and bade her come into the country of everlasting rest. Then she, thanking our Lord, arose up, and bade the hangman accomplish the commandment of the provost. To whom the hangman said: "God forbid that I should slay thee, virgin of Christ."

To whom she said: "If thou do it not thou mayest have no part with me."

Then he being afraid and trembling smote off her head, and he, falling down at her feet, gave up the ghost.

Then Theotinus took up the holy body, and bare it into Antioch, and buried it in the house of a noble woman and widow named Sincletia. And thus this blessed and holy virgin, St. Margaret, suffered death, and received the crown of martyrdom the thirteenth kalends of August [July 20], as is founden in her story; and it is read in another place that it was the third ides of July [July 13].

Of this virgin writeth an holy man and saith: The holy and blessed Margaret was full of the dread of God, sad, stable, and worshipful in religion, arrayed with compunction, laudable in honesty, and singular in patience, and nothing was found in her contrary to Christian religion, hateful to her father, and beloved of our Lord Jesu

Christ. Then let us remember this holy virgin that she pray for us in our needs, etc.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE NEXT OF S. MARINE

This account of St. Marina's life is included in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend, but it is substantially different from the Legend's account. The latter was a severe abridgement of the 6th-century vita that changed "Marinus"'s overnight sojourn from a seaport tavern to the home of "some man" after the saint had been gathering wood in the forest. The version in Caxton adopts that revision but is otherwise mostly an unabridged translation of the original *vita* , though there are a few changes that smooth out rough edges in the original. For example, it changes "some man" to the more positive "a goodman." And it specifies that the father was a widower when he decided to take Marina with him to the monastery, implying that otherwise she would have been all alone in the world.

This "reader's version" of the Caxton text provides paragraph breaks and explanatory notes.

Marine was a noble virgin and was one only daughter to her father without brother or sister, and after the death of her mother, her father entered into a monastery of religion, and changed the habit of his daughter so that she seemed and was taken for his son and not a woman. Then the father prayed the abbot and his brethren that they would receive his only son, whom at his instance they received for to be a monk and was called of them all brother Marine.

He began to live right religiously, and to be much obedient. When she was twenty-seven years and her father approached towards the death, he called his daughter to him, confirming her in her good purpose and commanding her that in no wise she should show ne do be known that she was a woman, and then her father died.

She went ofttimes to the wood with the cart to fetch home wood,

and because it was far from the monastery otherwhile she lodged in a goodman's house whose daughter had conceived a child by a knight. And when it was perceived, she was thereof examined, who had begotten that child, and she said that it was the monk Marine had lain by her and gotten it. And then anon the father and mother went to the abbey and made a great complaint and a great clamour to the abbot for his monk Marine. Then the abbot, being hereof sore abashed, sent for Marine and demanded of him why he had done so horrible a sin. And he meekly answered and said: Holy father, I ask of our Lord mercy, for I have sinned. Then the abbot hearing this was much angry for the sorrow and shame, and commanded anon that he should be put out of the house.

And then this Marine full patiently went out of the monastery, and dwelled at the gate three years, and lived straitly with a morsel of bread a day. And when the child was weaned from the mother's pap, it was sent to the abbot, and he sent it to Marine, and bade him keep such treasure as he had brought forth. And then he took meekly and patiently the child and kept it with him there two years.

All these things he took in great patience, and in all things gave to our Lord thankings; and at the last the brethren had pity on him and considered his humility and patience, and did so much to the abbot that he was taken into the monastery, and all the offices that were most foul were enjoined for him for to do. He took it all gladly, and all things he did patiently and devoutly, and at the last, being full of virtuous life, she died and departed out of this world.

When they should take up the body and wash it for to dispose it to be buried they saw that she was a woman. All they were astonied and feared, and knowledged that they had trespassed greatly in the servant of God. Then they ran all for to see the sight, and asked forgiveness of their ignorance and trespass. Then bare they the body of her into the church and there honourably they buried it. Then she that infamed the servant of God was taken and vexed with a devil, and knowledging her sin came to the sepulchre of the blessed virgin, and there was delivered and made all whole. To

whose tomb the people over all there about came and assembled, and there our Lord showed many miracles for his blessed virgin Marine. She died the fourteenth kalends of July [June 19].

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. MARTHA

Chapter 105 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Martha, hostess of our Lord Jesu Christ, was born of a royal kindred. Her father was named Syro and her mother Encharia. The father of her was duke of Syria and places maritime, and Martha with her sister possessed by the heritage of their mother three places, that was, the castle Magdalen, and Bethany and a part of Jerusalem.

It is nowhere read that Martha had ever any husband ne fellowship of man, but she as a noble hostess ministered and served our Lord, and would also that her sister should serve him and help her, for she thought that all the world was not sufficient to serve such a guest.

THE VOYAGE TO MARSEILLES IN A RUDDERLESS SHIP

After the ascension of our Lord, when the disciples were departed, she with her brother Lazarus and her sister Mary, also St. Maximin which baptized them, and to whom they were committed of the Holy Ghost, and many others, were put into a ship without sail, oars, or rudder governail, of the paynims, which by the conduct of our Lord they came all to Marseilles, and after came to the territory of Aquense or Aix, and there converted the people to the faith. Martha was right facound of speech, and courteous and gracious to the sight of the people.

THE GREAT DRAGON TARASCONUS

There was that time upon the river of Rhone, in a certain wood between Arles and Avignon, a great dragon, half beast and half fish, greater than an ox, longer than an horse, having teeth sharp as a sword, and horned on either side, head like a lion, tail like a serpent, and defended him with two wings on either side, and could not be beaten with cast of stones ne with other armour, and was as strong as twelve lions or bears; which dragon lay hiding and lurking in the river, and perished them that passed by and drowned ships. He came thither by sea from Galicia, and was engendered of Leviathan, which is a serpent of the water and is much wood, and of a beast called Bonacho, that is engendered in Galicia. And when he is pursued he casts out of his belly behind, his ordure, the space of an acre of land on them that follow him, and it is bright as glass, and what it toucheth it burneth as fire.

To whom Martha, at the prayer of the people, came into the wood, and found him eating a man. And she cast on him holy water, and showed to him the cross, which anon was overcome, and standing still as a sheep, she bound him with her own girdle, and then was slain with spears and glaives of the people.

The dragon was called of them that dwelled in the country Tarasconus, whereof, in remembrance of him that place is called Tarasconus, which tofore was called Nerluc, and the Black Lake, because there be woods shadowous and black.

ST. MARTHAÂ□□S CONVENT

And there the blessed Martha, by licence of Maximin her master, and of her sister, dwelled and abode in the same place after, and daily occupied in prayers and in fastings, and thereafter assembled and were gathered together a great convent of sisters, and builded a fair church at the honour of the blessed Mary virgin, where she led a hard and a sharp life. She eschewed flesh and all fat meat, eggs, cheese and wine; she ate but once a day. An hundred times a day and an hundred times a night she kneeled down and bowed her knees.

THE DROWNED MAN OF AVIGNON

On a time, at Avignon, when she preached between the town and the river of Rhone, there was a young man on that other side of the river desiring to hear her words, and had no boat to pass over. He began to swim naked, but he was suddenly taken by the strength of the water, and anon suffocate and drowned, whose body unnethe was found the next day. And when it was taken up, it was presented at the feet of Martha for to be raised to life. She then, in manner of a cross, fell down to the ground and prayed in this manner: O Adonay, Lord Jesu Christ, which raisedst sometime my well-beloved brother, behold my most dear guest to the faith of them that stand here, and raise this child.

And she took him by the hand, and forthwith he arose living and received the holy baptism.

THE MIRACULOUS IMAGE

Eusebius telleth in the book of the Historia Ecclesiastica that a woman named Emorissa, after that she was healed of our Lord, she made in her court an image like unto Jesu Christ, with cloth and hem, like as she saw him when she was healed, and worshipped him much devoutly. The herbs that grew under the image tofore that she had touched the hem, were of no virtue, but, after that she had touched it, they were of so much virtue that many sick people by them were healed. That woman Emorissa, whom our Lord healed, Ambrose saith that it was Martha. St. Jerome saith, and it is had in Historia Tripartita, that Julianus Apostata took away that image that Emorissa made, and set his own there, which, with the stroke of thunder, was all tobroken.

THE DEATH OF ST. MARTHA

Our Lord came to her a year tofore her death, and showed to her that she should depart out of this world, and all that year she was sick and laboured in the fevers, and eight days tofore her death she heard the heavenly fellowship of angels bearing her sister's soul

into heaven, and anon did do come all the convent of brethren and of sisters, and said to them: My friends and most sweet fellows, I pray you to rejoice and enjoy with me, for I see the fellowship of angels bear the soul of my sister Mary unto heaven. O most fair and sweet sister, thou livest now with thy master and my guest in the blessed seat in heaven.

She is Comforted by Christ and by St. Mary Magdalene

And then anon Martha said to them that were present, that her death was nigh, and bade to light the tapers about her, and that they should wake unto her death. And about midnight tofore the day of her death, they that should watch her were heavy of sleep and slept, and there came a great wind and extinguished and did out the lights. She then, seeing a great tourbe of wicked spirits, began to pray and said: My father Eli, my dear guest, these deceivers be gathered for to devour me, bringing written, all the evil deeds that ever I did. O blessed Eli be not withdrawn from me, but intend in to mine help.

And forthwith she saw her sister coming to her, holding a brand in her hand, and lighted the tapers and lamps, and as each of them called other by their name, Christ came to them saying: Come, my well-beloved hostess, for where I am thou shalt be with me. Thou hast received me in thine harbour and I shall receive thee in mine heaven, and all them that call upon thee, I shall hear them for thy love.

In Manus Tuas

Then the hour of her death approaching, she commanded that she should be borne out of the house that she might behold and look up into heaven, and to lay her on the earth, and to hold the sign of the cross tofore her, and saying these words, she prayed:

My sweet guest, I beseech thee to keep me, thy poor creature, and like as thou hast vouchsafed to be lodged with me, so I beseech thee to receive me into thine heavenly harbour.

And then she bade that the passion after Luke should be read tofore her, and when this was said: *Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum* ["Father, into your hands I commend my spirit"], she gave up her spirit and died in our Lord.

Our Lord and Bishop Frontonius Sing the Office of the Dead

The next day following, that was the Sunday, whiles they said lauds about her body, and did her obsequies, and about the hour of tierce, at Petrogoricke, our Lord appeared to the blessed Frontonius singing mass, which after the epistle slept in his chair, and said to him: My wellbeloved Frontonius, if thou wilt fulfil that thou behightest long sith to my hostess Martha, arise anon and follow me.

Whose commandment he obeyed, and suddenly both came to Tarascona, and singing the office about the body and the other answering, they with their own hands laid the body into the sepulchre.

And troth it was that at Petrogoricke, when they had sung in the choir and the deacon should go read the gospel and receive the benediction, they awoke the bishop, demanding the benediction. Then the bishop awoke and said: Why have ye awakened me, my brethren? Our Lord Jesu Christ hath led me to his hostess Martha, and we have laid her in her sepulchre. Now send thither messengers for to fetch our ring of gold and our gloves, which whiles I made me ready to bury her, I delivered them to the sexton, and I have forgotten them there because ye awoke me so soon.

Then were messengers sent forth, and as the bishop said, they found his ring and one glove which they brought again, and that other the sexton retained for a witness and memory.

THE CONVERSION OF KING CLOVIS

And the blessed Frontonius added thereto, saying that after her sepulture, a brother of the same place, a learned man in the law,

demanded of our Lord what was his name? To whom he answered not, but showed a book open in his hand in which was written this versicle: In everlasting memory shall be my rightful hostess, and she shall dread none evil in the last day.

And when he should turn the leaves of the book, in every leaf he found that same written, where afterward many miracles were showed and done at her tomb. Then Clovis, king of France, was after this made a Christian man, and baptized of St. Remigius, and suffering great pain in his reins, came to her tomb and there received very health. For which cause he enriched that place, and the space of three miles way about on both sides of the river of Rhone, as well towns as castles, he gave to the same place, and that place he made free.

ST. MARTHAÂ□□S BIOGRAPHER

Martilla, her servant, wrote her life, which afterward went into Sclavonia, and there preached the gospel of Christ, and after ten years, from the death of Martha, she rested in our Lord.

Then let us pray to this blessed Martha, hostess of our Lord, that after this short life we may be harboured in heaven with our blessed Lord Jesu Christ, to whom be given joy, laud and praising, world without end. Amen.

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The *Golden Legend* or *Lives Of The Saints*
Compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, 1275
Englished by William Caxton, First Edition 1483
From the Temple Classics Edited by F.S. Ellis
Also available in Adobe Acrobat (.pdf) format

56// HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF MARY OF EGYPT

Mary the Egyptian, which was called a sinner, led and lived the most straight life and sharp that might be, forty-seven years in desert. In that time was a good, holy and religious monk named Zosimus, and went through the desert which lieth beyond the flom [river] Jordan and much desired to find some holy fathers. And, when he came far and deep in the desert, he found a creature which was all black over all her body, of the great heat and burning of the sun, which went in that desert, and that was this Mary Egyptiaca aforesaid.

But as soon as she saw Zosimus come, she fled, and Zosimus after. And she tarried and said, □Abbot Zosimus, wherefore followest thou me? Have pity and mercy on me, for I dare not turn my face toward thee, because I am a woman and also naked, but cast thy mantle upon me, by which I may then, without shame, look and speak with thee.□

And when Zosimus heard himself named he was greatly amarvelled, and anon he cast to her his mantle, and humbly prayed her that she would give to him her blessing; and she answered, □It appertaineth to thee fair father to give the benediction, and nothing to me, for thou hast the dignity of priesthood.□

When he heard that she knew his name and his office, he had yet more marvel, and of that she asked so meekly his blessing. After, she said, □Blessed be God the Saviour of our souls.□

Then she lift up her hands unto heaven in making her prayer, and Zosimus saw that in praying to God her body was lift up from the earth well nigh a foot and a half, and began to think that it had been some evil spirit. Then Zosimus conjured her by the virtue of God that she should tell to him

her estate and her condition, and she answered, □Fair father, spare me thereof, for if I should recount mine estate ye should flee away from me like as from a venomous serpent, and thy holy ears should be made foul of my words, and the air should be full and foul of corruption.□

And when she saw that Zosimus would not be satisfied so, then she said: □Fair father, I was born in Egypt, and when I was in the age of twelve years I went into Alexandria, and there I gave my body openly to sin by the space of seventeen years, and abandoned it to lechery and refused no man. After, it happed that men of that country went for to adore and worship the holy cross in Jerusalem, and I prayed to one of the mariners that he would suffer me to pass with the other people the sea, and when he me demanded payment for my passage, I answered: □Fair sirs, I have nothing to pay you with, but I abandon my body to do withal your pleasure for my passage,□ and they took me by that condition.

□And when I was come into Jerusalem unto the entry of the church for to worship the holy cross with the others, I was suddenly and invisibly put aback many times, in such wise that I might not enter into the church. And then I returned and thought in myself that this came to me for the great sins that I had committed in time past, and began to smite my breast and weep tenderly and sigh grievously. And I beheld there the image of our Lady, and I fell down and prayed her all weeping that she would impetre [beseech] and get me pardon of my sins of her sweet Son, and would suffer me to enter into the church for to worship the holy cross, promising to forsake the world, and from then forthon to live chaste.

□When I had thus prayed, and to our blessed Lady thus faithfully promised, I went again to the doors of the church, and without any impediment I entered into the church. And when I had devoutly worshipped and adored the holy cross, a man gave to me three pence, of which I bought three loaves of bread. And after, I heard anon a voice: □If thou wilt pass and go over flom Jordan thou shalt be safe.□

□And then I passed Jordan, and came into this desert, where I never saw man by the space of seventeen years. These three loaves, that I bare

with me, became hard, by the drought of the time, as a stone, of which I took my sustenance, and sufficed to me seventeen years, and after, I ate herbs. My clothes be rotten long sith [since], and these seventeen flrst years I was much tempted by the burning of the sun much asprely [extremely], and many delectations that I have had in meat and drink, the good wines, and doing the desires of my body, all these came in my thought. Then I bewailed them on the earth, and prayed for help to our blessed Lady in whom I had set all my affiance, and I wept much tenderly.

And anon I saw coming about me a great light, by the which I was all recomforted, and lost all the thoughts which oft and grievously tempted me. And sith, I have been delivered of all temptations and am nourished of spiritual meat of the word of our Lord. And thus have I been all my life as I have told to thee, and I pray thee by the incarnation of Jesu Christ that thou pray for me, sinful creature.

Then the old father Zosimus fell down unto ground, and thanked our Lord God that had thus saved his servant. And she said: I pray thee, fair father, that thou wilt come again on the next Shere Thursday [Holy or Maundy Thursday], and bring with thee the body of our Lord for to housel [give the Eucharist to] me, for sith I entered into this desert I was never houseled ne received the holy sacrament, and then I shall come to flom Jordan against thee.

Zozimus went to his abbey, and, after the year passed, on Shere Thursday he came again in to the place like as the holy woman had prayed him. And when he was come to flom Jordan he saw on that other side the holy woman, which made the sign of the cross upon the water and went on it, and came over to him.

When Zosimus saw this miracle, anon he fell down to the feet of the holy woman for to do to her honour and reverence, but she forbade and defended him and said: Thus oughtest thou not to do, for thou art a priest, and bearest the holy sacrament.

The which she received in right great devotion, and said in weeping, □Lord God please it to thee to receive me in peace, for mine eyes have seen my Saviour.□

How well that she had always wept and shed tears so abundantly that it seemed that she had lost her sight. And after, she said to Zosimus: □I pray thee that at the end of this year thou wilt come hither again to me and pray for me, sinful creature,□ and anon after, she made the sign of the cross upon the river and passed over the water with dry feet as she tofore came.

And Zosimus went again to his abbey, but he repented much that he had not demanded the name of the woman. And after the year passed he came again to the desert, like as he had promised to this holy woman, and he found her dead, and the body ordinately laid as it should be buried. Zosimus began then anon tenderly to weep, and durst not approach ne touch the body, but said to himself: □I would gladly bury this holy body if I knew that I should not displease her.□

And when he was in this thought he saw lying by her head a letter, that said in this manner: □Zosimus, bury right here the body of the poor Mary and render to the earth his right, and pray to God for me, at whose commandment the second day after I received him, he called me from this world.□

Then Zosimus was much glad that he knew the name of the saint, but he was greatly dismayed how he might bury the body, for he had nothing for to delve the earth with. And anon he saw the earth dolven, and a sepulchre made by a lion that came thither. And then Zosimus buried her, and the lion departed debonairly.

And Zosimus returned to his abbey and recounted to his brethren the conversation of this holy woman Mary. And Zosimus lived an hundred years in holy life, and gave laud to God of all his gifts, and his goodness that he receiveth sinners to mercy, which with good heart turn to him, and promiseth to them the joy of heaven.

Then let us pray to this holy Mary the Egyptian that we may be here so penitent that we may come thither.

The iconography of this saint is available at the Christian iconography website .

For other saints, see the index to this Golden Legend website .

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE NATIVITY OF OUR BLESSED LADY

Chapter #131 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

THE GENEALOGY OF MARY

The nativity of the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, of the lineage of Judah and of the royal kindred of David took her original beginning. Matthew and Luke describe not the generation of Mary but of Joseph, which was far from the conception of Christ. 1 But the custom of writing was of such ordinance that the generation of women is not showed but of the men. And verily the blessed Virgin descended of the lineage of David, and it is certain that Jesu Christ was born of this only Virgin.

It is certain that he came of the lineage of David and of Nathan, for David had two sons, Nathan and Solomon among all his other sons. And as John Damascene witnesseth that of Nathan descended Levy, and Levy engendered Melchion and Panthar, Panthar engendered Barpanthar, Barpanthar engendered Joachim, Joachim engendered the Virgin Mary, which was of the lineage of Solomon. For Nathan had a wife, of whom he engendered Jacob, and when Nathan was dead Melchion, which was son of Levy and brother of Panthar, wedded the wife of Nathan, mother of Jacob, and on her he engendered Eli, and so Jacob and Eli were brethren of one mother but not of one father. For Jacob was of the line of Solomon and Eli of the line of Nathan, and then Eli of the line of Nathan died without children, and Jacob his brother, which was of the line of Solomon, took a wife and engendered and raised the seed of his brother and engendered Joseph.

Joseph then by nature is son of Jacob by descent of Solomon. That is to wit, Joseph is the son of Jacob, and after the law he is son of

Eli which descended of Nathan. For the son that was born, was by nature his that engendered him, and by the law he was son of him that was dead, like as it is said in the History Scholastic.

And Bede witnesseth in his chronicle that, when all the generations of the Hebrews and other strangers were kept in the most secret chests of the temple, Herod commanded them to be burnt, weening thereby to make himself noble among the others. If the proofs of the lineages were failed, he should make them believe that his lineage appertained to them of Israel. And there were some that were called *Dominics* , for because they were so nigh to Jesu Christ and were of Nazareth, and they had learned the order of generation of our Lord, a part of their grandsires' fathers, and a part by some books that they had in their houses and taught them forth as much as they might.

THE CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN OF ST. ANNE

Joachim spoused Anne, which had a sister named Hismeria, and Hismeria had two daughters, named Elizabeth, and Eliud. Elizabeth was mother to John Baptist, and Eliud engendered Eminen. And of Eminen came St. Servatius, whose body lieth in Maestricht, upon the river of the Meuse, in the bishopric of Liège. And Anne had three husbands, Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome; and of the first she had a daughter named Mary, the Mother of God, the which was given to Joseph in marriage, and she childed our Lord Jesu Christ.

And when Joachim was dead, she took Cleophas, the brother of Joseph, and had by him another daughter named Mary also, and she was married to Alpheus.

And Alpheus her husband had by her four sons, that was James the Less, Joseph the Just, otherwise named Barsabee, Simon, and Jude.

Then the second husband being dead, Anne married the third named Salome, and had by him another daughter which yet also

was called Mary, and she was married to Zebedee. And this Mary had of Zebedee two sons, that is to wit, James the More [Greater], and John the Evangelist. And hereof be made these verses:

Anna solet dici tres concepisse Marias,
Quas genuere viri Joachim, Cleophas, Salomeque.
Has duxere viri Joseph, Alpheus, Zebedeus.
Prima parit Christum, Jacobum secunda minorem,
Et Joseph justum peperit cum Simone Judam,
Tertia majorem Jacobum volucremque Johannem.

[Anna is commonly said to have conceived three Marys, Whom she conceived by the men Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome. These three had for husbands Joseph, Alpheus, and Zebedee. The first gave birth to Christ. The second gave birth to James the Less, And Joseph the Just, and Simon and Jude. The third gave birth to James the Greater and the winged John.]

But it is marvellous for to see how the blessed Virgin Mary might be cousin of Elizabeth as it is tofore said. It is certain that Elizabeth was Zachary's wife, which was of the lineage of Levi, and after the law each ought to wed a wife of his own lineage. And she was of the daughters of Aaron, as St. Luke witnesseth, and Anne was of Bethlehem, as St. Jerome saith, and was of the tribe of Judah. And then they of the line of Levi wedded wives of the line of Judah, so that the line royal and the line of the priests were always joined together by cousinage. So that as Bede saith: This cousinage might be made sith the first time, and thus to be nourished from lineage to lineage, and thus should it be certain that the blessed Virgin Mary descended of the royal line, and had cousinage of the priests. And our blessed Lady was of both lineages, and so our Lord would that these two lineages should entresemble together for great mystery. For it appertaineth that he should be born and offered for us, very God, and very king, and very priest, and should govern his true Christian men fighting in chivalry of this life, and to crown them after their victory, the which thing appeareth of the name of Christ, for "Christ" is as much to say as "anointed." For in the old law there

was none anointed but priests and kings, and we be said "Christian" men of "Christ," and be called the lineage chosen of kings and priests.

But because it is said that the men took wives of their lineage only, that was because the distribution of the sorts should not be confounded. For the tribe of Levy had not his sort with the other, and therefore might they well marry them with the women of that tribe or where they would, like as St. Jerome rehearseth in his prologue.

HOW ANNE AND JOACHIM BECAME MARY'S PARENTS

When he was a child he had a little book of the history of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, but as he remembered a long time after, he translated it by the prayer of some persons, and found that Joachim, which was of Galilee of the city of Nazareth, espoused St. Anne of Bethlehem, and they were both just and without reproach or reprehension in the commandments of our Lord, and divided all their substance in three parts: that one part was for the temple, that other they gave to the poor and pilgrims, and the third was for themselves and their meiny to live with.

Joachim is Expelled from the Temple

And thus [they] lived twenty years in marriage without having any lineage. And then they avowed to our Lord that if he sent to them any lineage they should give it to him, for to serve him. For which thing they went every year into Jerusalem in three principal feasts, so that in the feast of Encenia, that was the dedication of the temple, then Joachim went unto Jerusalem with his kindred, and came to the altar with the others and would have offered his offering. And when the priest saw him, he put him apart by great despite, and reproved him because he came to the altar of God, and said to him that it was convenable that a man cursed in the faith should not offer to our Lord, ne he that was barren should be among them that had fruit, as he that had none to the increase of the people of God.

He Stays with his Shepherds

And then Joachim, all confused for this thing, durst not go home for shame, because they of his lineage and his neighbours which had heard it should not reprove him. And then he went to his herdmen, and was there long

The Annunciation to Joachim

And then the angel appeared to him only, and comforted him with great clearness, and said to him that he should not doubt ne be afraid of his vision, and said:

"I am the angel of our Lord sent to thee for to denounce to thee that thy prayers have availed thee and been heard, and thy alms be mounted tofore our Lord. I have seen thy shame and heard the reproach. That thou art barren is to thee no reproach by right, and God is venger of sin and not of nature. And when he closeth the belly or womb, he worketh so that he openeth it after, more marvellously. And the fruit that shall be born shall not be seen to come forth by lechery, but that it be known that it is of the gift of God.

"The first mother of your people was Sara, and she was barren unto the ninetieth year, and had only Isaac, to whom the benediction of all people was promised. And was not Rachel long barren? And yet had she not after Joseph, that held all the seigniory of Egypt? Which was more strong than Samson, and more holy than Samuel? And yet were their mothers barren. Thus mayst thou believe by reason and by ensample that the childings long abiden be wont to be more marvellous.

"And therefore Anne thy wife shall have a daughter, and thou shalt call her Mary, and she, as ye have avowed, shall be from her infancy sacred unto our Lord, and shall be full of the Holy Ghost sith the time that she shall depart from the womb of her mother, and she shall dwell in the temple of our Lord, and not without, among the

other people, because that none evil thing shall be had in suspicion of her, and right as she shall be born of a barren mother, so shall be born of her marvellously the son of a right high Lord. Of whom the name shall be Jesus, and by him shall health be given to all the people.

"And I give to thee the sign, that when thou shalt come to the golden gate at Jerusalem, thou shalt meet there Anne thy wife, which is much amoved of thy long tarrying, and shall have joy of thy coming."

The Annunciation to Anne

And then the angel, when he had said this, he departed from him. And as when Anne wept bitterly and wist not whither her husband was gone, the same angel appeared to her, and said all that he had said to her husband, and gave to her for a sign that she should go into Jerusalem, to the golden gate, and there she should meet with her husband which was returned. And thus by the commandment of the angel they met, and were firm of the lineage promised, and glad for to see each other, and honoured our Lord and returned home, abiding joyously the promise divine.

MARY'S BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

And Anne conceived and brought forth a daughter, and named her Mary.

And then when she had accomplished the time of three years, and had left sucking, they brought her to the temple with offerings. And there was about the temple, after the fifteen psalms of degrees, 2 fifteen steps or grees to ascend up to the temple, because the temple was high set. And no body might go to the altar of sacrifices that was without, but by the degrees. And then our Lady was set on the lowest step, and mounted up without any help as she had been of perfect age, and when they had performed their offering, they left their daughter in the temple with the other virgins, and they returned into their place.

And the Virgin Mary profited every day in all holiness, and was visited daily of angels, and had every day divine visions.

Jerome saith in an epistle to Chromatius and to Heliodorus that the blessed Virgin Mary had ordained this custom to herself that, from the morning unto the hour of tierce, she was in orison and prayer, and from tierce unto nones she entended to her work, and from nones she ceased not to pray, till that the angel came and gave to her meat.

THE MIRACLE OF JOSEPH'S ROD

And in the fourteenth year of her age, the bishop commanded in common that the virgins that were instituted in the temple, and had accomplished the time of age, should return to their houses and should after the law be married. All the others obeyed his commandment, but Mary answered that she might not do so because her father and mother had given her all to the service of our Lord. And then the bishop was much angry because he durst not make her to break her avow against the scripture, that saith: Avow ye vows and yield them to God. 3 And he durst not break the custom of the people.

And then came a feast of the Jews, and he called all the ancient Jews to council, and showed to them this thing. And this was all their sentence: That in a thing so doubtable, that counsel shall be asked of our Lord. And then went they all to prayer, and the bishop, that was gone to ask counsel of our Lord.

Anon came a voice out of the oracle and said that, all they that were of the house of David that were convenable to be married and had no wife, that each of them should bring a rod to the altar, and his rod that flourished, and, after the saying of Isaiah, 4 the Holy Ghost sit in the form of a dove on it, he should be the man that should be desponsate and married to the Virgin Mary.

And Joseph, of the house of David, was there among the others, and him seemed to be a thing unconvenable, a man of so old age as he was to have so tender a maid, and whereas others brought forth their rods he hid his. And when nothing appeared according to the voice of God, the bishop ordained for to ask counsel again of our Lord. And he answered that, he only that should espouse the virgin had not brought forth his rod.

And then Joseph by the commandment of the bishop brought forth his rod, and anon it flowered, and a dove descended from heaven thereupon, so that it was clearly the advice of every man that he should have the virgin. And then he espoused the Virgin Mary, and returned into his city of Bethlehem for to ordain his meiny and his house, and for to fetch such things as were necessary. And the Virgin Mary returned unto the house of her father with seven virgins, her fellows of her age, which had seen the demonstrance of the miracle.

And in those days the angel of our Lord appeared to the Virgin praying, and showed to her how the Son of God should be born of her.

THE DATE OF MARY'S NATIVITY

And the day of the nativity was not known in long time of good Christian men, and as master John Beleth saith that, it happed that a man of good contemplation every year in the sixth ides of September was in prayer, and he heard a company of angels that made great solemnity. And then he required devoutly that he might have knowledge wherefore every year only on that day he heard such solemnity and not on other days. And then he had a divine answer that, on that day the blessed Virgin Mary was born into this world, and that he should do it to be known to the men of holy church, so that they should be concordable to the heavenly court in hallowing this solemnity. And when he had told this to the sovereign bishop the pope, and to the others, and had been in fastings, in prayers, and sought in scriptures and witnesses of old writings, they

established this day of the nativity of the glorious Virgin to be hallowed generally of all Christian men.

THE OCTAVE OF MARY'S NATIVITY

But the utas sometime was not hallowed ne kept. But Innocent the fourth, of the nation of Genoa, ordained and instituted the said utas to be observed. And the cause was this:

After the death of Pope Gregory, anon the citizens of Rome enclosed all the cardinals in the conclave because they should purvey lightly for the church, but they [the cardinals] might not accord in many days, but suffered of the Romans much sorrow. Then avowed they to the Queen of Heaven that if they might go quiet from thence they should establish to hallow the octaves of the nativity which they had long negligently left. And they then by one accord chose Celestin, and were delivered, and accomplished then their avow by Innocent, for Celestin lived but a little time, and therefore it might not be accomplished by him.

THE THREE NATIVITY FEASTS

And it is to wit that the church halloweth three nativities, the nativity of our Lord, the nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the nativity of St. John Baptist. And these three signify three nativities spiritual, for we be born again with St. John Baptist in the water of baptism, and with Mary in penance, and with our Lord Jesu Christ in glory. And it behoveth that nativity of baptism go tofore contrition, and that of joy also. For the two by reason have vigils, 5 but because that penance is accounted for vigil, therefore that of our Lady behoveth no vigil, but they have all utas, for all haste them unto the eighth resurrection.

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN

Our Lady's Knight

There was a knight much noble and devout unto our Lady which went to a tourneying, and he found a monastery in his way which was of the Virgin Mary, and entered into it for to hear mass, and there were masses one after another, and for the honour of our Lady he would leave none but that he heard them all. And when he issued out of the monastery he hasted him appertly. And they that returned from the tourney met him, and said to him that he had ridden right nobly. And they that hated him affirmed the same, and all they together cried that he had right nobly tourneyed, and some went to him and said that he had taken them. Then he, that was wise, avised him that the courteous Virgin and Queen had so courteously honoured him, and recounted all that was happened, and then returned he to the monastery, and ever after abode in the service of our Lord, the son of the blessed Virgin.

The Devout Bishop

There was a bishop which had the blessed Virgin Mary in sovereign honour and devotion, and there he saw the virgin of all virgins, which came to meet him, and began to lead him by sovereign honour to the church that he went to, and two maidens of the company went tofore singing and saying these verses:

> Cantemus domino, sociæ, cantemus honorem,
> Dulcis amor Christi resonet ore pio.

That is to say, "Sing we fellows to our Lord, sing we honour. Sing we with a voice debonair that sweet love which ought to please him." And that other company of virgins sang and rehearsed again the same. Then the two first singers began to sing this that followeth:

> Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus,
> Sic homo cum tumult, primus ad ima ruit.

That is to say, "The first pride fell low from great light. So the first man, for his eating of the apple, fell low also." And so brought they to the church with procession the said bishop, and the two tofore began alway, and the others followed.

The Widow Who Took Jesus Hostage

There was a widow whose husband was dead, and had a son whom she loved tenderly, and that son was taken with enemies and put in prison fast bound. And when she heard thereof, she wept without comfort, and prayed unto our blessed Lady with right devout prayers that she would deliver her son, and at the last she saw that her prayers availed her not, and entered then into the church whereas the image of our Lady was carved, and stood tofore the image and areasoned it in this manner, saying: "O blessed Virgin, I have prayed oft thee for my son that thou shouldst deliver him, and thou hast not helped me, his wretched mother; and I pray also thy son to help me and yet I feel no fruit. And therefore like as my son is taken from me so shall I take away thine, and set him in prison in hostage for mine."

And in this saying she approached near and took away from the image the child that she held in her lap, and wrapped it in clean clothes and shut it in her chest, and locked it fast right diligently, and was right joyful that she had so good hostage for her son, and kept it much diligently.

And the night following, the blessed Virgin Mary came to the son of the same widow, and opened to him the door of the prison, and commanded him to go thence, and said to him: "Son, say to thy mother that she yield to me again my son sith I have delivered her son."

And he issued and came to his mother, and told to her how our blessed Lady had delivered him, and she was joyful, and took the child and came to the church and delivered him to our Lady, saying: "Lady I thank you, for ye have delivered to me my son, and here I deliver to you yours again, for I confess that I have mine."

The Virgin Mary Saves a Thief

There was a thief that often stole, but he had always great devotion to the Virgin Mary, and saluted her oft. It was so that on a time he was taken and judged to be hanged. And when he was hanged the blessed Virgin sustained and hanged him up with her hands three days that he died not ne had no hurt, and they that hanged him passed by adventure thereby, and found him living and of glad cheer. And then they supposed that the cord had not been well strained, and would have slain him with a sword, and have cut his throat, but our blessed Lady set on her hand tofore the strokes so that they might not slay him ne grieve him.

And then knew they, by that he told to them, that the blessed Mother of God helped him, and then they marvelled, and took him off and let him go, in the honour of the Virgin Mary, and then he went and entered into a monastery, and was in the service of the Mother of God as long as he lived.

A Marriage is Prevented

There was a clerk that loved much the blessed Nativity Virgin, and said his hours every day ententively. And when his father and mother were dead, they had none other heir so that he had all the heritage, and then he was constrained of his friends that he should take a wife and govern his own heritage.

And on a day it happed that they entended to hold the feast of his marriage, and as he was going to the wedding he came to a church, and he remembered of the service of our blessed Lady, and entered in and began to say his hours. And the blessed Virgin Mary appeared to him and spake to him a little cruelly: O fool and unhappy, why hast thou left me that am thy spouse and thy friend, and lovest another woman tofore me?

Then he, being moved, returned to his fellows and feigned all, and left to accomplish the sacrament of marriage. And when midnight came he left all and fled out of the house, and entered into a monastery and there served the Mother of God.

The Priest Who Said Mary's Mass Only

There was a priest of a parish, which was of honest and good life, and could say no mass but mass of our Lady, the which he sang devoutly in the honour of her, wherefore he was accused tofore the bishop, and was anon called tofore him. And the priest confessed that he could say none other mass, wherefore the bishop reproved him sore as unconning and an idiot, and suspended him of his mass, that he should no more sing none from then forthon.

And then our blessed Lady appeared to the bishop and blamed him much because he had so entreated her chaplain, and said to him that he should die within thirty days if he re-established him not again to his office accustomed. Then the bishop was afeard, and sent for the priest and prayed him of forgiveness, and bade him that he should not sing but of our Lady.

The Vain and Riotous Student

There was a clerk which was vain and riotous, but always he loved much our Lady, the Mother of God, and said every day his hours. And he saw on a night a vision that, he was in judgment tofore our Lord, and our Lord said to them that were there: What judgment shall we do of this clerk? devise ye it for I have long suffered him, and see no sign yet of amendment. Then our Lord gave upon him sentence of damnation, and all they approved it.

Then arose the blessed Virgin and said to her son: I pray thee, debonair son, of thy mercy for this man, so that thou assuage upon him the sentence of damnation, and that he may live yet, by the grace of me, which is condemned to death by his merits.

And our Lord said to her: I deliver him at thy request for to know if I shall see his correction.

Then our Lady turned her toward him and said: Go, and sin no more

lest it happen worse to thee. Then he awoke, and changed his life, and entered into religion , and finished his life in good works.

The Vicar Who Sold Himself to the Devil

In the year of our Lord five hundred and thirty-seven, there was a man named Theophilus which was vicar of a bishop, as Fulbert saith, that was bishop of Chartres. And this Theophilus dispended all wisely the goods of the church under the bishop; and when the bishop was dead, all the people said that this vicar should be bishop. But he said the office of vicar sufficed him, and had liefer that than to be made bishop.

So there was there another bishop made, and Theophilus was against his will put out of his office. Then he fell in despair, in such wise that he counselled with a Jew how he should have his office again. Which Jew was a magician, and called the devil, and he came anon. Then Theophilus, by commandment of the devil, renied God and his Mother, and renounced his Christian profession, and wrote an obligation with his blood and sealed it with his ring, and delivered it to the devil, and thus he was brought into his office again.

And on the morn Theophilus was received into the grace of the bishop by the procuration of the devil, and was re-established in the dignity of his office. And afterwards, when he advised himself, he repented and sorrowed sore of this that he had done, and ran with great devotion unto the Virgin Mary, with all devotion of his thought, praying her to be his aid and help.

And then on a time our blessed Lady appeared to him in vision, and rebuked him of his felony, and commanded him to forsake the devil, and made him to confess Jesu Christ to be son of God, and to knowledge himself to be in purpose to be a Christian man. And thus he recovered the grace of her and of her son. And in sign of pardon that she had gotten him, she delivered to him again his obligation that he had given to the devil, and laid it upon his breast so that he

should never doubt to be servant of the devil, but he enjoyed that he was so delivered by our blessed Lady.

And when Theophilus had heard all this he was much joyful, and told it to the bishop and tofore all the people that was befallen him, and all marvelled greatly, and gave laud and praising unto the glorious Virgin, our Lady, St. Mary. And three days after he rested in peace.

There be many other miracles which our blessed Lady hath showed for them that call upon her, which were over long to write here, but as touching her nativity this sufficeth. 6

ST. JEROME'S RESPONSORY

Then let us continually give laud and praising to her as much as we may, and let us say with St. Jerome this response: *Sancta et immaculate [sic] virginitas* ("Holy and Immaculate Virginity"). 7 And how this holy response was made, I purpose, under correction, to write here.

It is so that I was at Cologne, and heard rehearsed there by a noble doctor that, the holy and devout St. Jerome had a custom to visit the churches at Rome. And so he came into a church where an image of our blessed Lady stood in a chapel by the door as he entered, and passed forthby without any salutation to our Lady, and went forth to every altar and made his prayers to all the saints in the church, each after other, and returned again by the same image without any saluting to her.

Then our blessed Lady called him and spake to him by the said image, and demanded of him the cause why he made no salutation to her, seeing that he had done honour and worship to all the other saints of whom the images were in that church. And then St. Jerome kneeled down and said thus: *Sancta et immaculate virginitas, quibus te laudibus referam nescio. Quia quem celi capere non poterant, tuo gremio contulisti.* Which is to say: "Holy and

undefiled virginity, I wot never what laud and praisings I shall give to thee. For him that all the heavens might not take ne contain, thou hast borne in thy womb."

So sith this holy man thought himself insufficient to give to her laud, then what shall we sinful wretches do but put us wholly in her mercy, acknowledging us insufficient to give to her due laud and praising? But let us meekly beseech her to accept our good intent and will, and that by her merits we may attain after this life to come to her in everlasting life in heaven. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. MATTHEW

Chapter 140 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

ST. MATTHEW CONFRONTS THE ENCHANTERS OF ETHIOPIA

Matthew the apostle, preaching in Ethiopia, in the city that is said Nadaber, found there two enchanters named Zaroes and Arphaxat, which enchanted the men by their art, so that whom that they would, should seem that they were prived of the health and office of their [bodily] members. Which were so elevated in pride that they made them to be honoured as gods.

The Arrival of St. Matthew

Then Matthew the apostle entered into that city and was lodged with the eunuch of Candace, the queen, whom Philip baptized. Then he discovered the faits and deeds of the enchanters in this manner, that all that they did to men into hurt, that turned Matthew into health.

Then this eunuch demanded of St. Matthew how he spake and understood so many tongues. And then Matthew told him how the Holy Ghost descended and had given to the apostles all science of tongues. That like as they had emprised by their pride to make the tower unto heaven which ceased by confusion of tongues that were changed, all in like wise the apostles made a tower of sciences of tongues, and nothing of stones but of virtues, by the which all that believe shall mount up into heaven.

He Routs the Enchanters' Dragons

Then came before them a man that said that the enchanters were come with two dragons, which cast fire and sulphur by their mouths and nostrils, and slew all the men. Then the apostle garnished him

with the sign of the cross and went out surely to them, and anon as these dragons saw him, anon they came and slept at his feet. Then said Matthew to the enchanters: Where is your craft? Awake ye them if ye may; and if I would pray our Lord, that which ye would have committed in me, I should soon execute on you. And when the people were assembled, he commanded the dragons that they should depart without hurting of any, and they went anon.

ST. MATTHEW'S SERMON

And the apostle there made a great sermon of the glory of paradise terrestrial, saying that it appeared above all the mountains and was nigh unto heaven, and that there were neither thorns ne rocks, and that the lilies and roses flourished always and waxed never old; but the people were there always young, and the sound of angels sounded there always, and the birds came anon as they were called. And said that out of this paradise was a man cast, but he was called to the paradise of heaven by the nativity of our Lord.

HE RAISES THE KING OF ETHIOPIA'S SON AND CONVERTS THE NATION

And as he said these words to the people, anon a great noise arose, and a great weeping was made for the son of the king which was dead, and when these enchanters might not raise him, they made the king believe that he was ravished into the company of the gods, and that he should make to him a temple and an image. And then the foresaid eunuch, keeper of the queen Candace, made the enchanters to be kept, and sent for the apostle. And when the apostle was come he made his prayer and raised the king's son anon.

And then the king, which was named Egippus, sent for all the men in his provinces saying to them: Come and see ye God in the likeness of a man. And then the people came with crowns of gold and divers manner of sacrifices, and would have sacrificed to him, and then St. Matthew beheld them and said: What do ye men? I am not God, but I am servant of our Lord. And by the commandment of

him they made a great church of the gold and silver that they had brought, which in thirty days space was edified and achieved. In which church the apostle sat three and thirty years, and converted all Ethiopia to the faith of Christ. And then the king Egippus, with his wife and his daughter, and all the people, were baptized. And then the apostle hallowed to God Ephigenia the king's daughter, and made her mistress and governess of more than two hundred virgins.

KING HIRTACUS HAS ST. MATTHEW SLAIN

And after this, Hirtacus succeeded to the king, and coveted the said virgin Ephigenia, and promised to the apostle half his realm if he would make her consent to be his wife; and the apostle said to him that after the custom of his predecessor he should come on the Sunday to the church, and Ephigenia being present with the other virgins, he should hear what he should say of the goodness of lawful marriage. And then he [Hirtacus] departed with great joy, and supposed that he would have stirred Ephigenia to his marriage.

And when the virgins and all the people were assembled, he [Matthew] spake long of good and lawful matrimony, and was much allowed of the king, which supposed that he had said for to have joined the virgin to him for to consent the marriage. Then when silence was made, he made rehearsal of his sermon saying that marriage is good if it be truly held by good alliance. "But ye that be here, know ye well that if any servant would take the wife of a king wedded he should not only run to the offence of the king, but above that he should deserve death, and not for to wed her, but for that he in so taking the spouse of his lord should corrupt the marriage joined. And thou the king that knew that Ephigenia is made the spouse of the king perdurable, and is sacred with the holy veil, how mayst thou take the wife of a more puissant king and couple her to thee by marriage?"

And when the king heard this he began to enrage and departed all wood and frantic. And the apostle without dread confirmed all the others to patience. And Ephigenia, lying tofore him for dread, he

blessed, and all the other virgins also.

And after the solemnities of the mass, the king sent a tormentor which slew Matthew with a sword behind him, which was standing by the altar holding up his hands into heaven, and so was consecrate a martyr.

And then all the people would have gone into the palace for to have slain the king, and with great pain were they holden of the priests and deacons, and hallowed with great joy the martyrdom of the apostle. And the king then sent to Ephigenia matrons and enchantresses, but for all them, when he saw that he might not turn her courage ne draw her to him in no manner, he environed and beset the house of her with a right great fire, for to burn her and all the other virgins.

And then the holy apostle appeared at the fire and put out the fire about the house, and it took the palace of the king, so that it burnt and consumed all that was therein, that none escaped save the king and his son only. And the son was ravished of the devil and began to cry and confess his father's sins, and went to the sepulchre of the apostle. And the father was made a foul mesel, and when he saw that he might not be cured, he slew himself with his own hand with a sword.

A CHRISTIAN REGIME IS ESTABLISHED

And the people then established for to be king, the brother of Ephigenia whom the apostle had baptized, and reigned seventy years, and established his son for to be king after him, and increased much the honour of Christian men, and replenished all Ethiopia with noble churches of our Lord.

And then Zaroes and Arphaxat fled into Persia from the day that the apostle raised the son of the king, but St. Simon and St. Jude vanquished them there.

QUALITIES OF ST. MATTHEW

Obedience

And know ye that four things be principally considered in the blessed St. Matthew. The first is the hastiness of obedience, for as soon as our Lord called him, he left all and doubted nothing of the Lord, and left the reckonings of his receipts imperfect, and joined him perfectly to our Lord Jesu Christ. And for this hasty obedience some took occasion of error in themselves, like as St. Jerome recordeth in the original upon the foresaid place, saying in that place:

> Porphyry and Julian Augustus reproveth in the same place the folly of the story lying, saying that as the story saith, like as they followed suddenly the Saviour, that they would as hastily follow another man that had called them. For there were showed so many virtues and so many tokens tofore, that the apostles of our Lord believed verily without doubt. And certainly this replenisher of the privy majesty shone in his blessed face at the first to them that saw him, and he might by that sight and will draw them to him. If such virtue, as men say, is in a precious stone which is named magnet, which draweth to him festues and straws, how much more the creator of all things may draw to him whom he will.

This said Jerome.

Generosity

The second is his largess or his liberality. For anon he made to him a great feast in his house [Luke 5:29], the which was not great by apparel of meats, but it was much great only by reason of great desire, for he received with right great will and right great desire.

And also it was great by reason of service, for this feast was demonstrance of great mystery, which mystery the Gloss expoundeth upon St. Luke saying: "He that receiveth our Lord Jesu

Christ in his house was fed withinforth plenteously of greater things than the other, that is to wit of delectations, of good manners, and of good delights."

And after he was great by reason of his enseignments, for he showed great teachings and doctrines. And this was of great mercy by desire, and not by sacrifice, as he said: Misericordiam volo et non sacrificium, etcetera [I will have mercy and not sacrifice, Matthew 9:13]. And also "they that be whole need no leech" [Matthew 9:12], and so it was great, for there was Jesu Christ and his disciples."

Humility

The third is humility which appeared to him in two things, first he showed him a publican. The other evangelists, as saith the gloss, because of shame, and for the honour of the evangelist, they set not their common name (Mark 2:14, Luke 5:27) but as it is written: "The just is first accuser of himself." And Matthew named himself publican, first because that he showed that none converted ought not mistrust of health, like as he was made of a publican, an apostle and evangelist. Secondly, because he was patient in his injuries. For when the pharisees murmured that Jesu Christ was descended to a man, sinner, Matthew might have answered: Ye be more wicked and more sinful that ween ye be just and refuse the leech, for I may no more be said sinner that am gone to the leech of health and hide not my sin ne wound.

The Pre-eminence of His Gospel

The fourth is the great solemnity of him in the church of his gospels. His gospels be ofter and more used in the church than the other evangelists, like as the psalms of David and the epistles of Paul be rehearsed before other scriptures, which be more ofter recited in the church.

And this is the reason that James witnesseth that there be three manner of sins, that is to wit: the sin of pride, of lechery, and of

avarice. In the sin of pride sinned Saul, for Saul by the sin of pride persecuted the church over proudly. David sinned in the sin of lechery, for he made adultery, and for the adultery he slew Uriah, his true knight. And Matthew sinned in the sin of avarice, for for covetousness he meddled him of villainous gain. For he was in a port of the sea where he received the toll and custom of ships and merchandise.

And howbeit that they were sinners, yet always our Lord took their penance in gree and was pleased therewith, so that he pardoned them not only their sins, but multiplied in them his gifts of grace. For him that was a right cruel persecutor, he made a right true preacher, and him that had been adulterer and homicide, he made a prophet, and him that coveted so villainous gain, he made apostle and evangelist.

And therefore these foresaid three be oft recited that no man that would be converted should have despair of pardon when such that were in so great sin, he beholdeth to have been in so great grace.

ST. AMBROSE ON THE CONVERSION OF ST. MATTHEW

And it is to be considered that, after St. Ambrose, some things ought to be noted in the conversion of St. Matthew, that is to wit somewhat of the party of the leech, and some of the party of the sick to be healed.

The Part of the Physician

In the leech were three things, that is to wit, wisdom by which he knew the root of the malady, and the bounty by which he ministered the medicine, and the power by which he healed him so soon. Of these three saith St. Ambrose in the person of the said Matthew, "This master may take away the sorrow from my heart, and the dread of the soul which knoweth the things hid and privy." And this is as touching to the first. And as to the second, "I have found a leech that dwelleth in heaven and sheddeth in earth his medicine."

And as to the third he said, "He may well heal my wounds that knoweth not his own."

The Part of the Sick Man

In this blessed sick man that was healed, that is to say St. Matthew, three things be to be considered, after St. Ambrose. He took away first his malady, he was always agreeable to his leech, and he was always clean and whole after he had received his health. Then he said, "Matthew, follow now thy leech merrily and gladly," and he joying said, "Now I am no publican, ne am not Levi, I have put away Levi sith I have received Christ and follow him," and this is to the first. And as to the second, "I hate my lineage and flee my life and follow only the Lord." And as to the third he said, "Who shall depart me from the charity of our Lord God which is in me? Tribulation or anguish or hunger?" As who saith: "Nothing."

The Manner of Healing

And the manner of healing, as Ambrose saith, was treble. First, Jesu Christ bound him with bonds; secondly, he impressed in him charity; and thirdly, he cleansed him from all rottenness. And Ambrose saith in the person of Matthew: "I am bounden with the nails of faith, and good life of charity." Secondly, "I shall keep thy commandment as imprinted in me by charity." And as to the third: "Good Lord, come soon and open my wounds lest any noieful humour corrupt ne rot the hid passions, and wash them that be foul and cleanse them."

ST. BARNABAS FINDS THE GOSPEL WRITTEN IN ST. MATTHEW'S HAND

His gospel that he had written with his own hand, was found with the bones of St. Barnabas, the which gospel Barnabas bare with him, and laid them upon them that were sick, and anon they were healed by the merits of the martyr, and were founden in the year of our Lord five hundred.

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OF ST. MATTHIAS THE APOSTLE

Chapter 45 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

JUDAS THE TRAITOR

St. Matthias the apostle was in the place of Judas the traitor, and therefore first we shall rehearse here the birth and beginning of Judas.

His Parents Cast Him Out to Sea in a Basket

It is read in a history, though it be named apocrypha, that there was a man in Jerusalem named Reuben, and by another named Simeon, of the kindred of David, or, after St. Jerome, of the tribe of Issachar, which had a wife named Ciborea, and on the night that Judas was conceived his mother had a marvellous dream whereof she was so sore afeard. For her seemed that she had conceived a child that should destroy their people, and because of the loss of all their people her husband blamed her much, and said to her: Thou sayest a thing over evil, or the devils will deceive thee.

She said: Certainly if so be that I shall have a son, I trow it shall be so, as I have had a revelation and none illusion.

When the child was born the father and mother were in great doubt, and thought what was best to do, for they durst not slay the child for the horror that they should have therein, neither they wist not how they might nourish one that should destroy their lineage. Then they put him to a little fiscelle or basket well pitched, and set it in the sea, and abandoned him to drive whither it would. And anon the floods and waves of the sea brought and made him arrive in an island named Scarioth, and of this name was he called Judas Scariotes.

The Queen of Scarioth Claims Him as Her Own

Now it happed that the queen of this country went for to play on the rivage of the sea, and beheld this little nacelle and the child therein, which was fair, and then she sighed and said: O Lord God, how should I be eased if I had such a child, then at the least should not my realm be without heir.

Then commanded she that the child should be taken up, and be nourished, and she fained herself to be great with child and after published that she had borne a fair son. When her husband heard say hereof he had great joy, and all the people of the country made great feast. The king and queen did do nourish and keep this child like the son of a king.

He Kills His Foster-Brother and Flees to Jerusalem

Anon after, it happed that the queen conceived a son, and when it was born and grown Judas beat oft that child, for he weened that he had been his brotber, and oft he was chastised therefore, but alway he made him to weep so long that the queen which knew well that Judas was not her son, and at the last she said the truth, and told how that Judas was found in the sea. And ere this yet was known Judas slew the child that he had supposed to be his brother, and was son to the king, and in eschewing the sentence of death he fled anon and came into Jerusalem, and entered into the court of Pilate which then was provost. And he so pleased him that he was great with him, and had in great cherety and nothing was done without him.

He Kills His Father and Marries His Mother

Now it happed on a day that Pilate went for to disport him by a garden belonging to the father of Judas, and was so desirous to eat of the fruit of the apples that he might not forbear them. And the father of Judas knew not Judas his son, for he supposed that he had been drowned in the sea long tofore, ne the son knew not the father. When Pilate had told to Judas of his desire, he sprang into the garden of his father and gathered of the fruit for to bear to his master, but the father of Judas defended him, and there began

between them much strife and debate, first by words and after with fighting, so much that Judas smote his father with a stone on the head that he slew him, and after brought the apples unto Pilate, and told to him how that he had slain him that owned the garden. Then sent Pilate to seize all the good that the father of Judas had, and after gave his wife to Judas in marriage, and thus Judas wedded his own mother.

He Prays Jesus for Forgiveness

Now it happed on a day that the lady wept and sighed much strongly and said: Alas! how unhappy that I am! I have lost my son and my husband. My son was laid on the sea, and I suppose that he be drowned, and my husband is dead suddenly, and yet it is more grievous to me that Pilate hath remarried me against my will. Then demanded Judas of this child, and she told him how he was set in the sea, and Judas told to her how he had been found in the sea, in such wise that she wist that she was his mother, and that he had slain his father and wedded his mother. Wherefore then he went to Jesu Christ, which did so many miracles, and prayed him of mercy and forgiveness of his sins. Thus far it is read in the history which is not authentic.

He Betrays His Lord

Our Lord made Judas one of his apostles and retained him in his company, and was so privy with him that he was made his procurator, and bare the purse for all the other, and stole of that which was given to Christ. Then it happed that he was sorry and angry for the ointment that Mary Magdalene poured on the head and feet of our Lord Jesu Christ and said that it was worth three hundred pence, and said that so much he had lost, and therefore sold he Jesu Christ for thirty pence of that money usual, of which every penny was worth ten pence, and so he recovered three hundred pence. Or after that some say that he ought to have of all the gifts that was given to Jesu Christ the tenth penny, and so he recovered thirty pence of that he sold him, and nevertheless at the last he brought them again to the temple, and after hung himself in

despair, and his body opened and cleft asunder and his bowels fell out.

And so it appertained well that it should so be, for the mouth which God had kissed ought not to be defouled in touching, and also he ought not to die on the earth because all earthly creatures ought to hate him, but in the air where devils and wicked spirits be, because he had deserved to be in their company.

THE ELECTION OF ST. MATTHIAS

Then when the time came between the Ascension and Whitsuntide, St. Peter beheld that the number of the apostles was minished, he arose up in the middle of the disciples and said: Fair brethren, ye know how our Lord Jesu Christ had chosen twelve men for to bear witness of his resurrection, and Judas was gone the evil way, it behoveth to accomplish the number of twelve of such as have been with him.

And sith they chose two of them that were there, that one was named Joseph surnamed Justus, and that other was Matthias. And then they made their orisons and said: Lord God, which knoweth the hearts of all the persons, show to us whom we shall choose of these twain here.

And after, they cast lots, and the lot fell on Matthias, which forthwith was enumbered with the other eleven, and then were they twelve. But the holy St. Denis saith that the lot was a ray and a shining which came and shone upon him.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. MATTHIAS

And anon he began to preach, and had his predication about Jerusalem, and was much virtuous, and did many miracles as is written of him, of whom the legend followeth, which legend is found at Treves in Almaine.

St. Matthias which was set in the place of Judas was born in

Bethlehem of the tribe of Judah. He was set to school and in a little time he learned all the science of the law and of the prophets; he was afeard of fleshly lusts, and he passed his youth in good manners. His courage was inclined to all virtues, for he was humble and debonair, and alway ready to do mercy, and was not proud in prosperity, ne frail in adversity. He did that which he preached, he made the blind to see and healed the sick men, he raised the dead men, and did great miracles in the name of Jesu Christ.

And when he was accused hereof tofore the bishop of Jerusalem, it was demanded him that he should answer thereto and he said: It behoveth not much to answer hereto, because for to be a Christian man it is nothing criminal but it is a glorious life.

Then said the bishop that he would spare him and give him respite to repent him, and St. Matthias answered: God forbid that I should repent of the truth that I have truly found, and become an apostate.

He was firm in the love of God, and clean of his body, and wise in speaking of all the questions of scripture, and when he preached the word of God many believed in Jesu Christ by his predication.

The Jews took him and brought him to justice and had gotten two false witnesses against him and for to accuse him, the which cast on him first stones, and the other after, and so was stoned, and he prayed that the stones might be buried that the false witnesses had cast upon him, for to bear witness against them that stoned him.

And finally he was slain with an axe after the manner of the Romans. And he held up his hands and commended his spirit to God. And after it is said that his body was brought to Rome, and from Rome it was translated to Treves. Another legend saith that his body lieth at Rome, and buried under a stone of porphyry in the church of St. Mary the Major.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. MAURICE

Chapter 141 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

THEBES RESISTS THE PAGAN EMPERORS

Moris or Maurice was duke of the right holy legion of Thebans. They were named Thebans, of Thebes their city. And that region is in the parts of the East beyond the parts of Arabia, and it is full of richesses, plenteous of fruit, delectable of trees. The indwellers of that region be of great bodies and noble in arms, strong in battle, subtle in engine, and right abundant in wisdom. And this city had a hundred gates, of which is said this verse: *Ecce vetus Thebea centum jacet obruta portis;* that is to say: "The town of Thebes with a hundred gates right strong is now overthrown." To them James the brother of our Lord preached the gospel of our Lord.

Diocletian and Maximian Demand that the Gods be Worshipped

In that time Diocletian and Maximian, emperors, would have utterly destroyed the faith of our Lord Jesu Christ, and sent such epistles unto all the provinces where Christian men dwelt:

If anything behoved to be determined or to be known, and all the world were assembled on that one party, and Rome alone were of that [other] party, all the world should be as vanquished and overcome, and Rome only should abide in the highness of science. And wherefore then, ye that be not but a little people, and contrary to the commandment of her, refuse ye so follily the establishments of the city of Rome? Wherefore receive ye the faith of the gods

immortal, or else sentence irrevocable of damnation shall be pronounced against you.

The Theban Legion is Raised

And then the Christian people received these letters, and sent again their messengers all void without answer. And then Diocletian and Maximian, moved by great ire and wrath, sent unto all the provinces and commanded that they should come to Rome ready in arms of battle for to discomfit all the rebels of the empire of Rome. Then the letters of the emperors were sent and directed to the Thebans, which people after the commandment of God, they rendered to God that was due to him, and to the Cæsar that was longing to him.

Then assembled this chosen legion of knights, that is to wit six thousand six hundred and sixty-six knights, and were sent to the emperor for to help in their just and lawful battles, and not to bear arms against Christian men, but rather to defend them. And the noble man, Maurice, was duke of this holy legion; and they that governed under him, which bare the banners, were named St. Candidus, St. Innocent, St. Exsuperius, St. Victor, and St. Constantine, all these were captains.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE THEBAN LEGION

Diocletian then sent against the Frenchmen, Maximian, which he had made fellow with him in the empire, and delivered to him great strength without number, and adjoined to him the legion of Thebans. And they had been exhorted of Marcel, the pope, that they should rather suffer death than to corrupt the faith of Jesu Christ. And when this great host without number had passed the mountains and came beneath, the emperor commanded that all they that were with him should sacrifice to the idols, and on them that would not, they should swear to run upon them as rebels, to be destroyed, and specially on Christian men.

They Refuse to Sacrifice to Idols

And when the holy knights heard that, they departed from the host eight miles farther, and took there a certain place delectable, by the river of Rhone, which was named Aganum. And when Maximian knew it, he sent knights to them, and commanded that they should come hastily unto the sacrifices of the gods with the other; and they answered that they might not so do because they held the faith of Jesu Christ. And then the emperor, embraised with ire, said: The injury celestial is meddled with my despite, and the religion Roman is despised with me. Now shall each contumacious knight feel not only for me, but to avenge my gods.

The Emperor Orders the Legion Decimated; The Reply of St. Maurice

Then Cæsar commended his knights that they should go and constrain them to do sacrifice to the gods, or else they should slay always the tenth man. Then the holy saints stretched their heads with joy, and hasted that one tofore that other to come to the death. And after, St. Maurice arose up and said to his fellows among other things: Enjoy ye with us, and I thank you, for we be all ready for to die for the faith of Jesu Christ. We have suffered our fellow knights to be slain, and I have suffered your fellows to suffer death for Jesu Christ, and I have kept the commandment of God which said to Peter: "Put thy sword into the sheath." But now, because that we be enclosed with the bodies of the knights our fellows, and have our clothes red of their blood, let us then follow them by martyrdom. And if it please you, let us send this answer unto Cæsar: We be thy knights, sir emperor, and have taken arms to the defence of the common weal; in us is no treason ne dread, but in no wise we will forsake the law ne faith of Jesu Christ.

Another Decimation is Ordered; The Reply of St. Exuperius

And when the emperor heard that, he commanded to behead yet the tenth man of them. And when that was done, one of the bannerers, named Exsuperius, took the banner and stood among them and said: Our glorious duke Maurice hath spoken of the glory of our fellow knights; ne think not that I take arms for to resist such

things, but let our right hands cast away such fleshly arms, and let us arm us with virtues. And if it please you, let us remand unto the emperor such words: We be knights of thine empire, but we confess us to be servants of Jesu Christ; we owe unto thee chivalry, and unto him innocence, and of thee we attend the reward of our labour, and of him we have the beginning of life. And we be ready to receive for him all torments, and we shall not depart from his faith.

The Legion is Slaughtered

Then Cæsar commanded that his host should environ all that legion of knights, so that none should escape. Then were environed the knights of Jesu Christ with knights of the devil, that one of them should not escape, and were all to-hewn, and smitten off heads and hands, and trodden under the feet of the horses, and were sacred martyrs of Christ. And they suffered death in the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty.

Nevertheless there escaped some by the will of our Lord, and came into other regions, and preached the name of Jesu Christ, and had in other places victory of martyrdom. And it is said that Solutor and Adventor and Octavius went unto Turin, and Alexander to Pergamos, Secundus unto Ventimiglia, and Victor, Constantine, and Ursin and others escaped. And when the butchers divided the prey amongst them, and ate together, they saw an old man named Victor pass forth by, and they bade him come and eat with them, and he began to demand them how they might eat with joy among so many men slain and dead. And when he had heard that they were Christian men, sighing he wailed greatly, and said he had been well blessed if he had been slain with them. And when they apperceived that he was a Christian man, they anon ran upon him and slew him.

After this, Maximian at Milan and Diocletian at Nicomedia in one day forsook their purple clothing and laid it down for to lead a more simple life, and they that were younger, as Constantine, Maximian, and Galerian, whom they had ordained Cæsarians, should govern the empire. And as Maximian would again reign and command as a

tyrant, he was pursued of Constantius, his step-son, and finished his life by hanging.

And after this the holy body of Innocent, one of that legion which had been cast in the river of Rhone, was found, and by Domitian of Genanence and Gratus of Autun and Prothase, of the same bishops, in their church is honourably buried.

A MIRACLE OF THE COMPANIONS

And there was a paynim, a workman that wrought to make the church with others, but he wrought not but on the Sundays in the time when men sang and made solemnity of masses in the said church; and there came to him a company of saints which ravished him, and beat him, and also reproved him, because he wrought in masonry when others did the divine service and office in the church, and then, he so corrected, ran to the church, to the bishop, and required to be christened.

WHAT ST. AMBROSE SAYS OF THE COMPANIONS

And Ambrose saith thus of these martyrs in his preface:

> The company of these true Christian men enlumined with divine light, coming from the farther ends of the world, which were armed with spiritual arms, and hied to their martyrdom with stable faith and diligent constancy, whom the cruel tyrant for to fear them tithed two times by the slaughter of the sword, and after, he seeing them constant in the faith, commanded them all to have their heads smitten off. But they burned in so great charity that they cast and threw away their arms and harness, and kneeling on their knees received sufferably with a joyous heart the swords of them that martyred them, among whom Maurice, embraced in the love and faith of Jesu Christ, received the crown of martyrdom.

Hæc Ambrosius [Thus says Ambrose].

OTHER MIRACLES OF ST. MAURICE AND HIS COMPANIONS

The Grieving Mother

There was a woman which delivered her son, to learn, unto the abbot of the church in which the holy saints lie in. And the son died in short time after, wherefore the mother wept without remedy. Then St. Maurice appeared to her and inquired why she wept so for her son. And she answered that as long as she should live she should weep for him. And he said to her: Weep no more for him as he were dead, for know thou for certain he is with us, and if thou wilt prove it, arise tomorn and every day of thy life, and come to matins, and thou shalt hear his voice among the monks singing.

And ever after, during her life, she came every day, and heard the voice of her son singing among the monks.

The Tempest

When the king Gaturanicus had given all that he had to poor men and to churches, he sent a priest for to fetch to him of the relics of this holy company. And as he returned with the relics, the tempest arose in the lake of Lausanne in such wise that the ship was in peril; he set the chasse with the relics against the waves of water, and anon the tempest ceased and the waves of the water were appeased.

The Translation of St. Mauriceâ□□s Body to Auxerre

It happed in the year of our Lord nine hundred and sixty-three, that some monks, by the accord of Charles, had impetred and gotten of Nicholas the pope, the body of St. Urban, pope, and of St. Tiburtius, martyr. And returning, they visited the church of the holy martyrs, and impetred and gat of the abbot and monks that they transported the body of St. Maurice and the head of St. Innocent unto Auxerre, into the church that St. Germain had dedicated in the name of these martyrs, and brought it thither.

The Proud Cleric

Peter of Amiens rehearseth that in Burgundy was a proud clerk and ambitious which had gotten a church of St. Maurice, and usurped it by force against a mighty knight which was contrary and against him. And on a time was sung a mass in the end of the gospel, that they that enhance them shall be meeked, and they that meek them shall be enhanced. This said malerous and cursed clerk laughed and said: That is false, for if I had humbled and meeked myself I had not had this day so much riches as I have in the church.

And as soon as he had said that, anon came thunder and lightning from heaven in manner of a sword, and entered into his mouth out of which issued the blasphemies, and anon he was extinct and died suddenly.

Then let us devoutly beseech Almighty God that by the merits of this holy martyr St. Maurice and his holy fellowship the legion, which is six thousand six hundred and sixty-six, that suffered martyrdom, as heretofore is rehearsed, we may after this transitory life come unto the everlasting bliss in heaven, where he reigneth, world without end. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE FEAST OF ST. MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL

Chapter 145 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

AND FIRST THE EXPOSITION OF HIS NAME

Michael" is expounded sometimes as "[Who is like to] God?" And oft-times, as St. Gregory saith, when a thing of marvellous virtue is done, Michael is sent forth, so that he, by the deed and the name, be given to understand that none may do that God may do, and therefore be attributed to him many things of marvellous virtue.

For like as Daniel witnesseth, he shall arise and address in the time of Antichrist against him, and shall stand as a defender and keeper for them that be chosen.

He also fought with the dragon and his angels, and casting them out of heaven, had a great victory.

He also had a great plea and altercation with the devil for the body of Moses, because he would not show it; for the children of Israel should have adored and worshipped it.

He received the souls of saints and brought them into the paradise of exultation and joy.

He was prince of the synagogue of the Jews, but now he is established of our Lord, prince of the church of Jesu Christ.

And as it is said, he made the plagues of Egypt, he departed and divided the Red Sea, he led the people of Israel by the desert and set them in the land of promission, he is had among the company of holy angels as bannerer.

And bearing the sign of our Lord, he shall slay by the commandment of God, right puissantly, Antichrist that shall be in the Mount of Olivet. And dead men shall arise at the voice of this same archangel. And he shall show at the day of judgment the cross, the spear, the nails and the crown of thorns of Jesu Christ.

The holy solemnity of St. Michael is said, appearing, dedication, victory and memory.

I. THE APPARITIONS OF ST. MICHAEL

The Apparition of Garganus and the Bull

The apparition of this angel is manifold. The first is when he appeared in the Mount of Gargan. This mountain is in Naples, which is named Gargan and is by the city named Syponte. And in the year of our Lord three hundred and ninety, was in the same city of Syponte a man which was named Garganus, which, after some books, had taken that name of the mountain, or else the mountain took the name of the man.

And he was right rich, and had a great multitude of sheep and beasts, and as they pastured about the sides of the mountains it happed that a bull left the other beasts, and went upon high on the mountain and returned not home again with the other beasts. Then this rich man, the owner, took a great multitude of servants, and did do seek this bull all about, and at the last he was founden on high on the mountain by the entry of a hole or a cave. And then the master was wroth because he had strayed alone from other beasts, and made one of his servants to shoot an arrow at him. And anon the arrow returned with the wind and smote him that had shot it.

Wherewith they of the city were troubled with this thing, and went to the bishop and inquired of him what was to be done in this thing, that was so wonderful. And then he commanded them to fast three days and to pray unto God. And when this was done St. Michael

appeared to the bishop, saying: Know ye that this man is so hurt by my will. I am Michael the archangel, which will that this place be worshipped in earth, and will have it surely kept. And therefore I have proved that I am keeper of this place by the demonstrance and showing of this thing.

And then anon the bishop and they of the city went with procession unto that place, and durst not enter into it, but made their prayers withoutforth.

The Apparition at Tumba

The second apparition was in the year of our Lord seven hundred and ten, in a place which was named Tumba, by the seaside, six miles from the city of Apricens. St. Michael appeared to the bishop of that city and commanded him to do make a church in the foresaid place, like as it was made in the mount of Gargan, and in like wise should hallow the memory of St. Michael there.

And the bishop doubted in what place it should be made. And St. Michael said to him in the place where he should find a bull hid of thieves. And yet he doubted of the largeness of the place, and St. Michael appeared to him, and said that he should make it of the brede that he should find that the bull had trodden and traced with his feet.

And there were two rocks which no man's power might remove. Then St. Michael appeared to a man and commanded him that he should go to that same place and take away the two rocks. And when he came, he removed the two rocks as lightly as they had weighed nothing.

And when the church was edified there, Michael set a piece of stone of marble there, upon which he stood, and a part of the pall that he had laid on the altar of that other church he brought thither to this church. And because they had great penury and need of water, they made, by the admonishment of the angel, a hole in a stone of

marble, and anon there flowed out so much water that unto this day they be sustained by the benefit thereof. And this apparition is solemnly hallowed the seventeenth kalends of November in that place.

And there happed in the same place a miracle worthy to be put in remembrance. This mountain is environed about with the sea-ocean, but on St. Michael's day it avoideth twice and giveth way to the people. And as a great company of people went to the church, it happed that a woman great with child, nigh her time of deliverance, was in the company, and when they returned, the waves and water came with great force, so that the company for dread fled to the rivage. And the woman great with child might not flee, but was taken and wrapped in the floods of the sea, but St. Michael kept the wife all whole, and she was delivered and childed among the waves in the middle of the sea. And she took the child between her arms and gave it suck, and after, when the sea was withdrawn, she went a-land all whole with her child.

The Apparition of Castle Angel

The third apparition happed in the time of Gregory the pope. For when the said pope had established the litanies for the pestilence that was that time, and prayed devoutly for the people, he saw upon the castle which was said sometime "the memory of Adrian" the angel of God, which wiped and made clean a bloody sword, and put it into a sheath. And thereby he understood that his prayers were heard. Then he did do make there a church in the honour of St. Michael, and that castle is yet named the Castle Angel.

And yet another apparition was in the Mount of Gargan when he appeared and gave victory to them of Syponte, which is hallowed the eighth ides of July.

The Hierarchies

The fourth apparition is that which is in the "Gerarchy" of the same angels. For the first apparition is said "Epiphany," that is, the

apparition of sovereigns, the second is said "Hyperphania," that is, the mean apparition, and that other is said "Hypophania," that is, the most low apparition. And "Gerarchia" is said of gerar, that is, holy, and of archos, that is, a prince, and so "Gerarchia" is to say a holy principate, and every Gerarchia containeth three orders of angels.

For the sovereign Gerarchia after the assignation of St. Denis containeth Cherubim, Seraphim, and the thrones: the middle containeth the dominations, the virtues, and the potestates; and the last containeth the principates, angels, and archangels. And the ordinance and disposition of them may be seen by semblable and like in earthly principates. For of the ministers that be about a king, some work immediately about the person of the king, as cubiculers, counsellors, and the assistants, and they be like unto the order of the first Gerarchia. Some there be that have the rule of the realm, some in one province, some in another, as be lieutenants, captains of chivalry, and judges, and they be like unto the second Gerarchia. And others be assigned to particular offices in the divers parts of the realm, as mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and such other less offices, and these be like to the orders of the third Gerarchia.

The three orders of the first Gerarchia be taken inasmuch as they assist God and be converted to him. And thereto be three things necessary, that is to wit: sovereign love, and that is as touching the order of Seraphim, which be said fiery; perfect knowledge, that is touching Cherubim, which is as much to say as "plenitude of science"; and perpetual fruition or usance, as touching the thrones which be said sitting, for God sitteth and resteth in them.

The three orders of the middle Gerarchia be taken and had inasmuch as they dominate and govern the university of people in common. This seigniory and this governing is in three things. The first [is] in seigniory and commanding, and that appertaineth to the order of domination, which seignioreth above others that be lower, and addresseth them in all the ministries divine, and commandeth to them all things. And that saith Zechariah, in the fifth chapter, that one angel saith to another: "Run and speak to the child." Secondly,

in doing, and this appertaineth to the order of virtues, to whom nothing ne is impossible to execute which that is commanded to them, for to them is given power to do all things difficult which be pertaining to divine mystery, and therefore it is attributed to them to do miracles. Thirdly, in constraining, for to constrain the impediments and destourbles, and this appertaineth to the order of the potestates. And this is signified in Tobit, where Raphael bound the devil in the overest desert.

The three orders of the last Gerarchia be taken after that they have government and limited. Some of them seigniory and govern in one province, and that be they of the order of the principates, like as the prince of Persia seignioreth upon the Persians, like as it is read in Daniel in the tenth chapter. And some be deputed to the governance of a multitude of a city, and they be said archangels, and the other be committed to the governance of one person, and they be said angels, and be said to show the small things and little, because that their service and ministry is limited unto one man. Archangels be said more and greater, for the weal of a multitude is better and more worthy than the weal of one man.

In the assignation of the orders of the first Gerarchia, Gregory accordeth with Dionysius, and Bernard also, which is taken about their fruition, which is in burning love as touching to Seraphim, in profound cognition as to Cherubim, and in perpetual retention as touching the thrones. But they discord in the assignation of the middle and last two orders, that is, principates and virtues. Gregory and Bernard have another consideration, that is to wit. that the middle Gerarchia is in his seigniory or prelacy, and the last is taken in his pity or ministration. The prelacy in angels is treble. For angels dominate over spirits angelic, and they be said dominations, and they dominate also over good works, and they be said principates, and they dominate over devils, and they be said potestates, and the order and the degrees of their dignity appeareth in these things. The ministry of them is threefold. Some standeth in working, some in teaching, and in teaching, some more and some less. The first

appertaineth to virtues, the second to archangels, and the third to angels.

The Apparition to The Man Who Could Not Eat Or Drink

The fifth apparition is it which is read in the History Tripartite. There is a place beside Constantinople whereas sometime the goddess Vesta was worshipped, but now there is builded a church in the honour of St. Michael, and is named Michael's place. There a man that was named Aquiline was taken with a right great fever, moved of red colour, and the physicians gave to him, so burning in an ague, a drink, which anon he vomited out at his mouth, and what he ate or drank always he vomited and casted out, so that he was nigh dead, and did him to be borne to that place, and supposed well there to be soon dead or healed. And then St. Michael appeared to him and said to him that he should make a confection of honey and wine and pepper, and whatsomever he ate he should wet therein, and so should he have plein health. Which thing he did, and anon he was delivered from his malady, how well that after the judgment of the physicians that drink or medicine was contrary to them that be choleric. This is had in the History Tripartite.

II. THE VICTORIES OF ST. MICHAEL

Secondly, this solemnity of St. Michael is said victory, and the victory of St. Michael is manifold. And also of other angels.

The Victory of the Christians of Sipontus

The first is that St. Michael gave to them of Syponte in this manner. After a certain time that the place was found, they of Naples were yet paynims, and ordained their host for to fight against them of Syponte and Benevento. And by the counsel of the bishop, the Christian men took truce for three days that they might fast those three days and require their patron St. Michael unto their aid and help.

In the third night the holy St. Michael appeared to the said bishop

and said that their prayers were heard, and promised them to have victory, and commanded them to run on their enemies at the fourth hour of the day without more tarrying.

And when they ran against them the mountain of Gargan began strongly to tremble and a great tempest arose, so that lightning flew about and a dark cloud covered the mountain, so that six hundred of their adversaries died of the fiery arrows which came from the air. And all the residue of them that were not slain left their idolatry and submitted them anon to the Christian faith.

St. Michael's Victory over Lucifer

The second victory of St. Michael was when he put out of heaven the dragon Lucifer with all his followers. Of which is said in the Apocalypse: *Factum est prelium magnum, Apocalypsis duodecimo* ["A great battle was made," Revelation 12]. For when Lucifer coveted to be like to God, the archangel which bare the banner of the celestial host, came and chased Lucifer out of heaven with all them that followed him, and hath inclosed them in dark air unto the day of doom.

For they be not suffered to dwell in heaven, neither in the upper part of the air, because that place is clear and delectable, ne yet to be in earth with us, to the end that they should not overmuch tempt ne torment us. But they be in the air between heaven and earth, so that when they look upward they may behold the joy that they have lost, and have thereof great sorrow, and when they look downward they may see the men mount up to heaven from whence they fell.

Notwithstanding, by the divine dispensation they descend oft unto us in earth, as like it hath been showed to some holy men. They fly about us as flies, they be innumerable, and like flies they fill the air without number. Whereof saith Haymo: "As the philosophers said, and doctors have opinion, this air is also full of devils and of wicked spirits as the sunbeams be full of small motes," which is small dust or powder.

And how well that they be so many, nevertheless after the sentence of Origen, their power ne strength is but right little, and that we may overcome them here. And if any of them be overcome of any holy man, he may never after tempt a man of that vice of which he is overcome.

The Daily Victories of Angels on Our Behalf

The third victory is that angels have every day of the devils when they fight for us against them, and deliver us from their temptations. And they deliver us in three manners.

First, in refraining the power of the devil, like as it is said (*Apocalypsis vicesimo* [Revelation 20]), of the angel that bound the devil and sent him into abysm, that is the pit of hell; and Tobit, which saith that the angel Raphael bound the devil in the outerest desert. And this binding is none other thing but the refraining of his puissance and might.

Secondly, he delivereth us in refraining our covetise, the which thing is in Genesis xxxii. chap[ter], there where he saith that the angel took the sinew of Jacob, and anon it dried up.

Thirdly, in impressing in our hearts the memory of the passion of our Lord, this is signified Apocalypsis vii, where it is said, "Ne will ye not grieve ne noye in the earth ne in the sea, ne the trees, till we have marked them." Ezechiel saith, "The sign of Thau be in the foreheads of the people." Thau is made like a headless cross, and they that be marked therewith dread not the angel smiting, whereof is said: "Upon whom ye see Thau, slay them not."

St. Michael's Final Victory over the Antichrist

The fourth victory is that the archangel Michael shall have of Antichrist when he shall slay him. Then Michael, the great prince, shall arise, as it is said Danielis xii.: "He shall arise for them that be chosen as a helper and a protector, and shall strongly stand against

Antichrist." And after, as the Gloss saith: "Antichrist shall feign him to be dead, and shall hide him three days," and after, he shall appear saying that he is risen from death to life, and the devils shall bear him by art magic, and shall mount up into the air, and all the people shall marvel and worship him. And at the last he shall mount up on the Mount of Olivet, and when he shall be in a pavilion, in his siege, entered into that place where our Lord ascended, Michael shall come and shall slay him. Of which victory is understood, after St. Gregory, that which is said in the Apocalypse. The battle is made in heaven.

This word of the treble battle in heaven is expounded of the battle that he had with Lucifer when he expulsed him out of heaven, and of the battle that he had with the devils that torment us.

DEDICATION

And of this last solemnity is said dedication, because on this day the said place in the Mount Gargan was dedicate and hallowed of him by revelation. For when they of Syponte were returned from the occision of their adversaries, and had so noble victory, yet doubted they to enter into the said place and hallow it to the archangel. Then the bishop went and asked counsel of Pope Pelagius, and he answered: If the church ought to be dedicated, that ought to be on that day that the victory was done, and if it please otherwise to St. Michael, men ought to require his will thereof.

And then the pope, the bishop, and the men of the city, fasted three days, and St. Michael appeared to the bishop and said: It is no need to you to dedicate and hallow that I have hallowed, and commanded that he should enter into that place the next day with the people, and should frequent it with prayers, and they should feel that he should be a special patron to them.

And he gave to them a sign of consecration â□□ that was that they should go up thereto by a postern towards the east, and they should find there the steps of a man impressed in a marble stone. Then the

bishop on the morn, and much great people, came to the place and entered in, and found a great cave and three altars of which two were set toward the south, and the third toward the east much honourably, and was covered all about with a red mantle. And when the solemnities of the masses were done, and the people had taken holy communion, all returned to their proper places, and the bishop left there priests and clerks for to sing and say goodly the divine office. And within the said church sourdeth clear water and sweet, which the common people drinketh and be healed thereby of many diverse maladies.

And when the pope heard these things he established to hallow this day in the honour of St. Michael and of all the holy angels, and to be kept holy through all the world.

IV. MEMORY: LAUD, PRAISE, AND HONOUR

Fourthly, this solemnity is said the Memory of St. Michael, how well that we all solemnise this feast in the honour of all the archangels of our Lord. We do the memory and the honours generally, and it appertaineth, and is behoveful to us, to give to them laud, praising, and honour, by manifold reasons expert, that is to wit, for they be our keepers, our ministers, our brethren, our neighbours, the bearers of our souls into heaven, and representers of our prayers unto God, right noble knights of the king of heaven, and perdurable comforters of them that be in heaviness and tribulations.

Because They Be Our Keepers

And first we ought to honour them for they be our keepers, wherefore we ought to worship them. To every man be given two angels, one evil, or to stir him to ill, and one good, to keep him. The good angels be deputed to the keeping of men in their birth, and after the nativity also, and be always with them when they be full grown. And in these three estates is an angel necessary to a man. For when he is yet little in the womb he may be dead and be damned. When he is out of the womb before he be grown, he may be let from baptism, and when he is grown he may be drawn to

divers sins. The devil deceiveth them that be grown, by fallacy and by hearkening. He flattereth them by delices and blandishes, and oppresseth virtue by violence. Therefore it is need that a good angel be deputed to the keeping of a man to the end that he address and induce man against the fallacy, that he exhort, and summon him to do good against flattering and blandishes, and that he defend him from oppression against violence.

And the profit of the keeping of the angel to a man may be assigned in four manners.

The first, that the soul may profit in the weal and good of grace, and this doth the angel to the soul in three manners. And the first is in to removing all letting to do well and good, and that is signified in *Exodi duodecimo,* where the angel smote all the first begotten of Egypt. Secondly, in awaking or exciting from sloth and that is signified Zachariæ quarto: "The angel of the Lord hath aroused me as a man that is waked out of his sleep." Thirdly, in leading a man in the way of penance and bringing again, and this is signified in Tobit, in the fifth chapter in the angel that led him and brought him again.

The second profit that the angel doth, is that he fall not into sin, and this doth the angel in three manners. First, in letting the evil to be done that it be not done, and this is signified in the book of Numbers in the twenty-second chapter. For Balaam, which went for to curse Israel, was let of the angel. Secondly, in blaming the sin past, that man depart from it, and that is signified in the book of Judges in the second chapter, how the angels blamed the children of Israel for breaking of the law, wherefor they wept. Thirdly in bringing strength for to take away the sin present, and this is signified in Lot, when he was led out by force, he, his wife, and his daughters from the city of Sodom, that is to wit, from the customance of sin.

The third effect and profit is that if he fall, that he arise anon again, and this doth the angel in three manners. First, in moving a man to contrition, and this is signified in Tobit, in the twelfth chapter, where, as he taught Tobias to anoint the eyes of his father with gall, that is

to understand, contrition of the heart anointeth the eyes of the heart. Secondly, in purging lips by confession, and that this is signified in Isaiah, the fifth chapter, where the angel purged the lips of Isaiah. Thirdly, in enjoying to satisfaction, and that is signified in Luke, fifteenth chapter, that saith that greater joy is in heaven of a sinner doing penance than of ninety-nine rightful men which need no penance.

The fourth profit is that man fall not so oft into sin as the devil inciteth him thereto, and this doth he in three manners, that is to wit, in refraining the puissance and might of the devil, in affeebling the covetise and desire of sin, and in imprinting in our minds the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, of which things it is said tofore.

Because They Be Our Administrators

We ought to honour them, secondly, for they be our administrators, like as the apostle saith, *ad Hebreos x,* "They be spirits of administration, all spirits be sent for us."

The superiors be sent to the moyens, the moyens be sent to the lowest, and the lowest be sent to us, and this sending cometh of the divine bounty. And in this sending appeareth how much the divine bounty appertaineth to the love of our health.

Secondly, of the charity of the angel; for this sending appertaineth that it be of ardent charity specially to desire the health of others, wherefore Isaiah saith, "Lo! I am here Lord, send me forth." And the angels may help us because they see that we have need of them, and may well overcome the evil spirits and angels, and therefore the law of charity angelic requireth that they be sent to us.

Thirdly, this sending is needful to the need of man, for they be sent to inflame our affection to love, wherefore, in sign hereof, it is read that they were sent in a fiery chair. Secondly, they be sent to enlumine to understanding unto knowledge, and this is signified *Apocalypsis x.* in the angel which had a book open in his hand.

Thirdly, they be sent for to strengthen in us all our perfection unto the end, and that is signified *I Regum xix,* where the angel brought to Elijah a loaf of bread baked under ashes and a vessel of water, and he ate and walked in the strength of that meat unto the mount of God, Oreb.

Because They Be Our Brethren and Our Neighbours

Thirdly, they ought to be honoured for they be our brethren and our neighbours, for all they that be chosen be taken to the orders of angels, the some unto the overest, and some to the lowest, and some to the middle, for the diversity of their merits. And howbeit that the Blessed Virgin be above all, like as St. Gregory showeth in his homily. For he saith:

There be some that take the small things, but yet they leave not to show it to the brethren, and they run in the number of Angels. And there be they that may take the sovereignties of the secrets celestial and show it to others, and these be [with] the Archangels celestial. And [there] be they that make marvellous signs and works puissantly, and these be they that with Virtues work. And some there be that chase away the wicked spirits by the virtue of prayer and by strength of their power received of God, and these have their merits with the Potestates. And there be some that by their virtues mount above the merits of them that be chosen, and dominate over the brethren, and sort their merit with the Principates. And there be some that overcome and dominate over all vices in themselves, and they by right be called of the world, gods among men (like as God said to Moses, "Lo! I have established the god of Pharaoh") and these be with the Dominations. And there be some that sit in the thrones like presidents and examine the works and deeds of others, by whom when Holy Church is governed, all they that be chosen be judged, and these be with the Thrones. And [there] be they that with the charity and love of God and their neighbour before others be full, and these by their merits have taken their sort in the number of Cherubim, for cherubim is said "the plenitude of science," and as Paul saith, the plenitude of the law is love and charity. And there be

they that, embraced in the burning love of supernal contemplation, wish only to be in the desire of their maker. They desire nothing of this world, but only be fed in the love of the Lord perdurable, they eschew all earthly things, and overpass by thought all temporal things. They love, they burn, and rest in that burning love, they burn in loving and be inflamed in speaking, and all that ever they touch in any manner by word, they make them anon to burn in the love of God. And where shall these take their sort but among the number of Seraphim?

Hæc Gregorius; this saith St. Gregory.

Because They Be Bearers of Our Souls Into Paradise

Fourthly, they ought to be honoured because that they be bearers of our souls into Paradise, and this do they in three manners.

The first, in making ready the way, as Malachi saith in the third chapter, "Lo! here I send mine angel which shall make ready thy way tofore thy face."

Secondly, in bearing them to heaven by the way made ready, like as it is said in Exodus the four and twentieth chapter, "I send to thee mine angel which shall keep thee in thy way, and shall bring thee to the land which I have promised to thy fathers."

Thirdly, in setting them in heaven, and hereof saith Luke, *cap. xvi,* "It was done when the beggar died, his soul was borne of angels into Abraham's bosom."

Because They Be Representers of Our Souls Tofore God

Fifthly, they ought to be honoured because they be representers of our souls tofore God, and this representation is in three manners.

First, they represent our prayers tofore God, and this saith Tobit the xii chapter, "When thou prayedest with tears and buryedest the dead men, I offered thy prayer to our Lord."

Secondly, they allege for us tofore our Lord, and hereof saith Job, the xxxiii chapter, "If there were an angel speaking for him and said one of a thousand, that he show the equity of the man, our Lord should have mercy and pity on him." Also Zechariah *primo* , "And the angel of our Lord answered and said: 'O Lord of all strengths, shalt not thou have pity of Jerusalem and of the cities of Judah to whom thou art wroth? This is the seventieth year.'"

Thirdly, they show the sentence of God, as it is said in Daniel that the angel Gabriel flying said, " Sith the beginning of the prayers the word issued out," that is to wit, the sentence of God, and I am come for to show it to thee, for thou art a man of desires. Of these three things saith Bernard upon the Canticles. The angel seeketh moyen between the love and the lover in offering the desires and bringing gifts, and moveth her and pleaseth him.

Because They Be Right Noble Knights

Sixthly, they ought to be honoured, for they be the right noble knights of the king perdurable, after that Job saith in the twenty-fifth chapter, "Is not this the noble number of his knights?" For as we see in the knights of some king, that some of them dwell always in the hall of the king, and accompany the king, and sing honour and solace to the king, and some others keep the cities and castles of the king, and others fight against the enemies of the king, thus is it of the knights of Christ.

Some be in the hall royal, that is to say in the heaven imperial, and accompany always the king of kings, and sing always songs and gladness to his honour and glory, saying, "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, blessing, and clearness, and wisdom."

And the others keep the cities, the towns, the castles, and the faubourgs, they be deputed to the keeping of us, keeping the state of virgins, of continents, of married people, and the castles of religion. Whereof Isaiah saith, "Upon the walls of Jerusalem I have

established keepers." Others there be that fight and vanquish the enemies of God, of whom it is said in the Apocalypse, "There is a battle made in heaven," that is, after some exposition in the church militant, Michael and his angels fought with the dragon.

Because They Be Comforters of Them that Be in Tribulation

The seventh and the last they ought to be honoured, because they be comforters of them that be in tribulation, and hereof saith Zechariah in the first chapter, "The angel that spake to me good words were words of comfort." And this do they in three manners.

First, in comforting and strengthening, Danielis *decimo* . For whereas Daniel fell, the angel of our Lord touched him and said, "Be not afeard ne dread thee nothing, peace be to thee, comfort thyself and be boystous."

Secondly, in keeping from impatience, and this saith David, "He hath commanded his angels to keep thee in all thy ways."

Thirdly, in refreshing and lessing that tribulation, and that is signified in Daniel, the third chapter, there whereas the angel of our Lord descended in the furnace with three children, and made the middle of the furnace as it had been a wind blowing with a soft dew.

By these ensamples we may understand that we ought to give honour to the holy company of angels, and to pray them to keep us in this wretched life from our enemies the devil, the world, and the flesh, that after, when we shall depart, they present our souls unto Almighty God in heaven, there to dwell and abide sempiternally with them, *quod ipse prestatur, qui sine fine vivit et regnat in secula seculorum.* [for He it is Who lives and reigns forever, world without end] Amen.

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HERE NEXT FOLLOWETH THE HISTORY OF MOSES, WHICH IS READ IN THE CHURCH ON MID-LENT SUNDAY

This life of Moses in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend is not in the original. Ellis's 1931 edition of Caxton suggests that he took it from the earlier English translation that he had used along with the original and a French translation. This "reader's version" of the text adds section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

These be the names of the children of Israel that entered into Egypt with Jacob, and each entered with their household and meiny. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Benjamin, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher; they were all in number that entered seventy. Joseph was tofore in Egypt. And when he was dead and all his brethren and kindred, the children of Israel grew and multiplied greatly, and filled the earth.

THE OPPRESSION OF THE HEBREWS

Then was there a new king upon Egypt which knew nothing of Joseph, and said to his people: Lo! and see the people of Israel is great, and stronger than we be, come and let us wisely oppress them, lest they multiply and give us battle and fight with us and drive us out of our land.

Then he ordained provosts and masters over them to set them awork and put them to affliction of burdens. They builded to Pharaoh two towns, Pithom and Raamses. How much more they oppressed them, so much the more they increased and multiplied. The Egyptians hated the children of Israel and put them to affliction, scorning and having envy at them, and oppressed bitterly their life with hard and sore labours of tile and clay, and grieved all them in such works.

The king of Egypt said to the midwives of the Hebrews, of whom

that one was called Shiphrah, and that other Puah, and commanded: When so is that the time of birth is, and that ye shall do your office in helping in the birth of children, if it be a manchild slay him, if it be a maid-child keep it and let it live.

The midwives dreaded God, and did not as the king commanded them, but reserved and kept the men-children. For whom the king sent and said: What is the cause that ye reserved and kept the men-children?

They answered: There be of the Hebrews women that can the craft of midwives as well as we, and ere we come the children be born.

God did well therefore unto the midwives, and the people grew and were greatly comforted. And because the midwives dreaded God they edified to them houses. Then Pharaoh commanded to his people saying: Whatsomever is born of males cast ye into the river, and what of women keep ye them and let ye them live.

THE BIRTH OF MOSES

After this was a man of the house of Levi went out and took a wife of his kindred, which conceived and brought forth a son, and he saw him elegant and fair, and hid him three months, and when he might no longer hide him, took a little crib of rushes and wickers and pitched it with glue and pitch, and put therein the child, and set it on the river, and let it drive down in the stream, and the sister of the child standing afar, considering what should fall thereof.

And it happed that same time, the daughter of King Pharaoh descended down to the river for to wash her in the water, and her maidens went by the brink, which then, when she saw the little crib or fiscelle she sent one of her maidens to fetch and take it up, which so fetched and brought to her, and she saw therein lying a fair child; and she having pity on it said: This is one of the children of the Hebrews.

To whom anon spake the sister of the child: Wilt thou, said she, that I go and call thee a woman of the Hebrews that shall and may nourish this child?

She answered: Go thy way.

The maid went and called his mother, to whom Pharaoh's daughter said: Take this child and nourish him to me, and I shall give to thee thy meed and reward.

HIS LIFE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF KING PHARAOH

The mother took her child and nourished it, and when it was weaned and could go she delivered it to the daughter of King Pharaoh, whom she received and adopted instead of a son and named him Moses, saying that "I took him out of the water." And he there grew and waxed a pretty child.

And as Josephus, *Antiquitatum* , saith, "This daughter of Pharaoh, which was named Termuthe, loved well Moses and reputed him as her son by adoption, and on a day brought him to her father, who for his beauty took him in his arms and made much of him, and set his diadem on his head, wherein was his idol. And Moses anon took it, and cast it under his feet and trod on it, wherefore the king was wroth, and demanded of the great doctors and magicians what should fall of this child. And they kalked on his nativity and said, 'This is he that shall destroy thy reign and put it under foot, and shall rule and govern the Hebrews.' Wherefore the king anon decreed that he should be put to death."

But others said that Moses did it of childhood and ought not to die therefore, and counselled to make thereof a proof, and so they did. They set tofore him a platter full of coals burning, and a platter full of cherries, and bade him eat, and he took and put the hot coals in his mouth and burned his tongue, which letted his speech ever after; and thus he escaped the death. {To the contrary,} Josephus saith

that when Pharaoh would have slain him, Termuthe, his daughter, plucked him away and saved him.

HE FLEES TO MIDIAN AND MARRIES ZIPPORAH

Then on a time as Moses was full grown, he went to his brethren, and saw the affliction of them and a man of Egypt smiting one of the Hebrews, his brethren. And he looked hither and thither and saw no man. He smote the Egyptian and slew him and hid him in the sand. And another day he went out and found two of the Hebrews brawling and fighting together; then he said to him that did wrong: Why smitest thou thy neighbour?

Which answered: Who hath ordained thee prince and judge upon us? Wilt thou slay me as thou slewest that other day an Egyptian?

Moses was afeard and said to himself: How is this deed known and made open? Pharaoh heard hereof and sought Moses for to slay him, which then fled from his sight and dwelled in the land of Midian, and sat there by a pit side. The priest of Midian had seven daughters which came thither for to draw water, and to fill the vessels for to give drink to the flocks of the sheep of their father. Then came on them the herdmen and put them from it. Then rose Moses and defended the maidens and let them water their sheep, which then returned to their father Jethro. And he said to them: Why come ye now earlier than ye were wont to do?

They said that "a man of Egypt hath delivered us from the hand of the herdmen, and also he drew water for us and gave to the sheep drink."

"Where is he?" said he. "Why left ye the man after you? Go call him that he may eat some bread with us."

Then Moses sware that he would dwell with him. And he took Zipporah one of his daughters and wedded her to his wife, which conceived and bare him a son whom he called Gershom, saying, "I

was a stranger in a strange land." She brought to him forth another son whom he named Eleazar, saying, "The God of my father is my helper and hath kept me from the hand of Pharaoh."

THE BURNING BUSH

Long time after this died the king of Egypt, and the children of Israel, wailing, made great sorrow for the oppression of their labour, and cried unto God for help. Their cry came unto God of their works, and God heard their wailing, and remembered the promise he made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and our Lord beheld the children of Israel and knew them.

Moses fed the sheep of Jethro his wife's father. When he had brought the sheep into the innermost part of the desert he came unto the mount of God, Oreb. Our Lord appeared to him in flame of fire in the midst of a bush, and he saw the fire in the bush, and the bush burned not. Then said Moses, I shall go and see this great vision why the bush burneth not.

Our Lord then beholding that he went for to see it, called him, being in the bush, and said: Moses, Moses.

Which answered: I am here.

Then said our Lord: Approach no nearer hitherward. Take off thy shoon from thy feet; the place that thou standest on is holy ground. And said also: I am God of thy fathers, God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob.

Moses then hid his face, and durst not look toward God. To whom God said: I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have heard their cry of the hardness that they suffer in their works, and I knowing the sorrow of them am descended to deliver them from the hand of the Egyptians, and shall lead them from this land into a good land and spacious, into a land that floweth milk and honey, unto the places of Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites,

Hivites and Jebusites. The cry of the children of Israel is come to me, I have seen their affliction, how they be oppressed of the Egyptians. But come to me and I shall send thee unto Pharaoh that thou shalt lead the children of Israel out of Egypt.

Then Moses said to him: Who am I that shall go to Pharaoh and lead the children out of Egypt?

To whom God said: I shall be with thee, and this shall be the sign that I send thee. When thou shalt have led out my people of Egypt, thou shalt offer to God upon this hill.

Moses said unto God: Lo! if I go to the children of Israel and say to them, "God of your fathers hath sent me to you," if they say, "What is his name?" what shall I say?

Our Lord said to Moses: " *Ego sum qui sum* , I am that I am."

He said: Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: "He that is, sent me to you," and yet shalt thou say to them: "The Lord God of your fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, hath appeared to me saying: 'This is my name for evermore, and this is my memorial from generation to generation.'" Go and gather together the seniors and aged men of Israel, and say to them: "The Lord God of your fathers hath appeared to me, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, saying: 'Visiting I have visited you, and have seen all that is fallen in Egypt, and I shall lead you out of the affliction of Egypt into the land of Canaan, Ethei, etc, unto the land flowing milk and honey,'" and they shall hear thy voice. Thou shalt go and take with thee the seniors of Israel to the king of Egypt, and shalt say to him: "The Lord God of the Hebrews hath called us; we shall go the journey of three days in wilderness that we may offer to our Lord God." But I know well that the king of Egypt shall not suffer you to go but by strong hand. I shall stretch out my hand and shall smite Egypt in all my marvels that I shall do amid among them. After that he shall let you go. I shall then give my grace to this people tofore the Egyptians, and when ye shall go out ye shall not

depart void, nor with nought, but every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her hostess, vessels of silver and of gold, and clothes, and them shall ye lay on your sons, and on your daughters, and ye shall rob Egypt.

Then Moses answered and said: They shall not believe me ne hear my voice, but shall say, "God hath not appeared to thee."

God said then to him: What is that thou holdest in thine hand?

He answered: A rod.

Our Lord said: Cast it on the ground.

He threw it down and it turned into a serpent, whereof Moses was afeard and would have fled.

Our Lord said to him: Put forth thy hand and hold him by the tail.

He stretched forth his hand and held him, and it turned again into a rod.

[The Lord said:] Do this, that they believe thee, that I have appeared to thee.

And yet our Lord said to him, "Put thy hand into thy bosom," which, when he hath put in, and drawn out again, it was like a leper's hand. Our Lord bade him to withdraw it into his bosom again, and he drew it out and it was then like that other flesh.

"If they hear not thee and believe by the first sign and token, they shall believe thee by the second. If they believe none of the two ne hear thy voice, then take water of the river and pour on the dry ground, and whatsoever thou takest and drawest shall turn into blood."

Then Moses said: I pray the Lord send some other, for I am not

eloquent, but have a letting in my speech.

Our Lord said to him: Who made the mouth of a man, or who hath made a man dumb or deaf, seeing or blind, not I? Go, therefore, I shall be in thy mouth and shall teach thee what thou shalt say.

Then said Moses: I beseech thee Lord, said he, send some other whom thou wilt.

Our Lord was wroth on Moses and said: Aaron thy brother deacon, I know that he is eloquent. Lo, he shall come and meet with thee, and seeing thee he shall be glad in his heart. Speak thou to him and put my words in his mouth, and I shall be in thy mouth and in his mouth, and I shall show to you what ye ought to do, and he shall speak for the people, and shall be thy mouth, and thou shalt be in such things as pertain to God. Take with thee this rod in thine hand, by which thou shalt do signs and marvels.

MOSES RETURNS TO EGYPT

Then Moses went to Jethro his wife's father, and said to him, I shall go and return to my brethren into Egypt, and see if they yet live.

To whom Jethro said: Go in God's name and place.

Then said our Lord to Moses: Go and return into Egypt, all they be now dead that sought for to slay thee. Then Moses took his wife and his sons and set them upon an ass and returned in to Egypt, bearing the rod of God in his hand. Then our Lord said to Aaron: Go against Moses and meet with him in desert.

Which [Aaron] went for to meet with him unto the mount of God, and there kissed him. And Moses told unto Aaron all that our Lord had said to him for which he sent him, and all the tokens and signs that he bade him do. They came both together and gathered and

assembled all the seniors and aged men of the children of Israel. And Aaron told to them all that God had said to Moses, and made the signs and tokens tofore the people and the people believed it. They heard well that our Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that he had beholden the affliction of them, wherefore they fell down low to the ground and worshipped our Lord.

MOSES AND AARON BEFORE PHARAOH

After this Moses and Aaron went unto Pharaoh and said: This saith the Lord God of Israel: "Suffer my people to depart that they may sacrifice to me in desert."

Then said Pharaoh: Who is that Lord that I may hear his voice and leave Israel? I know not that Lord, nor I will not leave Israel.

They said to him: God of the Hebrews hath called us that we go the journey of three days in the wilderness and sacrifice unto our Lord God, lest peradventure pestilence or war fall to us.

The King of Egypt said to them, "Why solicit ye, Moses and Aaron, the people from their works and labour? Go ye unto your work."

BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW

Pharaoh also said, "The people is much; see how they grow and multiply, and yet much more shall do if they rested from their labour." Therefore he commanded the same day to the prefects and masters of their works saying: "In no wise give no more chaff to the people for to make loam and clay, but let them go and gather stubble, and make them to do as much labour as they did tofore, and lessen it nothing. They do now but cry: 'Let us go and make sacrifice to our God'; let them be oppressed by labour and exercised that they attend not to leasings."

Then the prefects and masters of their work said to them that Pharaoh had commanded to give them no chaff, but they should go and gather such as they might find, and that their work should not

therefore be minished. Then the children were disperpled for to gather chaff, and their masters awaited on them and bade them, "Make an end of your work as ye were wont to do when that chaff was delivered to you." And thus they were put to more affliction, and would make them to make as many tiles as they did tofore.

Then the upperest of the children of Israel came to Pharaoh and complained saying: Why puttest thou thy servants to such affliction?

He said to them: Ye be so idle that ye say ye will go and sacrifice to your God; ye shall have no chaff given to you, yet ye shall work your customable work and gather your chaff also.

THE LORD TELLS MOSES TO GO AGAIN TO PHARAOH

Then the eldest and the upperest among the Hebrews went to Moses and Aaron and said: What have ye done? Ye have so done that ye have made our odour to stink in the sight of Pharaoh, and have encouraged him to slay us.

Then Moses counselled with our Lord how he should do, and said: Lord, why hast thou sent me hither? For, sith I have spoken to Pharaoh in thy name, he hath put thy people to more affliction than they tofore, and thou hast not delivered them.

Our Lord said to Moses: Now thou shalt see what I shall do to Pharaoh. By [my] strong hand he shall let you go, and in a boistous [manner?] he shall cast you from his land.

Yet said our Lord to Moses: I am the Lord God that appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in my might, and my name is Adonai, I showed to them not that [name]}. I promised and made covenant with them that I should give to them the land of Canaan in which they dwelled. I now have heard the wailing and the tribulations that the Egyptians oppress them with, for which I shall deliver and bring them from the servitude of the Egyptians.

Moses told all these things to the children of Israel, and they believed him not, for the anguish of their spirits that they were in and hard labour.

Then said our Lord to Moses: Go and enter in to Pharaoh and bid him deliver my people of Israel out of his land.

Moses answered: How should Pharaoh hear me when the children of Israel believe me not?

Then our Lord said to Moses and Aaron that they both should go to Pharaoh and give him in commandment to let the children of Israel to depart. And he said to Moses: Lo, I have ordained thee to be God of Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet. Thou shalt say to him all that I say to thee, and he shall say to Pharaoh that he suffer the children of Israel to depart from his land. But I shall enhard his heart, and shall multiply my signs and tokens in the land of Egypt, and he shall not hear ne believe you. And I shall lead the children of Israel my people. And shall show mine hand, and such wonders on Egypt, that Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.

Moses and Aaron did as our Lord commanded them. Moses was eighty years old when he came and stood tofore Pharaoh, and Aaron eighty-three years when they spake to Pharaoh.

THE PHARAOH CONTINUES OBDURATE

Then when they were tofore Pharaoh, Aaron cast the rod down tofore Pharaoh, and anon the rod turned into a serpent. Then Pharaoh called his magicians and jugglers and bade them do the same. And they made their witchcraft and invocations and cast down their rods, which turned in likewise into serpents, but the rod of Aaron devoured their rods.

Yet was the heart of Pharaoh hard and so indurate that he would not do as God bade. Then said our Lord to Moses: The heart of Pharaoh is grieved and will not deliver my people. Go to him to-

morn in the morning and he shall come out, and thou shalt stand when he cometh on the bank of the river, and take in thine hand the rod that was turned into the serpent, and say to him: "The Lord God of the Hebrews sendeth me to thee saying: 'Deliver my people that they may offer and make sacrifice to me in desert,' yet thou hast no will to hear me. Therefore our Lord said [that] in this shalt thou know that I am the Lord: Lo, I shall smite with the rod that is in my hand the water of the flood, and it shall turn into blood. The fishes that be in the water shall die, and the Egyptians shall be put to affliction drinking of it."

Then said our Lord to Moses: Say thou to Aaron: "Take this rod and stretch thine hand upon all the waters of Egypt, upon the floods, rivers, ponds, and upon all the lakes where any water is, in that they turn to blood, that it may be a vengeance in all the land of Egypt, as well in treen vessels as in vessels of earth and stone."

THE PLAGUES SENT ON EGYPT BY THE LORD

Moses and Aaron did as God had commanded them, and smote the flood with the rod tofore Pharaoh and his servants, which turned into blood, and the fishes that were in the river died, and the water was corrupt. And the Egyptians might not drink the water, and all the water of Egypt was turned into blood. And in likewise did the enchanters with their witchcraft, and the heart of Pharaoh was so indurate that he would not let the people depart as our Lord had commanded, but he returned home for this time.

The Egyptians went and dolven pits for water all about by the river, and they found no water to drink but all was blood. And this plague endured seven days, and whatsomever water the children of Israel took in this while was fair and good water.

This was the first plague and vengeance.

The second was that God sent frogs, so many that they covered all the land of Egypt, so many that all the land was full – the rivers, the

houses, chambers, beds, that they were woebegone, and these frogs entered into their meat. Then Pharaoh prayed Moses and Aaron that God would take away these frogs, and that he would go suffer the people to do sacrifice. And then Moses asked when he would deliver them if the frogs were voided, and Pharaoh said, "In the morn." And then Moses prayed, and they voided all. And when Pharaoh saw that he was quit of them, he kept not his promise and would not let them depart.

The third vengeance that God sent to them was a great multitude of hungry horse-flies, as many as the dust of the earth, which were on men, and bit them and beasts. And then enchanters said then to Pharaoh, "This is the finger of God." Yet would not Pharaoh let them depart.

The fourth vengeance was that God sent all manner kind of flies and lice in such wise that the universal land of Egypt was full of all manner flies and lice, but in the land of Goshen were none. Yet was he so indurate that he would not let them go, but would that they should make their sacrifice to God in that land. But Moses would not so, but would go three days' journey in desert, and sacrifice to God there. Pharaoh said, "I will that ye go into desert, but not far, and come soon again, and pray ye for me." And Moses prayed for him to our Lord, and the flies voided that there was not one left. And when they were gone Pharaoh would not keep his promise.

Then the fifth plague was that God showed his hand upon the fields and upon the horses' asses, camels, sheep and oxen, and was a great pestilence on all the beasts. And God showed a wonder miracle between the possessions of the Egyptians and the possessions of his people of Israel, for of the beasts of the children of Israel there was not one that perished. Yet was Pharaoh so hard-hearted that he would not suffer the people to depart.

The sixth plague was that Moses took ashes out of the chimney and cast on the land. And anon all the people of Egypt, as well men as beasts were full of botches, boils, and blains and wounds, and

swellings in their bladders, in such wise that the enchanters could ne might not stand for pain tofore Pharaoh. Yet would not Pharaoh hear them, nor do as God had commanded.

The seventh plague was a hail so great that there was never none like tofore, and thunder and fire that it destroyed all the grass and herbs of Egypt and smote down all that was in the field, men and beasts. But in the land of Goshen was none heard, ne harm done. Yet would not Pharaoh deliver them.

The eighth our Lord sent to them locusts, which is a manner great fly, called in some place an adder-bolte, which bit them and ate up all the corn and herbs that was left, in such wise that the people came to Pharaoh and desired him to deliver [the Hebrews], saying that the land perished. Then Pharaoh gave to the men licence to go and make their sacrifice, and leave their wives and children there still, till they came again, but Moses and Aaron said they must go all, wherefore he would not let them depart.

The ninth plague and vengeance was that God sent so great darkness upon all the land of Egypt that the darkness was so great and horrible that they were palpable, and it endured three days and three nights. Wheresoever the children of Israel went it was light.

THE TENTH PLAGUE

Then Pharaoh called Moses and Aaron and said to them: Go ye and make your sacrifice unto your Lord God, and let your sheep and beasts only abide. To whom Moses said: We shall take with us such hosties and sacrifices as we shall offer to our Lord God. All our flocks and beasts shall go with us, there shall not remain as much as a nail that shall be necessary in the honour of our Lord God, for we know not what we shall offer till we come to the place.

Pharaoh was so indurate and hard-hearted that he would not let them go, and bade Moses that he should no more come in his sight, "For when thou comest thou shalt die."

Moses answered: Be it as thou hast said: I shall no more come to thy presence.

And then our Lord said to Moses: There resteth now but one plague and vengeance, and after that he shall let you go. But first say to all the people that "every man borrow of his friend, and woman of her neighbour, vessels of gold and silver, and clothes; our Lord shall give to his people grace and favour to borrow of the Egyptians," and then [the Lord] gave to them a commandment how they should depart.

And our Lord said to Moses: At midnight I shall enter into Egypt and the first begotten child and heir of all Egypt shall die, from the first begotten son of Pharaoh that sitteth in his throne unto the first begotten son of the handmaid that sitteth at the mill, and all the first-begotten of the beasts. There shall be a great cry and clamour in all the land of Egypt in such wise that there was never none like, ne never shall be after, and among all the children there shall not an hound be hurt, ne woman, ne beast, whereby ye shall know by what miracle God divideth the Egyptian and Israel.

Moses and Aaron showed all these signs and plagues tofore Pharaoh, and his heart was so indurate that he would not let them depart. Then when Moses had said to the children how they should do, they departed, and ate their paschal lamb, and all other ceremonies as be expressed in the Bible, for a law to endure ever among them. Which the children of Israel obeyed and accomplished. It was so that at midnight our Lord smote and slew every first-begotten son throughout all the land of Egypt, beginning at the first son and heir of Pharaoh unto the son of the caitiff that lay in prison, and also the first begotten of the beasts.

Pharaoh arose in the night and all his servants and all Egypt, and there was a great clamour and sorrowful noise and cry, for there was not a house in all Egypt but there lay therein one that was dead. Then Pharaoh did do call Moses and Aaron in the night, and

said: Arise ye and go your way from my people, ye and the children of Israel, as ye say ye will. Take your sheep and beasts with you like as ye desired, and at your departing bless ye me.

THE EXODUS

The Egyptians constrained the children to depart and go their way hastily, saying: "We all shall die." The children of Israel took their meal, and put it on their shoulders as they were commanded, and borrowed vessels of silver and of gold, and much clothing. Our Lord gave to them such favour tofore the Egyptians that the Egyptians lent to them all that they desired, and they spoiled and robbed Egypt.

And so the children of Israel departed, nigh the number of six hundred thousand footmen, besides women and children which were innumerable, and an huge great multitude of beasts of divers kinds. The time that the children of Israel had dwelt in Egypt was four hundred years.

And so they departed out of Egypt, and went not the right way by the Philistines, but our Lord led them by the way of desert which is by the Red Sea. And the children descended out of Egypt armed. Moses took with him the bones of Joseph, for he charged them so to do when he died. They went in the extreme ends of the wilderness, and our Lord went tofore them by day in a column of a cloud, and by night in a column of fire and was their leader and duke; the pillar of the cloud failed never by day, nor the pillar of fire by night tofore the people.

THE CROSSING OF THE RED SEA

Our Lord said to Moses, I shall make his heart so hard that he shall follow and pursue you, and I shall be glorified in Pharaoh, and in all his host, the Egyptians shall know that I am Lord. And anon it was told to Pharaoh that the children of Israel fled, and anon his heart was changed, and also the heart of his servants, and said: What shall we do, shall we suffer the children to depart and no more to

serve us? Forthwith he took his chariot and all his people with him. He took with him six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots and wains of Egypt, and the dukes of all his hosts and he pursued the children of Israel and followed them in great pride.

And when he approached, that the children of Israel saw him come, they were sore afraid and cried to our Lord God, and said to Moses: Was there not sepulchre enough for us in Egypt but that we must now die in wilderness? Said we not to thee, "Go from us and let us serve the Egyptians"? It had been much better for us to have served the Egyptians than to die here in wilderness.

And Moses said to the people: Be ye not afraid, stand and see ye the great wonders that our Lord shall do for you this day. The Egyptians that ye now see, ye shall never see them after this day. God shall fight for you, and be ye still.

Our Lord said then to Moses: What criest thou to me? Say to the children of Israel that they go forth. Take thou and raise the rod, and stretch thy hand upon the sea, and depart it that the children of Israel may go dry through the middle of it. I shall so indurate the heart of Pharaoh that he shall follow you, and all the Egyptians, and I shall be glorified in Pharaoh, and in all his host, his carts and horsemen. And the Egyptians shall know that I am Lord when I shall so be glorified.

The angel of God went tofore the castles of Israel, and another came after in the cloud which stood between them of Egypt and the children of Israel. And the cloud was dark that the host of Israel might not come to them of all the night. Then Moses stretched his hand upon the sea, and there came a wind blowing in such wise that it waxed dry, and the children of Israel went in through the midst of the Red Sea all dry foot; for the water stood up as a wall on the right side and on the left side.

The Egyptians then pursuing them followed and entered after them, and all the carts, chariots and horsemen, through the middle of the

sea. And then our Lord beheld that the children of Israel were passed over and were on the dry land, on that other side. Anon [he] turned the water on them, and the wheels on their carts turned up so down, and drowned all the host of Pharaoh, and sank down into the deep of the sea.

Then said the Egyptians: Let us flee Israel; the Lord fighteth for them against us. And our Lord said to Moses: Stretch out thine hand upon the sea, and let the water return upon the Egyptians, and upon their chariots and horsemen.

And so Moses stretched out his hand and the sea returned in to his first place. And then the Egyptians would have fled, but the water came and overflowed them in the midst of the flood, and it covered the chariots and horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh, and there was not one of them. And the children of Israel had passed through the middle of the dry sea and came [to] land.

Thus delivered our Lord the children of Israel from the hand of the Egyptians, and they saw the Egyptians lying dead upon the brinks of the sea. And the people then dreaded our Lord and believed in him, and to Moses his servant. Then Moses and the children of Israel sang this song to our Lord: " *Cantemus domino magnificatus est* , Let us sing to our Lord, he is magnified, he hath overthrown the horsemen and carmen in the sea." And Miriam the sister of Aaron, a prophetess, took a timpane in her hand, and all the women followed her with timpanes and chords, and she went tofore singing *Cantemus domino* .

THE MIRACLE OF THE SWEET WATER

Then Moses brought the children of Israel from the sea into the desert of Sur, and walked with them three days and three nights and found no water, and came into Marah, and the waters there were so bitter that they might not drink thereof. Then the people grudged against Moses, saying, "What shall we drink?" And he cried unto

our Lord, which showed to him a tree which he took and put into the waters, and anon they were turned into sweetness.

COMMANDMENTS

There our Lord ordained commandments and judgments, and there he tempted him saying: If thou hearest the voice of thy Lord God, and that thou do is rightful before him, and obeyest his commandments, and keep his precepts, I shall not bring none of the languors ne sorrows upon thee that I did in Egypt. I am Lord thy saviour.

THE MANNA

Then the children of Israel came in to Elim, where as were twelve fountains of water, and seventy palm trees, and they abode by the waters. Then from thence went all the multitude of the children of Israel into the desert of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai, and grudged against Moses and Aaron in that wilderness, and said: Would God we had dwelled still in Egypt, whereas we sat and had plenty of bread and flesh; why have ye brought us into the desert for to slay all this multitude by hunger?

Our Lord said then to Moses: I shall rain bread to you from heaven, let the people go out and gather every day that I may prove them whether they walk in my law or not; the sixth day let them gather double as much as they gathered in one day of the other.

Then said Moses and Aaron to all the children of Israel, "At even ye shall know that God hath brought you from the land of Egypt, and to-morn ye shall see the glory of our Lord. I have well heard your murmur against our Lord, what have ye mused against us? What be we?" And yet said Moses, "Our Lord shall give you at even flesh for to eat and to-morn bread unto your fill, for as much as ye have murmured against him; what be we? Your murmur is not against us but against our Lord."

As Aaron spake to all the company of the children of Israel they

beheld towards the wilderness, and our Lord spake to Moses in a cloud and said: I have heard the grudgings of the children of Israel. Say to them: "At even ye shall eat flesh and to-morn ye shall be filled with bread, and ye shall know that I am your Lord God."

And when the even was come there came so many curlews that it covered all their lodgings, and on the morn there lay like dew all about in their circuit. Which when they saw and came for to gather, it was small and white like to coriander. And they wondered on it and said, "Mahun," that is as much to say, "What is this?" To whom Moses said: This is the bread that God hath sent you to eat, and God commandeth that every man should gather as much for every head as is the "measure of gomor," [=5.1 pints] and let nothing be left till on the morn. And the sixth day gather ye double so much, that is two measures of gomor, and keep that one measure for the Sabbath, which God hath sanctified and commanded you to hallow it.

Yet some of them brake God's commandment, and gathered more than they ate and kept it till on the morn, and then it began to putrify and be full of worms. And that they kept for the Sabbath day was good and putrified not. And thus our Lord fed the children of Israel forty years in the desert. And it was called Manna. Moses took one gomor thereof and put it in the tabernacle for to be kept for a perpetual memory and remembrance.

A WATER MIRACLE

Then went they forth all the multitude of the children of Israel, in the desert of Sin in their mansions and came to Rephidim, where as they had no water. Then all grudging they said to Moses, Give us water for to drink.

To whom Moses answered: What grudge ye against me, why tempt ye our Lord?

The people thirsted sore for lack and penury of water saying: Why

hast thou brought us out of Egypt for to slay us and our children and beasts?

Then Moses cried unto our Lord saying: What shall I do to this people? I trow within a while they shall stone me to death.

Then our Lord said to Moses: Go before the people and take with thee the older men and seniors of Israel, and take the rod that thou smotest with the flood in thy hand, and I shall stand tofore upon the stone of Oreb, and smite thou the stone with the rod and the waters shall come out thereof that the people may drink. Moses did so tofore the seniors of Israel and called that place Temptation, because of the grudge of the children of Israel, and said: Is God with us or not?

THE WAR WITH AMALEK

Then came Amalek and fought against the children of Israel in Rephidim. Moses said then to Joshua: Choose to thee men, and go out and fight against Amalek to-morrow. I shall stand on the top of the hill having the rod of God in my hand.

Joshua did as Moses commanded him, and fought against Amalek. Moses, Aaron. and Hur, ascended into the hill, and when Moses held up his hands, Israel won and overcame their enemies, and when he laid them down then Amalek had the better. The hands of Moses were heavy; Aaron and Hur took then a stone and put it under them, and they sustained his hands on either side, and so his hands were not weary until the going down of the sun. And so Joshua made Amalek to flee, and his people, by strength of his sword.

Our Lord said to Moses: Write this for a remembrance in a book and deliver it to the ears of Joshua; I shall destroy and put away the memory of Amalek under heaven.

Moses then edified an altar unto our Lord, and called there on the

name of our Lord, saying: The Lord is mine exaltation, for this is the hand only of God, and the battle and God shall be against Amalek from generation to generation.

JETHRO VISITS WITH MOSES

When Jethro the priest of Midian, which was cousin of Moses, heard say what our Lord had done to Moses and to the children of Israel his people, he took Zipporah the wife of Moses, and his two sons, Gershom and Eleazar and came with them to him into desert, whom Moses received with worship and kissed him. And when they were together Moses told him all what our Lord had done to Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel, and all the labour that they endured and how our Lord had delivered them. Jethro was glad for all these things, that God had so saved them from the hands of the Egyptians, and said: Blessed be the Lord that hath delivered you from the hand of the Egyptians and of Pharaoh, and hath saved his people; now I know that he is a great Lord above all gods, because they did so proudly against them.

And Jethro offered sacrifices and offerings to our Lord. Aaron and all the seniors of Israel came and eat with him tofore our Lord.

The next day Moses sat and judged and deemed the people from morning unto evening, which, when his cousin saw, he said to him: What doest thou? Why sittest thou alone and all the people tarry from the morning until evening?

To whom Moses answered: The people came to me demanding sentence and the doom of God; when there is any debate or difference among them they come to me to judge them, and to show to them the precepts and the laws of God.

Then said Jethro: Thou dost not well nor wisely, for by folly consumest thy self, and the people with thee; thou thy might, thou mayst not alone sustain it, but hear me and do there after, and our Lord shall be with thee. Be thou unto the people in those things that

appertain to God, that thou tell to them what they should do, and the ceremonies and rites to worship God, and the way by which they should go, and what work they shall do. Provide of all people wise men and dreading God, in whom is truth, and them that hate avarice and covetise, and ordain of them tribunes and centurions and deans that may in all times judge the people. And if there be of a great charge and weight, let it be referred to thee, and let them judge the small things; it shall be the easier to thee to bear the charge when it is so parted. If thou do so, thou shalt fulfil the commandment of God and sustain his precepts, and the people shall go home to their places in peace.

Which things when Moses had heard and understood, he did all that he had counselled him, and chose out the strongest and wisest people of all Israel and ordained them princes of the people, tribunes, centurions, quinquagenaries, and deans, which at all times should judge and deem the people. And all the great and weighty matters they referred to him, deeming and judging the small causes. And then his cousin departed and went into his country.

THE GREAT THEOPHANY

The third month after the children of Israel departed out of Egypt, that same day they came into the wilderness of Sinai, and there about the region of the mount they fixed their tents. Moses ascended into the hill unto God. God called him on the hill and said: This shalt thou say to the house of Jacob and to the children of Israel: "Ye yourselves have seen what I have done to the Egyptians, and how I have borne you on the wings of eagles and have taken you to me. If ye therefore hear my voice and keep my covenant, ye shall be to me in the reign of priesthood and holy people." These be the words that thou shalt say to the children of Israel.

Moses came down and gathered all the most of birth, and expounded in them all the words that our Lord had commanded him. All the people answered: All that ever our Lord hath said we shall do.

When Moses had showed the people the words of our Lord, our Lord said to him: Now I shall come to thee in a cloud that the people may hear me speaking to thee, that they believe thee ever after.

Moses went and told this to the people, and our Lord bade them to sanctify the people this day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and be ready the third day: The third day our Lord "shall descend tofore all the people on the mount of Sinai. And ordain to the people the marks and terms in the circuit. And say to them: 'Beware that ye ascend not on the hill ne touch the ends of it. Whosoever toucheth the hill shall die by death, there shall no hand touch him, but with stones he shall be oppressed and with casting of them on him he shall be [killed]; whether it be man or beast, he shall not live.' When thou hearest the trump blown then ascend to the hill."

Moses went down to the people and sanctified and hallowed them, and when they had washen their clothes he said to them: Be ye ready at the third day and approach not your wives. When the third day came, and the morning waxed clear, they heard thunder and lightening and saw a great cloud cover the mount, and the cry of the trump was so shrill that the people were sore afraid. When Moses had brought them forth unto the root of the hill they stood there. All the mount of Sinai smoked, for so much as our Lord descended on it in fire, and the smoke ascended from the hill as it had been from a furnace. The mount was terrible and dreadful, and the sound of the trump grew a little more and continued longer.

Moses spake and our Lord answered him. Our Lord descended upon the top of the mount of Sinai, even on the top of it, and called Moses to him, which when he came said to him: Go down and charge the people that they come not to the terms of the hill for to see the Lord, for if they do, much multitude shall perish of them. The priests that shall come let them be sanctified lest they be smitten down. And thou and Aaron shall ascend the hill. All the people and priests let them not pass their bounds lest God smite them.

Then Moses descended and told to the people all that our Lord hath said. After this our Lord called Moses and said: I am the Lord God that brought you out of Egypt and of thraldom. And gave him the Commandment first by speaking and many ceremonies as be rehearsed in the Bible, which is not requisite to be written here, but the ten commandments every man is bounden to know.

And ere Moses received them written, he went up into the mount of Sinai, and fasted there forty days and forty nights ere he received them. In which time he commanded him to make many things, and to ordain the laws and ceremonies which now be not had in the new law. And also as doctors say, Moses learned that time all the histories to-fore written of the making of heaven and earth, of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and of Joseph with his brethren. And at last delivered to him two tables of stone, both written with the hand of God which follow.

HERE FOLLOW THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF OUR LAW

The first commandment that God commanded is this. "Thou shalt not worship no strange ne diverse gods." That is to say, thou shalt worship no god but me, and thou shalt not retain thine hope but in me, for who that setteth principally his hope on any creature or faith or belief in any thing more than in me, sinneth deadly. And such be they that worship idols, and make their god of a creature; whosoever so doth, sinneth against this commandment. And so do they that overmuch love their treasures, gold or silver, or any other earthly thing that be passing and transitory, or set their heart or hope on any thing by which they forget and leave God their creator and maker which hath lent to them all that they live by. And therefore ought they to serve him with all their goods, and above all things to love him and worship him with all their heart, with all their soul, and with all their strength, like as the first commandment enseigneth and teacheth us.

The second commandment is this, that "thou shalt not take the

name of God in vain," that is to say, thou shalt not swear by him for nothing. In this commandment our Lord commandeth in the gospel that thou shalt not swear by the heaven ne by earth ne by other creature. But for good cause and rightful a man may swear without sin, as in judgment or in requiring of truth, or without judgment in good and needful causes. And in none other manner without reason by the name of our Lord and for nought. If he swear false wittingly he is forsworn, and that is against the commandment and sinneth deadly, for he sweareth against his conscience, and that is when he sweareth by advice and by deliberation, but a man should swear truly and yet not for nought or for any vain or ill thing, ne maliciously. But to swear lightly without hurt or blame is venial sin, but the custom thereof is perilous and may well turn to deadly sin but if he take heed. But he then that sweareth horribly by our Lord, or by any of his members, or by his saints in despite, and blasphemeth in things that be not true, or otherwise, he sinneth deadly, he may have no reason whereby he may excuse him. And they that most accustom them in this sin they sin most, etc.

The third commandment is that "thou have mind and remember that thou hallow and keep holy thy Sabbath day or Sunday." That is to say, that thou shalt do no work nor operation on the Sunday or holy day, but thou shalt rest from all worldly labour and intend to prayer, and to serve God thy maker, which rested the seventh day of the works that he made in the six days tofore, in which he made and ordained the world. This commandment accomplisheth he that keepeth to his power the peace of his conscience for to serve God more holily. Then this day that the Jews called Sabbath is as much to say as rest. This commandment may no man keep spiritually that is encumbered in his conscience with deadly sin, such a conscience can not be in rest ne in peace as long as he is in such a state. In the stead of the Sabbath day which was straitly kept in the old law, holy church hath established the Sunday in the new law. For our Lord arose from death to life on the Sunday, and therefore we ought to keep it holily, and be in rest from the works of the week tofore, and to cease of the work of sin, and to intend to do ghostly works, and to follow our Lord beseeching him of mercy and to thank him for his

benefits, for they that break the Sunday and the other solemn feasts that be stablished to be hallowed in holy church, they sin deadly, for they do directly against the commandment of God aforesaid and holy church, but if it be for some necessity that holy church admitteth and granteth. But they sin much more then, that employ the Sunday and the feasts in sins, in lechery, in going to taverns in the service time, in gluttony and drinking drunk, and in other sins, outrages against God. For alas for sorrow I trow there is more sin committed on the Sunday and holy days and feasts than in the other work days. For then be they drunk, fight and slay, and be not occupied virtuously in God's service as they ought to do. And as God commandeth us to remember and have in mind to keep and hallow the holy day, they that so do sin deadly and observe and keep not this third commandment. These three commandments be written in the first table and appertain only to God.

The fourth commandment is that "thou shalt honour and worship thy father and mother, for thou shalt live the longer on earth." This commandment admonisheth us that we be well ware to anger father and mother in any wise. Or who that curseth them or set hand on them in evil will, sinneth deadly. In this commandment is understood the honour that we should do to our ghostly and spiritual fathers, that is to them that have the cure of us, to teach and chastise us, as be the prelates of the Church, and they that have the charge and cure of our souls, and to keep our bodies. And he that will not obey to him that hath the cure over him when he enseigneth and teacheth him good that he is bound to do, he sinneth grievously and is inobedient, which is deadly sin.

The fifth commandment is that "thou shalt slay no man." This commandment will that no man shall slay the other for vengeance, ne for his goods, or for any other evil cause, it is deadly sin. But for to slay malefactors in executing of justice or for other good cause, if it be lawful it may well be done. In this commandment is defended the sin of wrath and hate, of rancour and of ire. For as the Scripture saith: Who hateth his brother is an homicide when it is by his will, and he sinneth deadly; and he that beareth anger in his heart long,

for such ire long holden in the heart is rancour and hate, which is deadly sin, and is against this commandment. And yet sinneth he more that doth or purchaseth shame, villany or hurt to another wrongfully, or counselleth or helpeth to grieve another for to avenge him. But wrath or anger lightly past without will to noy or grieve any other, is not deadly sin.

The sixth commandment is, "thou shalt not do adultery," that is to say, thou shalt not have fleshly company with another man's wife. In this commandment it is forbidden and defended all manner sin of the flesh which is called generally lechery, which is a right foul sin and villainous. How be it that there is some branch of it that is not deadly sin, as oft movings of the flesh that may not be eschewed, which men ought to restrain and refrain as much as they may. And this cometh oft times by outrageous drinking and eating, or by evil thought, or foul touching, for in such things may be great peril. And in this commandment is defended all sin against nature, in what manner it be done in his person or other.

The seventh commandment is that "thou shalt do no theft." This commandment forbiddeth to take away other men's things whatsomever they be, without reason, against the will of them that owe or make them. In this commandment is defended ravin, usury, robbery, and deceit, and beguiling other for to have their havoir or good. And he that doth against this commandment is bound to make restitution and yield again that he hath so gotten or taken, if he know to whom he ought to render it. And if he know not, he is bounden to give it for God's sake, or do by the counsel of holy church. For who retaineth wrongfully and without reason other men's goods against their will, sinneth deadly, if he pay not where as he oweth, if he know where and be in his power and hath whereof. And if he know not let him do by the counsel of holy church, and whoso doth not so, sinneth against this commandment deadly.

The eighth commandment is that "thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." In this commandment is forbidden that no

man shall lie wittingly, for whoso lieth doth against this commandment. And also that he forswear not him in judgment, ne make no leasings to annoy ne grieve another, nor he ought not to missay ne speak evil of others in intention to impair his good name and fame, for it is deadly sin. Against this commandment do they that say evil of good men behind them, and backbite them, and do this wittingly by malice, which is called detraction. And also they that accuse some of their folly, or hearken by manner of adulation or flattering, when they that men speak of be not present. They that do thus and say such words do against this commandment, for they be all false witnesses.

The ninth commandment is that "thou shalt not desire the wife of thy neighbour, nor shalt not covet her in thine heart." That is to say, thou shalt not consent to sin with her with thy body. This commandment defendeth to desire to have company with all manner women out of marriage, and the evil signs that be without forth make men for to draw them to sin, as the evil words of such matter, or the foul and evil attouching, kissing, handling and such other. And the difference between this commandment and the sixth aforesaid is that, the sixth commandment forbiddeth the deed without forth, and this forbiddeth the consenting within forth; for the consenting within forth to have company with a woman that is not his by marriage is deadly sin, after the sentence of the gospel that saith: "Who that seeth a woman and coveteth her in his heart, he hath now sinned in his heart and deadly." This is to understand of the consenting expressed in his thought.

The tenth commandment is that "thou shalt not covet nothing that is, or longeth to, thy neighbour." This commandment defendeth will to have things that belong to other men by evil reason or wrongfully. In this commandment is defended envy of other men's weal, of other men's grace or welfare. For such envy cometh of evil covetise to have such good or such grace or fortune as he seeth in other. And this covetise is when the consenting and thought be certainly one, then it is deadly sin. And if there be any evil movings without will and consenting of damage or hurt of other, this is not deadly sin. If

he sin herein it is but venial sin.

These be the ten commandments of our Lord, of which the three first belong to God, and the seven other be ordained for our neighbours. Every person that hath wit and understanding in himself, and age, is bound to know them and to obey and keep these ten commandments aforesaid or else he sinneth deadly.

THE GOLDEN CALF

Thus Moses abode in the hill forty days and forty nights and received of Almighty God the tables with the commandments written with the hand of God; and also received and learned many ceremonies and statutes that God ordained, by which the children of Israel should be ruled and judged. And whiles that Moses was thus with our Lord on the mount, the children of Israel saw that he tarried and descended not, and some of them said that he was dead or gone away, and would not return again, and some said nay; but in conclusion they gathered them together against Aaron, and said to him: Make to us some gods that may go tofore us, we know not what is befallen to Moses.

Then Aaron said: Take the gold that hangeth in the ears of your wives and your children, and bring it to me. The people did as he bade, and brought the gold to Aaron, which he took and molt it and made thereof a calf. Then they said, These be thy gods, Israel, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt.

Then the people made an altar tofore it, and made great joy and mirth, and danced and played tofore the calf, and offered and made sacrifices thereto. Our Lord spake to Moses, saying: Go hence and descend down, thy people have sinned whom thou hast brought forth from the land of Egypt. They have soon forsaken and left the way which thou hast showed to them. They have made to them a calf blown, and they have worshipped it, and offered sacrifices thereto, saying: These be thy gods, Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt.

Yet said our Lord to Moses: I see well that this people is of evil disposition. Suffer me that I may wreak my wrath on them, and I shall destroy them. I shall make thee governor of great people.

Moses then prayed our Lord God saying: Why art thou wroth, Lord, against thy people that thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt in a great strength and a boisterous hand? I beseech thee, Lord, let not the Egyptians say that their God hath locked them out for to slay them in the mountains. I pray thee Lord that thy wrath may assuage, and be thou pleased and benign upon the wickedness of thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob thy servants, to whom thou promisedst and swaredst by thyself saying: I shall multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and the universal land of which I have spoken I shall give to your seed, and ye shall possess and have it ever.

And with these words our Lord was pleased that he would do no harm as he had said unto his people; and Moses returned from the mount, bearing two tables of stone, written both with the hand of God. And the scripture that was in the tables were the ten commandments as fore be written. Joshua hearing the great noise of the children of Israel said to Moses, "I trow they fight beneath," which answered and said, "It is no cry of exhorting men to fight, ne noise to compel me to flee, but I hear the noise of singing." When he approached to them he saw the calf and the instruments of mirth, and he was so wroth that he threw down the tables and brake them at the foot of the hill, and ran and caught down the calf that they had made, and burnt and smote it all to powder, which he cast into water and gave it to drink to the children of Israel.

Then said Moses to Aaron: What hath this people done to thee that thou hast made to sin grievously?

To whom he answered: Let not my lord take none indignation at me, thou knowest well that this people is prone and ready to sin. They said to me, "Make us gods that may go tofore us; we know not what

is fallen to this Moses that led us out of Egypt." To whom I said, "Who of you that hath gold give it me; they took and gave it to me, and I cast it into the fire, and thereof came out this calf."

And then said Moses: All they that be of God's part and have not sinned in this calf let them join to me; and the children of Levi joined to him, and he bade each man take a sword on his side and take vengeance and slay every each his brother, friend, and his neighbour that have trespassed.

And so the children of Levi went and slew thirty three thousand of the children of Israel. And then said Moses: Ye have hallowed this day your hands unto our Lord, and ye shall be therefore blessed.

The second day Moses spake to the people and said: Ye have committed and done the greatest sin that may be. I shall ascend unto our Lord again, and shall pray him for your sin. Then Moses ascended again, and received afterwards two tables again, which our Lord bade him make. And therein our Lord wrote the commandments.

THE ARK OF THE COVENANT

And after, our Lord commanded him to make an ark and a tabernacle: in which ark was kept three things. First the rod with which he did marvels, a pot full of manna, and the two tables with commandments.

THE ROD OF AARON

And then after Moses taught them the law; how each man should behave him against other and what he should do, and what he should not do, and departed them into twelve tribes, and commanded that every man should bring a rod into the Tabernacle. And Moses wrote each name on the rod, and Moses shut fast the tabernacle. And on the morn there was found one of the rods that burgeoned and bare leaves and fruit, and was of an almond tree. That rod fell to Aaron.

THE PEOPLE'S CONSTANT GRUMBLING

And after this, long time, the children desired to eat flesh and remembered of the flesh that they ate in Egypt, and grudged against Moses, and would have ordained to them a duke for to have returned into Egypt. Wherefore Moses was so woe that he desired of our Lord to deliver him from this life, because he saw them so unkind against God. Then God sent to them so great plenty of curlews that two days and one night they flew so thick by the ground that they took great number, for they flew but the height of two cubits. And they had so many that they dried them hanging on their tabernacles and tents. Yet were they not content, but ever grudging, wherefore God smote them and took vengeance on them by a great plague, and many died and were buried there.

MIRIAM AND AARON'S PREJUDICE AGAINST ZIPPORAH

And then from thence they went into Hazeroth and dwelt. After this Miriam and Aaron, brother and sister of Moses began to speak against Moses, because of his wife which was of Ethiopia, and said: God hath not spoken only by Moses, hath he not also spoken to us?

Wherefore our Lord was wroth. Moses was the humblest and the meekest man that was in all the world. Anon then, our Lord said to him, and to Aaron and to Miriam: Go ye three only unto the tabernacle.

And there our Lord said that there was none like to Moses, to whom he had spoken mouth to mouth, and reproved Aaron and Miriam because they spake so to Moses, and being wroth, departed from them. And anon, Miriam was smitten and made leper and white like snow.

And when Aaron beheld her and saw her smitten with leprosy, he said to Moses: I beseech the Lord that thou set not the sin on us which we have committed follily, and let not this our sister be as a dead woman, or as born out of time and cast away from her mother,

behold and see, half her flesh is devoured of the leprosy.

Then Moses cried unto our Lord, saying: I beseech thee Lord that thou heal her.

To whom our Lord said: If her father had spit in her face should she not be put to shame and rebuke seven days? Let her depart out of the castles seven days, and after she shall be called in again. So Miriam was shut out of the castles seven days, and the people removed not from the place till she was called again.

THE PEOPLE'S RELUCTANCE TO ENTER CANAAN

After this our Lord commanded Moses to send men into the land of Canaan that he should give them charge for to see and consider the goodness thereof, and that of every tribe he should send some. Moses did so as our Lord had commanded, which went in and brought of the fruits with them, and they brought a branch with one cluster of grapes as much as two men might bear between them upon a colestaff. When they had seen the country and considered by the space of forty days they returned and told the commodities of the land, but some said that the people were strong, and many kings and giants, in such wise that they said it was impregnable and that the people were much stronger than they were. Wherefore the people anon were afeard, and murmured against Moses and would return again into Egypt.

Then Joshua and Caleb, which were two of them that had considered the land, said to the people: Why grudge ye and wherefore be ye afraid? We have well seen the country, and it is good to win. The country floweth full of milk and honey, be not rebel against God, he shall give it us, be ye not afeard.

Then all the people cried against them, and when they would have taken stones and stoned them, our Lord in his glory appeared in a cloud upon the covering of the tabernacle, and said to Moses: This people believeth not the signs and wonders that I have showed and

done to them. I shall destroy them all by pestilence, and I shall make thee a prince upon people greater and stronger than this is.

Then prayed Moses to our Lord for the people, that he would have pity on them and not destroy them, but to have mercy on them after the magnitude of his mercy. And our Lord at his request forgave them. Nevertheless our Lord said that all the men that had seen his majesty, and the signs and marvels that he did in Egypt, and in desert, and have tempted him ten times, and not obeyed unto his voice, "shall not see ne come into the country and land that I have promised to their fathers, but Joshua and Caleb, my servants, shall enter into the land, and their seed shall possess it." Moses told all this unto the children and they wailed and sorrowed greatly therefore.

WATER FROM A STONE

After this the people removed from thence and came into the desert of Sin; and there Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, died, and was buried in the same place. Then the people lacked water and came and grudged against Moses, and yet wished they had abided in Egypt. Then Moses and Aaron entered into the Tabernacle and fell down to the ground low, and prayed unto our Lord, saying: Lord God, hear the clamour of thy people, and open to them thy treasure, a fountain of living water, that they may drink and the murmuration of them may cease.

Our Lord said to him then: Take the rod in thy hand, and thou and Aaron thy brother, assemble and gather the people and speak ye to the stone, and it shall give out water. And when the water cometh let all the multitude drink and their beasts.

Moses then took the rod as our Lord bade, and gathered all the people tofore the stone and said to them: Hear ye rebels and out of belief; trow ye not that we may give you water out of this stone?

And he lift up his hand and smote between the stone, and water

came and flowed out in the most largest wise, in such wise that the people and beasts drank their fill. Then said God to Moses and Aaron: Because ye have not believed me and sanctified my name tofore the children of Israel, and given to me the laud, but have done this in your name, ye shall not bring this people into the land that I shall give to them. And therefore this water was called the water of contradiction, where the children grudged against God.

ELEAZAR SUCCEEDS AARON

Anon after this, by God's commandment, Moses took Aaron upon the hill, and despoiled him of his vesture, and clothed therewith his son Eleazar, and made him upperest bishop for his father Aaron. And there Aaron died in the top of the hill, and Moses descended with Eleazar. And when all the multitude of people saw that Aaron was dead, they wept and wailed on him thirty days in every tribe and family.

THE BRASS SERPENT

After this the people went about the land of Edom, and began to wax weary, and grudged against our Lord and Moses, and said yet: Why hast thou led us out of the land of Egypt for to slay us in this desert and wilderness? Bread faileth us, there is no water, and our souls abhor and loathe this light meat.

For which cause God sent among them fiery-serpents, which bit and wounded many of them and slew also. Then they that were hurt came into Moses and said: We have sinned, for we have spoken against our Lord and thee; pray for us unto God that he deliver from us these serpents.

Then Moses prayed our Lord for the people. And our Lord said to him: Make a serpent of brass and set it up for a sign, and whosomever be hurt, and looketh thereon and beholdeth it, shall live and be whole.

Then Moses made a serpent of brass, and set it up for a sign, and when they that were hurt beheld it they were made whole.

THE DEATH OF MOSES

After this when Moses had showed to them all the laws of our Lord, and ceremonies, and had governed them forty years, and that he was an hundred and twenty years old, he ascended from the fields of Moab upon the mountain of Nebo into the top of Pisgah against Jericho, and there our Lord showed to him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and the land of promise from that one end unto that other. And then our Lord said to him: This is the land that I promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, "I shall give it to thy seed." Now thou hast seen it with thine eyes, and shalt not enter ne come therein.

And there in that place died Moses, servant of our Lord, as God commanded, and was buried in the vale of the land of Moab against Beth-peor. And yet never man knew his sepulchre unto this day. Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died, his eyes never dimmed, ne his teeth were never moved. The children of Israel wept and mourned for him thirty days in the fields of Moab.

Joshua the son of Nun was replenished with the spirit of wisdom; for Moses set on him his hands, and the children obeyed him as our Lord had commanded to Moses. And there was never after a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, which knew and spake to God face to face in all signs and tokens that God did and showed by him in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh and all his servants.

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OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD

Chapter 6 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483 1

(The following suffers from serious lacunae. I suggest the reader consult William Granger Ryan's translation .)

When the world had endured five thousand and nine hundred years, after Eusebius the holy saint, Octavian the Emperor commanded that all the world should be described, so that he might know how many cities, how many towns, and how many persons he had in all the universal world. Then was so great peace in the earth that all the world was obedient to him. And therefore our Lord would be born in that time, that it should be known that he brought peace from heaven.

And this Emperor commanded that every man should go into the towns, cities or villages from whence they were of, and should bring with him a penny in acknowledgment that he was subject to the Empire of Rome. And by so many pence as should be found received, should be known the number of the persons.

Joseph, which then was of the lineage of David and dwelled in Nazareth, went into the city of Bethlehem, and led with him the Virgin Mary his wife. And when they were come thither, because the hostelries were all taken up, they were constrained to be without in a common place where all people went. And there was a stable for an ass that he brought with him, and for an ox. In that night our Blessed Lady and Mother of God was delivered of our Blessed Saviour upon the hay that lay in the rack.

MARVELS AT THE TIME

At which nativity our Lord shewed many marvels. For because that the world was in so great peace, the Romans had done made a

temple which was named the Temple of Peace, in which they counselled with Apollo to know how long it should stand and endure. Apollo answered to them that, it should stand as long till a maid had brought forth and borne a child. And therefore they did do write on the portal of the Temple: Lo! this is the temple of peace that ever shall endure. For they supposed well that a maid might never bear [and an inscription, *templum pacis aeternum* , was carved over the doors. But in the very night when Mary bore Christ, the temple crumbled to the ground, and on its site the church of Santa Maria Nuova stands today.]

THE SHEPHERDS

…Bethlehem, there may ye find him wrapt in clouts. And anon, as the angel had said this, a multitude of angels appeared with him, and began to sing. Honour, glory and health be to God on high, and in the earth peace to men of goodwill. Then said the shepherds, let us go to Bethlehem and see this thing. And when they came they found like as the angel had said.

THE SODOMITES

And it happed this night that all the sodomites that did sin against nature were dead and extinct; for God hated so much this sin, that he might not suffer that nature human, which he had taken, were delivered to so great shame. Whereof St. Austin saith that, it lacked but little that God would not become man for that sin.

In this time Octavian made to cut and enlarge the ways and quitted the Romans of all the debts that they owed to him.

CONCLUSION

This feast of Nativity of our Lord is one of the greatest feasts of all the year, and for to tell all the miracles that our Lord hath showed, it should contain a whole book; but at this time I shall leave and pass over save one thing that I have heard once preached of a worshipful doctor, that what person being in clean life desire on this day a boon

of God, as far as it is rightful and good for him, our Lord at the reverence of this blessed high feast of his Nativity will grant it to him. Then let us always make us in clean life at this feast that we may so please him, that after this short life we may come unto his bliss. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS THE BISHOP

Chapter #3 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

Nicholas, citizen of the city of Patras, was born of rich and holy kin, and his father was Epiphanes and his mother Johane. He was begotten in the first flower of their age, and from that time forthon they lived in continence and led an heavenly life. Then the first day that he was washed and bained, he addressed him right up in the bason, and he would not take the breast nor the pap but once on the Wednesday and once on the Friday, and in his young age he eschewed the plays and japes of other young children. He used and haunted gladly holy church; and all that he might understand of holy scripture he executed it in deed and work after his power.

THE GIFT OF GOLD FOR THE THREE DAUGHTERS

And when his father and mother were departed out of this life, he began to think how he might distribute his riches, and not to the praising of the world but to the honour and glory of God. And it was so that one, his neighbour, had then three daughters, virgins, and he was a nobleman: but for the poverty of them together, they were constrained, and in very purpose to abandon them to the sin of lechery, so that by the gain and winning of their infamy they might be sustained. And when the holy man Nicholas knew hereof he had great horror of this villainy, and threw by night secretly into the house of the man a mass of gold wrapped in a cloth. And when the man arose in the morning, he found this mass of gold, and rendered to God therefor great thankings, and therewith he married his oldest daughter.

And a little while after this holy servant of God threw in another mass of gold, which the man found, and thanked God, and purposed to wake, for to know him that so had aided him in his

poverty. And after a few days Nicholas doubled the mass of gold, and cast it into the house of this man. He awoke by the sound of the gold, and followed Nicholas, which fled from him, and he said to him: Sir, flee not away so but that I may see and know thee.

Then he ran after him more hastily, and knew that it was Nicholas; and anon he kneeled down, and would have kissed his feet, but the holy man would not, but required him not to tell nor discover this thing as long as he lived.

ST. NICHOLAS IS CHOSEN BISHOP OF MYRA

After this the bishop of Mirea died and other bishops assembled for to purvey to this church a bishop. And there was, among the others, a bishop of great authority, and all the election was in him. And when he had warned all for to be in fastings and in prayers, this bishop heard that night a voice which said to him that, at the hour of matins, he should take heed to the doors of the church, and him that should come first to the church, and have the name of Nicholas they should sacre him bishop. And he showed this to the other bishops and admonished them for to be all in prayers; and he kept the doors. And this was a marvellous thing, for at the hour of matins, like as he had been sent from God, Nicholas arose tofore all other. And the bishop took him when he was come and demanded of him his name. And he, which was simple as a dove, inclined his head, and said: I have to name Nicholas.

Then the bishop said to him: Nicholas, servant and friend of God, for your holiness ye shall be bishop of this place.

And sith they brought him to the church, howbeit that he refused it strongly, yet they set him in the chair. And he followed, as he did tofore in all things, in humility and honesty of manners. He woke in prayer and made his body lean, he eschewed company of women, he was humble in receiving all things, profitable in speaking, joyous in admonishing, and cruel in correcting.

THE MARINERS SAVED FROM THE TEMPEST

It is read in a chronicle that the blessed Nicholas was at the Council of Nicea; and on a day, as a ship with mariners were in perishing on the sea, they prayed and required devoutly Nicholas, servant of God, saying: If those things that we have heard of thee said be true, prove them now.

And anon a man appeared in his likeness, and said: "Lo! see ye me not? ye called me," and then he began to help them in their exploit of the sea, and anon the tempest ceased.

And when they were come to his church, they knew him without any man to show him to them, and yet they had never seen him. And then they thanked God and him of their deliverance. And he bade them to attribute it to the mercy of God, and to their belief, and nothing to his merits.

THE MIRACLE OF THE WHEAT

It was so on a time that all the province of St. Nicolas suffered great famine, in such wise that victual failed. And then this holy man heard say that certain ships laden with wheat were arrived in the haven. And anon he went thither and prayed the mariners that they would succour the perished at least with an hundred muyes of wheat of every ship. And they said: Father we dare not, for it is meted and measured, and we must give reckoning thereof in the garners of the Emperor in Alexandria.

And the holy man said to them: Do this that I have said to you, and I promise, in the truth of God, that it shall not be lessed or minished when ye shall come to the garners. And when they had delivered so much out of every ship, they came into Alexandria and delivered the measure that they had received. And then they recounted the miracle to the ministers of the Emperor, and worshipped and praised strongly God and his servant Nicholas.

Then this holy man distributed the wheat to every man after that he had need, in such wise that it sufficed for two years, not only for to sell, but also to sow.

THE DEVIL AND THE BURNING OIL

And in this country the people served idols and worshipped the false image of the cursed Diana. And to the time of this holy man, many of them had some customs of the paynims, for to sacrifice to Diana under a sacred tree; but this good man made them of all the country to cease then these customs, and commanded to cut off the tree.

Then the devil was angry and wroth against him, and made an oil that burned, against nature, in water, and burned stones also. And then he transformed him in the guise of a religious woman, and put him in a little boat, and encountered pilgrims that sailed in the sea towards this holy saint, and areasoned them thus and said: I would fain go to this holy man, but I may not, wherefore I pray you to bear this oil into his church, and for the remembrance of me, that ye anoint the walls of the hall.

And anon he vanished away. Then they saw anon after another ship with honest persons, among whom there was one like to Nicholas, which spake to them softly: What hath this woman said to you, and what hath she brought?

And they told to him all by order. And he said to them: This is the evil and foul Diana; and to the end that ye know that I say truth, cast that oil into the sea.

And when they had cast it, a great fire caught it in the sea, and they saw it long burn against nature. Then they came to this holy man and said to him: Verily thou art he that appeared to us in the sea and deliveredst us from the sea and awaits of the devil.

ST. NICHOLAS INTERCEDES FOR THE THREE PRINCES

And in this time certain men rebelled against the emperor; and the emperor sent against them three princes â□□ Nepotian, Ursyn, and Apollyn. And they came into the port Adriatic, for the wind, which was contrary to them; and the blessed Nicholas commanded them to dine with him, for he would keep his people from the ravin that they made.

And whilst they were at dinner, the consul, corrupt by money, had commanded three innocent knights to be beheaded. And when the blessed Nicholas knew this, he prayed these three princes that they would much hastily go with him. And when they were come where they should be beheaded, he found them on their knees, and blindfold, and the righter brandished his sword over their heads. Then St. Nicholas, embraced with the love of God, set him hardily against the righter, and took the sword out of his hand, and threw it from him, and unbound the innocents, and led them with him all safe.

And anon he went to the judgment to the consul, and found the gates closed, which anon he opened by force. And the consul came anon and saluted him: and this holy man having this salutation in despite, said to him: Thou enemy of God, corrupter of the law, wherefore hast thou consented to so great evil and felony, how darest thou look on us?

And when he had sore chidden and reproved him, he repented, and at the prayer of the three princes he received him to penance.

After, when the messengers of the emperor had received his benediction, they made their gear ready and departed, and subdued their enemies to the empire without shedding of blood and sith returned to the emperor, and were worshipfully received.

And after this it happed that some other in the emperor's house had envy on the weal of these three princes, and accused them to the emperor of high treason, and did so much by prayer and by gifts that they caused the emperor to be so full of ire that he commanded

them to prison, and without other demand, he commanded that they should be slain that same night.

And when they knew it by their keeper, they rent their clothes and wept bitterly; and then Nepotian remembered him how St. Nicholas had delivered the three innocents, and admonested the others that they should require his aid and help. And thus as they prayed St. Nicholas appeared to them, and after appeared to Constantine the emperor, and said to him: Wherefore hast thou taken these three princes with so great wrong, and hast judged them to death without trespass? Arise up hastily, and command that they be not executed, or I shall pray to God that he move battle against thee, in which thou shalt be overthrown, and shalt be made meat to beasts.

And the emperor demanded: What art thou that art entered by night into my palace and durst say to me such words?

And he said to him: I am Nicholas bishop of Mirea.

And in like wise he appeared to the provost, and feared him, saying with a fearful voice: Thou that hast lost mind and wit, wherefore hast thou consented to the death of innocents? Go forth anon and do thy part to deliver them, or else thy body shall rot, and be eaten with worms, and thy meiny shall be destroyed.

And he asked him: Who art thou that so menaces me? And he answered: Know thou that I am Nicholas, the bishop of the city of Mirea.

Then that one awoke that other, and each told to other their dreams, and anon sent for them that were in prison, to whom the emperor said: What art magic or sorcery can ye, that ye have this night by illusion caused us to have such dreams?

And they said that they were none enchanters ne knew no witchcraft, and also that they had not deserved the sentence of death. Then the emperor said to them: know ye well a man named

Nicholas?

And when they heard speak of the name of the holy saint, they held up their hands towards heaven, and prayed our Lord that by the merits of St. Nicholas they might be delivered of this present peril. And when the emperor had heard of them the life and miracles of St. Nicholas, he said to them: Go ye forth, and yield ye thankings to God, which hath delivered you by the prayer of this holy man, and worship ye him; and bear ye to him of your jewels, and pray ye him that he threaten me no more, but that he pray for me and for my realm unto our Lord.

And a while after, the said princes went unto the holy man, and fell down on their knees humbly at his feet, saying: Verily thou art the sergeant of God, and the very worshipper and lover of Jesu Christ. And when they had all told this said thing by order, he lift up his hands to heaven and gave thankings and praisings to God, and sent again the princes, well informed, into their countries.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF ST. NICHOLAS

And when it pleased our Lord to have him depart out this world, he prayed our Lord that he would send him his angels; and inclining his head he saw the angels come to him, whereby he knew well that he should depart, and began this holy psalm: *In te domine speravi* [â□□I have hope in thee O Lordâ□□], unto, *in manus tuas* , and so saying: â□□Lord, into thine hands I commend my spirit,â□□ he rendered up his soul and died, the year of our Lord three hundred and forty-three, with great melody sung of the celestial company.

And when he was buried in a tomb of marble, a fountain of oil sprang out from the head unto his feet; and unto this day holy oil issueth out of his body, which is much available to the health of sicknesses of many men. And after him in his see succeeded a man of good and holy life, which by envy was put out of his bishopric. And when he was out of his see the oil ceased to run, and when he was restored again thereto, the oil ran again.

THE TRANSLATION OF HIS BODY TO BARI

Long after this the Turks destroyed the city of Mirea, and then came thither forty-seven knights of Bari, and four monks showed to them the sepulchre of St. Nicholas. And they opened it and found the bones swimming in the oil, and they bare them away honourably into the city of Bari, in the year of our Lord ten hundred and eightyseven.

MIRACLES OF ST. NICHOLAS

The Cheated Jew

There was a man that had borrowed of a Jew a sum of money, and sware upon the altar of St. Nicholas that he would render and pay it again as soon as he might, and gave none other pledge. And this man held this money so long, that the Jew demanded and asked his money, and he said that he had paid him.

Then the Jew made him to come tofore the law in judgment, and the oath was given to the debtor. And he brought with him an hollow staff, in which he had put the money in gold, and he leant upon the staff. And when he should make his oath and swear, he delivered his staff to the Jew to keep and hold whilst he should swear, and then sware that he had delivered to him more than he ought to him. And when he had made the oath, he demanded his staff again of the Jew, and he nothing knowing of his malice delivered it to him.

Then this deceiver went his way, and anon after, him list sore to sleep, and laid him in the way, and a cart with four wheels came with great force and slew him, and brake the staff with gold that it spread abroad. And when the Jew heard this, he came thither sore moved, and saw the fraud, and many said to him that he should take to him the gold; and he refused it, saying, But if he that was dead were not raised again to life by the merits of St. Nicholas, he would not receive it, and if he came again to life, he would receive baptism and become Christian. Then he that was dead arose, and the Jew was christened.

The Jew and the Thieves

Another Jew saw the virtuous miracles of St. Nicholas, and did do make an image of the saint, and set it in his house, and commanded him that he should keep well his house when he went out, and that he should keep well all his goods, saying to him: Nicholas, lo! here be all my goods, I charge thee to keep them, and if thou keep them not well, I shall avenge me on thee in beating and tormenting thee.

And on a time, when the Jew was out, thieves came and robbed all his goods, and left, unborne away, only the image. And when the Jew came home he found him robbed of all his goods. He areasoned the image saying these words: Sir Nicholas, I had set you in my house for to keep my goods from thieves, wherefore have ye not kept them? Ye shall receive sorrow and torments, and shall have pain for the thieves. I shall avenge my loss, and refrain my woodness in beating thee.

And then took the Jew the image, and beat it, and tormented it cruelly. Then happed a great marvel, for when the thieves departed the goods, the holy saint, like as he had been in his array, appeared to the thieves, and said to them: Wherefore have I been beaten so cruelly for you and have so many torments? See how my body is hewed and broken; see how that the red blood runneth down by my body; go ye fast and restore it again, or else the ire of God Almighty shall make you as to be one out of his wit, and that all men shall know your felony, and that each of you shall be hanged.

And they said: Who art thou that sayest to us such things? And he said to them: I am Nicholas the servant of Jesu Christ, whom the Jew hath so cruelly beaten for his goods that ye bare away.

Then they were afeard, and came to the Jew, and heard what he had done to the image, and they told him the miracle, and delivered to him again all his goods. And thus came the thieves to the way of truth, and the Jew to the way of Jesu Christ.

The Child Revived on St. Nicholas's Day

A man, for the love of his son, that went to school for to learn, hallowed, every year, the feast of St. Nicholas much solemnly. On a time it happed that the father had do make ready the dinner, and called many clerks to this dinner. And the devil came to the gate in the habit of a pilgrim for to demand alms: and the father anon commanded his son that he should give alms to the pilgrim. He followed him as he went for to give to him alms, and when he came to the quarfox the devil caught the child and strangled him.

And when the father heard this he sorrowed much strongly and wept, and bare the body into his chamber, and began to cry for sorrow, and say: Bright sweet son, how is it with thee? St. Nicholas, is this the guerdon that ye have done to me because I have so long served you?

And as he said these words, and other semblable, the child opened his eyes, and awoke like as he had been asleep, and arose up tofore all, and was raised from death to life.

The Miracle of the Cups

Another nobleman prayed to St. Nicholas that he would, by his merits, get of our Lord that he might have a son, and promised that he would bring his son to the church, and would offer up to him a cup of gold. Then the son was born and came to age, and the father commanded to make a cup, and the cup pleased him much, and he retained it for himself, and did do make another of the same value.

And they went sailing in a ship toward the church of St. Nicholas, and when the child would have filled the cup, he fell into the water with the cup, and anon was lost, and came no more up.

Yet nevertheless the father performed his avow, in weeping much tenderly for his son; and when he came to the altar of St. Nicholas he offered the second cup, and when he had offered it, it fell down,

like as one had cast it under the altar. And he took it up and set it again upon the altar, and then yet was it cast further than tofore and yet he took it up and remised it the third time upon the altar; and it was thrown again further than tofore.

Of which thing all they that were there marvelled, and men came for to see this thing. And anon, the child that had fallen in the sea, came again prestly before them all, and brought in his hands the first cup, and recounted to the people that, anon as he was fallen in the sea, the blessed St. Nicholas came and kept him that he had none harm. And thus his father was glad and offered to St. Nicholas both the two cups.

The Kidnapped Boy

There was another rich man that by the merits of St. Nicholas had a son, and called him: *Deus dedit* , "God gave." And this rich man did do make a chapel of St. Nicholas in his dwelling place; and did do hallow every year the feast of St. Nicholas.

And this manor was set by the land of the Agarians. This child was taken prisoner, and deputed to serve the king.

The year following, [on] the day that his father held devoutly the feast of St. Nicholas, the child held a precious cup tofore the king, and remembered his prise, the sorrow of his friends, and the joy that was made that day in the house of his father, and began for to sigh sore high. And the king demanded him what ailed him and the cause of his sighing; and he told him every word wholly.

And when the king knew it he said to him: Whatsomever thy Nicholas do or do not, thou shalt abide here with us. And suddenly there blew a much strong wind, that made all the house to tremble, and the child was ravished with the cup, and was set tofore the gate where his father held the solemnity of St. Nicholas, in such wise that they all demeaned great joy.

And some say that this child was of Normandy, and went oversea, and was taken by the Sowdan, which made him oft to be beaten tofore him. And as he was beaten on a St. Nicholas day, and was after set in prison, he prayed to St. Nicholas as well for his beating that he suffered, as for the great joy that he was wont to have on that day of St. Nicholas.

And when he had long prayed and sighed he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found himself in the chapel of his father, whereas was much joy made for him.

Let us then pray to this blessed saint that he will pray for us to our Lord Jesu Christ which is blessed *in secula seculorum* . Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF S. PANCRACE

Chapter 76 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Pancrace was of right noble lineage and was born of the country of Phrygia. When his father and mother were dead he was put to be governed in the hand of Denis his uncle, which was brother of his father, and they both came to Rome, where they had of their patrimony great rents. In their street the pope Cornelius held him privily, of which pope, Pancrace and Denis had received the christian faith.

ST. PANCRACE BEFORE THE EMPEROR DIOCLETIAN

Finally Denis died in the country, and Pancrace was taken and presented to Cæsar. And then was Pancrace about fourteen years of age. To whom the emperor Diocletian said: "My little child, I warn and counsel thee that thou advise thee well, to the end that thou die not an evil death, for as a child thou art lightly deceived; and because thou art noble of blood and of lineage, and son of one my right dear friend, I pray thee that thou leave this madness that thou hast emprised, and that I may have thee with me as my son."

To whom Pancrace answered: "If I be a child of body yet mine heart is old, and by the virtue of my lord Jesu Christ your threatening and menaces make me no more to move than doth the painting that I see upon the wall; and these gods that thou wouldest that I should worship be but deceivers of creatures and have been as germains in fornications made against God their creator, and have not spared kin ne other. And if thou hadst knowledge that thy servants were such, thou shouldst command that they should be slain, and I much marvel that ye adore such gods."

When the emperor heard this child thus speak he doubted to be overcome of him, and commanded that his head should be smitten off, and so he was martyred about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty-five, whose body a worshipful lady named Cocovilla, which was of the senate, with great diligence buried honorably. And of him said Gregory of Tours, doctor: That if there be a man that will make a false oath in the place of his sepulchre, tofore or he come to the chancel of the quire he shall be travailed with an evil spirit and out of his mind, or he shall fall on the pavement all dead.

OATHS ON THE RELICS OF ST. PANCRACE

It happed on a time that there was a great altercation between two men, and the judge wist not who had wrong. And for the jealousy of justice that he had, he brought them both unto the altar of S. Peter for to swear, praying the apostle that he would declare who had right. And when he that had wrong had sworn and had none harm, the judge, that knew the malice of him, said all on high: This old Peter here is either over merciful or he is propitious to this young man, but let us go to Pancrace and demand we of him the truth; and when they came to the sepulchre, he that was culpable sware, and stretched forth his hand, but he might not withdraw his hand to him, and anon after he died there, and therefore unto this day of much people it is used that for great and notable causes men make their oaths upon the relics of S. Pancrace.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. PATRICK

William Caxton's life of St. Patrick, based on the Golden Legend and material from other sources (see Sr. Mary Jeremy). This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory glosses.

S Patrick was born in Britain, which is called England, and was learned at Rome and there flourished in virtues; and after departed out of the parts of Italy, where he had long dwelled, and came home into his country in Wales named Pendyac, and entered into a fair and joyous country called the valley Rosine. To whom the angel of God appeared and said: O Patrick, this see ne bishopric God hath not provided to thee, but unto one not yet born, but shall thirty years hereafter be born, and so he left that country and sailed over into Ireland. And as Higden saith in Polycronicon the fourth book, the twenty-fourth chapter, that S. Patrick's father was named Caprum, which was a priest and a deacon's son which was called Fodum. And S. Patrick's mother was named Conchessa, Martin's sister of France. In his baptism he was named Sucate, and S. Germain called him Magonius, and Celestinus the pope named him Patrick. That is as much to say as father of the citizens.

HE PREACHES BEFORE A KING; THE SNAKES

S. Patrick on a day as he preached a sermon of the patience and sufferance of the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ to the king of the country, he leaned upon his crook or cross, and it happed by adventure that he set the end of the crook, or his staff, upon the king's foot, and pierced his foot with the pike, which was sharp beneath. The king had supposed that S. Patrick had done it wittingly, for to move him the sooner to patience and to the faith of God, but when S. Patrick perceived it he was much abashed, and by his prayers he healed the king. And furthermore he impetred and gat grace of our Lord that no venomous beast might live in all the country, and yet unto this day is no venomous beast in all Ireland.

THE STOLEN SHEEP

After it happed on a time that a man of that country stole a sheep, which belonged to his neighbour, whereupon S. Patrick admonested the people that whomsoever had taken it should deliver it again within seven days. When all the people were assembled within the church, and the man which had stolen it made no semblant to render ne deliver again this sheep, then S. Patrick commanded, by the virtue of God, that the sheep should bleat and cry in the belly of him that had eaten it, and so happed it that, in the presence of all the people, the sheep cried and bleated in the belly of him that had stolen it. And the man that was culpable repented him of his trespass, and the others from then forthon kept them from stealing of sheep from any other man.

WORSHIP OF THE CROSS

Also S. Patrick was wont for to worship and do reverence unto all the crosses devoutly that he might see, but on a time tofore the sepulchre of a paynim stood a fair cross, which he passed and went forth by as he had not seen it, and he was demanded of his fellows why he saw not that cross. And then he prayed to God he said for to know whose it was, and he said he heard a voice under the earth saying: Thou sawest it not because I am a paynim that am buried here, and am unworthy that the sign of the cross should stand there, wherefore he made the sign of the cross to be taken thence.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY

On a time as S. Patrick preached in Ireland the faith of Jesu Christ, and did but little profit by his predication, for he could not convert the evil, rude and wild people, he prayed to our Lord Jesu Christ that he would show them some sign openly, fearful and ghastful, by which they might be converted and be repentant of their sins. Then, by the commandment of God, S. Patrick made in the earth a great circle with his staff, and anon the earth after the quantity of the circle opened and there appeared a great pit and a deep, and S. Patrick by the revelation of God understood that there was a place of

purgatory, in to which whomsoever entered therein he should never have other penance ne feel none other pain, and there was showed to him that many should enter which should never return ne come again. And they that should return should abide but from one morn to another, and no more, and many entered that came not again.

As touching this pit or hole which is named S. Patrick's purgatory, some hold opinion that the second Patrick, which was an abbot and no bishop, that God showed to him this place of purgatory; but certainly such a place there is in Ireland wherein many men have been, and yet daily go in and come again, and some have had there marvellous visions and seen grisly and horrible pains, of whom there be books made as of Tundale and others.

HIS DEATH AND LEGACY

Then this holy man S. Patrick, the bishop, lived till he was one hundred and twenty-two years old, and was the first that was bishop in Ireland, and died in Aurelius Ambrose's time that was king of Britain. In his time was the Abbot Columba, otherwise named Colinkillus, and S. Bride whom S. Patrick professed and veiled, and she over-lived him forty years. All these three holy saints were buried in Ulster, in the city of Dunence, as it were in a cave with three chambers. Their bodies were found at the first coming of King John, King Harry the second's son, into Ireland. Upon whose tombs these verses following were written: Hic jacent in Duno qui tumulo tumulantur in uno, Brigida, Patricius atque Columba plus, which is for to say in English: In Duno these three be buried all in one sepulchre: Bride, Patrick, and Columba the mild.

Men say that this holy bishop, S. Patrick, did three great things. One is that he drove with his staff all the venomous beasts out of Ireland. The second, that he had grant of our Lord God that none Irish man shall abide the coming of Antichrist. The third wonder is read of his purgatory, which is more referred to the less S. Patrick, the Abbot. And this holy abbot, because he found the people of that land rebel, he went out of Ireland and came in to England in the Abbey of

Glastonbury, where he died on a S. Bartholomew's day. He flourished about the year of our Lord eight hundred and fifty, and the holy bishop died the year of our Lord four hundred and ninety in the one hundred and twentysecond year of his age, to whom pray we that he pray for us.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. PAULINE THE WIDOW

Chapter 29 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's edition" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Pauline was a much noble widow of Rome, of whom St. Jerome wrote the life, and saith first thus: If all my members were turned into tongues, and all my arteries should resound in human voice, yet I might not worthily write the virtues of St. Pauline. I take witness of God and of his holy angels, and also of the angel that was keeper of this woman that I shall say nothing for praising but that same that I shall say shall be less than appertaineth to her virtues. She was born among the nobles of the senators of Rome, and of the lineage of the noble Gregois, rich of good and puissant of seignory at Rome. She was the most humble of all other, for like as the sun surmounteth the clearness of the stars, so surmounted she the beauty of others by her great humility.

THE VOYAGE TO JERUSALEM

When her husband was passed out of this world, she abode lady of all the goods and riches. It happed that, at the mandment of the Emperor, many bishops came to Rome, among whom were there the holy man Paulinus, the patriarch of Antioch, and Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, of whom she was esprised in good virtues, so that she gave largely of her goods for Godâ□□s sake. Her parents, ne her friends, ne her own children could not turn her, ne make her to change her purpose, but that she would become the pilgrim of Jesu Christ, for the amorous desire that she had to Jesu Christ surmounted the love that she had to her children. Only among all her children she had put her affection in Eustochium her daughter, whom she led with her in this pilgrimage.

She took the sea and sailed so far that she came into the holy land of Jerusalem. O how great devotion she had to visit the sepulchre of Jesu Christ and the other holy places, and how all weeping she kissed them, there can no man rehearse. All the city of Jerusalem could speak of it, and yet best of all knew the Lord for whose love she had forsaken all things.

She had been at Rome so puissant and so noble, that every man coveted to do to her honour for her great renomee, but she that was founded upon humility sought the humble places and religious, and came at the last to Bethlehem.

HER VISION OF THE VIRGIN MARY

And when she had devoutly visited the place in which the Virgin Mary infanted and childed Jesu Christ, she fell in a vision, and as she sware to me, she saw in that vision the child wrapped in poor clouts lying in the crib or in the rack, and how the three kings worshipped him, how the star came upon the house, and how the shepherds came to see him, and how Herod made persecution upon the innocents, and how Joseph bare the child into Egypt. And this vision she said, all in weeping and in laughing, and said: I salute thee Bethlehem wherein he is born, that descended from heaven, of thee prophesied (Micah the fifth chapter), that of thee should be born the God that should govern the people of Israel, and the lineage of David should endure in thee unto the time that the glorious virgin should enfant Jesu Christ; and I wretched, as unworthy to repute me to kiss the crib in which our Lord wept as a child, and the virgin childed, here I shall take my rest and my dwelling, for my Saviour chose this place in Bethlehem.

HER LIFE IN BETHLEHEM

She made there her habitation with many virgins that served God, and how well that she was lady of all, nevertheless she was the most humble and meek in speaking, in habit, and in going, in such wise that she seemed servant of all the other. She never ate after the death of her husband with no man, how good that he was; she

visited as it is said tofore, all the holy places and the monks of Egypt, among whom were many of the ancient fathers and many holy men, and her seemed that she saw Jesu Christ among them.

HER GOVERNANCE OF THE CONVENT AT BETHLEHEM

And after, she founded in Bethlehem an abbey in which she assembled virgins as well of noble estate as of middle and low lineage, and departed them in three congregations, so that they were departed in work, in meat, and drink, but in saying their psalter and adoring were they together at the hours as it appertaineth. And she induced and informed all the other in prayer and in work, by example giving, she was never idle. And all they were of one habit, and they had ne sheets ne linen cloth but to dry their hands, and they might have no licence to speak to men, and they that came late to the hours, she blamed debonairly or shortly, after that they were, and suffered not that any of them should have anything save the living and clothing, for to put away avarice from them.

She appeased them sweetly that strove, and also she brake and mortified among the young maidens their fleshly desires by continual fastings, for she had liefer have them good, suffering sorrow and sickness, than their heart should be hurt by fleshly will. And she chastised them that were nice and quaint, saying that such nicety was filth of the soul. And said also that word sounding to any ordure or filth should never issue out of the mouth of a virgin, for by the words outward is showed the countenance of the heart within. And she that so spake and was rebuked therefor, if she amended it not at the first warning, ne at the second, ne at the third, she should be dissevered from the others in eating and in drinking, by which she should be ashamed, and thus should be amended by debonair correction, and if she would not, she should be punished by right great moderation.

HER VIRTUES

She was marvellous debonair and pitiful to them that were sick, and comforted them and served them right busily, and to them largely to

eat such as they asked, but to herself she was hard in her sickness and scarce, for she refused to eat flesh, how well she gave it to other, and also to drink wine. She was oft by them that were sick, and laid the pillows aright and in point, and frotted their feet and chauffed water to wash them. And her seemed that the less she did to the sick in service, so much less service did she to God, and deserved less merit, and therefore she was to them pitiful, and nothing to herself. In her right great sicknesses she would have no soft bed, but lay upon the straw or upon the ground, and took but little rest.

For the most part she was in prayers both by day and by night, and she wept so much that it seemed of her eyes a fountain. So many tears ran from them, and when we said to her oft-times that she should keep her eyes from weeping so much, she said: The visage ought to be like to be foul because it hath so much been made fair and gay against the commandment of God, and the body ought to be chastised that hath had so much solace in this world, and the laughings ought to be recompensed by weepings, and the soft bed and the sheets ought to be changed into the sharpness of hair. I that was accustomed to please man and the world, I desire now to please Jesu Christ. And what shall I say of chastity in which she was ensample unto all ladies of time past when she was yet secular?

For she conversed in such wise that they that were envious durst not avise on her any evil fame.

She was debonair and courteous unto all, for she comforted the poor and warned the rich to do well, but in largess she passed so that no poor man complained of her. And this did she not by the great abundance that she had of goods, but by her wise governance, and when I said to her that she should have measure in doing alms, after that the apostle saith that the alms that is done to another be not grievous to him that doth it. 1 But she said that for the love of our Lord she did all, and that she desired to die, begging in such wise that she should not leave one penny to her daughter

after her, and that she might be wrapped in a strange sheet when she should die.

And at the last she said: If I should demand ought, I should find enough that would give to me, and these beggars, if I gave to them nought and they so departed and died for poverty, of whom should God demand this? Oft said she so: They be happy that be merciful, and alms quencheth sins as the water quencheth the fire, but for to do alms it cometh not always to perfection, for many do alms that abide in their carnalities; they seem to be good without forth but within they be mortal.

Pauline was not such an one. She affeebled her body right sore in fasting and in labouring, that unnethe she set her eyes to her meat, without eating fish, ne milk, eggs, or white meat, in which many ween to do great abstinence without eating flesh. For our Lord gave to her an adversary, the stimulation fleshly, by which she held her in humility without savouring anything of pride for the foison of her virtues, and also that she thought not to be higher than other women. She had always in her mind the holy Scriptures against the deceptions of the fiend, and especially this that Moses saith: "God assayeth you if he love you," 2 and this that saith Isaiah the prophet: "Ye that have been at the solace and joys of the world and now be withdrawn from them and left them, look after none other thing but to suffer tribulation upon tribulation and know ye by tribulation is had patience, and by patience is had poverty." 3 It is said, Job, *primo capitulo* when it was showed to him the loss of his patrimony, he answered: "I issued naked from the belly of my mother, and I shall re-enter naked again into the earth, like as God may be pleased so be it done, his name be praised and blessed." 4 He learned us that we should not love the world, for the world shall finish in her covetise.

When one told her that her children were right sick, she said: Who loveth his son or his daughter more than God is not worthy to be with God.

A man that seemed to be her friend sent her word on a time that she had great need to keep well her brain, for because of the ardour that she had in virtues, she seemed to be out of her wit, and she answered: In this world we be reputed as fools for the love of Jesu Christ. And our Lord said to his apostles, "The world hateth you, for ye be not of the world, if ye were of the world (that is to say of the conversation of the world), the world should love you." Fair Lord God, we mortify ourselves always, and we be reputed as sheep that be brought to death, because that without plaining we mortify our bodies.

In such patience was she unto the death, and suffered humbly the envy of them that were evil. She had in her mind the holy Scriptures, and she held her more to the spiritual understanding than to the histories of the Scripture. She could perfectly Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, and read coursably the Scriptures in these four languages.

HER DEATH

Who may recount without weeping the death of this woman? She fell in a malady mortal and saw well that she should die, for all her body became cold, and she felt that her spirit held her in her breast. Then said she without plaining, and without having any charge save to God: Fair sweet Lord, I have coveted the beauty of thy house for to be in thy habitation that is so fair, my soul hath desired to be in thy realm.

And when I demanded her wherefore she spake no more, and she would not answer me, and I asked if she suffered great pain, she said to me in Greek tongue that she was well and in good peace. And anon she left speaking to me, and closed her eyes in saying to God: Lord, like as the hart desireth to come to the fountain, so desireth my soul to come to thee; alas! when shall I come to thee fair Lord God?

And in saying these words, she made a cross upon her mouth.

There were bishops, priests, clerks canons, and monks without number, and at the last, when she heard her spouse, Jesu Christ, which called her saying, "Arise and come to me my sweet love and fair espouse, for the winter is passed," she answered gladly, "The flowers be showed in our country, and I believe that I shall see the goods in the realm of heaven of my Lord Jesu Christ."

And thus she rendered her soul and passed out of this world. And anon all the congregation of virgins made no cry in weeping as do the people of the world, but read devoutly their psalter not only unto the time that she was buried, but all the day and all the night. And with great pain could not Eustochium, her venerable daughter, the virgin, be withdrawn from her, but she kissed her and embraced her piteously in weeping the death of her mother. And Jesus witnesseth that St. Pauline left not one penny to her daughter, she had so given alms of all her great riches. Many give largely for Godâ□□s sake, but they give not so much but some abideth.

When she was passed as said is, her lips ne her face were not pale, but was as reverent to look on as she had been yet alive. She was buried in a sepulchre in Bethlehem with right great honour by the bishops, priests, clerks, monks, virgins, and all the poor people of the country, which plained that they had lost their good mother that had nourished them. She lived in Rome holily thirty-three years, and in Bethlehem twenty years, and all her age was fifty three years seven months and twenty days, from the time of Honorius, emperor of Rome. Then let us pray to this holy woman that she pray for us.

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1 2 Corinthians 8:13-14, "For I mean not that others should be eased, and you burthened, but by an equality. In this present time let your abundance supply their want, that their abundance also may supply your want, that there may be an equality."

2 Deuteronomy 13:3, "Thou shalt not hear the words of that prophet or dreamer: for the Lord your God trieth you, that it may appear whether you love him with all your heart, and with all your soul, or not."

3 I have not been able to identify this quotation.

4 Job 1:21.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL THE FIRST HERMIT

Chapter 15 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

St. Paul which was the first hermit as St. Jerome writeth, was in the time of Decius and Valerianus, emperors, the year of the incarnation of our Lord two hundred and fifty-six. This holy man, St. Paul, saw men for Christian faith cruelly tormented, wherefore he fled into the desert.

Among whom he saw two cruelly tormented. The first for that he abode firmly in his faith, the judge did do anoint all his body with honey and did do bind his hands behind him on his back, and so did him be set in the heat of the sun for to be bitten and stung of flies and wasps.

That other that was young he made him to be in a right soft bed between two sheets, among flowers and delectable roses and herbs sweet smelling, and therein he was bounden so that he might not move him. After, he made an harlot, a ribald, come to him alone for to touch his members and his body, to move to lechery. Finally, when the voluptuosity of his flesh surmounted him, and he might not defend himself ne his members, he bit off a piece of his tongue and spit it in her visage, which always enticed him to lechery by touching and by kissings, and so he voided the temptation fleshly, and the ribauld also, and deserved to have laud and victory.

In this time St. Paul, tofore said, was young, about sixteen years of age, and dwelt in Thebaid which is a part of Egypt, with his sister Maurice. And when he saw the persecutions of Christian men, he departed and became an hermit so long and so many years, that he was old one hundred and thirteen years.

ST. ANTHONY VISITS ST. PAUL

In this time St. Anthony was a hermit in another desert and was then ninety years of age. And on a time he thought in himself that in the world was none so good ne so great an hermit as he was himself. Hereupon came to him a revelation as he slept that, beneath all, low down in that desert was an hermit better than he, a. . . .

[Here is a lacuna in the text. Anthony sets out through a forest in search of this better hermit. On the way he encounters first a centaur, then a satyr, and finally a wolf. The wolf leads him to the door of St. Paul's hermitage. At first Paul does not want to come out, but at last he yields to Anthony's entreaties, he opens the door, and they embrace.]

. . . . all. And whiles they were thus talking a crow came flying and brought to them two loaves of bread. And when the crow was gone St. Paul said: Be thou glad and joyful, for our Lord is debonair and merciful, he hath sent us bread for to eat. It is forty years passed that every day he hath sent me half a loaf, but now at thy coming he hath sent two whole loaves, and double provender.

And they had question together until evensong time which of them both should entame or begin to take of the bread. At the last the bread departed even between their hands, and then they ate, and drank of the well or fountain. After graces said they had all that night collation together.

ST. PAUL ASKS TO BE BURIED IN BISHOP ATHANASIUS'S MANTLE

On the morn said St. Paul: Brother, it is long sith that I knew that thou dwelledst in this region and in this country, and God had promised to me thy company, I shall now shortly die and shall go to Jesu Christ for to receive the crown to me promised. Thou art come hither for to bury my body.

When St. Anthony heard that, anon he began tenderly to weep, and wailed, praying that he might die with him and go in his company.

St. Paul said: It is need yet that thou live for thy brethren, to the end that they by the ensample of thee be made firm and taught; wherefore I pray thee return to thine abbey and bring to me the mantle which Athanasius the bishop gave to thee for to wrap in my body.

Then St. Anthony marvelled of this, that he knew of this bishop and of this mantle, and after durst nothing say, but did to him reverence, like as God had spoken to him, and weeping kissed his feet and his hands and came again to his abbey with great travail and labour, for he had from that one part to that other many journeys and foul way, through hayes and hedges, woods, stones, hills and valleys, and St. Anthony of great age and feeble of fasting, and not strong ne mighty.

ST. ANTHONY RETURNS FOR THE MANTLE TO HIS MONASTERY

When he was come to his abbey, two of his disciples, to him most secret, demanded of him saying: Fair father, where have ye been so long?

And he answered: Alas! I, wretched sinner, which bear falsely the name to be a monk, I have seen Eli the prophet, I have seen John the Baptist in desert, and certes I have seen St. Paul in Paradise.

Thus speaking and beating his breast he brought the mantle out of his cell, and all stilly without more words, he went again the long way all alone through the desert unto St. Paul the hermit, having great desire to see him, for he was afeard lest he should die ere he might come again to him.

ST. ANTHONY BURIES ST. PAUL

It happed in the second journey, where St. Anthony went through the desert the third hour of the day, he saw the soul of St. Paul, shining, ascend into heaven among a great company of angels, of prophets, and also of apostles, and anon he fell down to the earth weeping and wailing, and crying with a high voice: Alas, Paul! wherefore leavest thou me so soon, which have so little seen thee?

Then he had so great desire to see the corpse or body that he passed all the remnant of his way as soon as a bird flying, like as he was wont to tell and rehearse, and when he came to the cell of St. Paul he found that the body was right up on his knees and the visage and hands addressed towards heaven and supposed he had been alive and had made his prayers, but when he had advised it, he knew well that he was passed out of this world.

What weepings and what wailings he made upon the body it were a piteous thing to hear; among all other he said: O holy soul, thy body showeth in death this that thou didst in thy life. After this he was much abashed how he should bury the body, for he had no instrument to make his sepulchre; then came two lions which much debonairly made a pit after the quantity of his body, and St. Anthony buried his body therein. And he took with him the coat of St. Paul which was made [of palm leaves], and afterward, for great reverence, St. Anthony ware this coat and clad him withal in great and solemn feasts.

Thus this holy man St. Paul died in the year of the incarnation of our Lord two hundred and eighty-eight. Let us then pray to him that he impetre and get us remission of our sins, that after this life we may come to everlasting joy and bliss in heaven. Amen.

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HERE BEGINNETH OF THE BLESSED HOLY FEAST OF PENTECOST OR OF THE HOLY GHOST

Chapter 73 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Note: Lacunae in the text are supplied by corresponding passages from Ryan 's translation in {curly brackets}.

The Holy Ghost, as witnesseth St. Luke in the story of the Acts of the Apostles, on this day was sent to the apostles in the form and likeness of tongues of fire. And of this sending and coming [seven] things be to be considered. First, from whom he was sent. Secondly, in how many manners he was sent. Thirdly, in what time he was sent. Fourthly, how oft he was sent to the apostles. Fifthly, in what wise he was sent. Sixthly, into whom he was sent. Seventhly, wherefore he was sent.

1. FROM WHOM HE WAS SENT

As to the first, it is to weet that he was sent from the Father, and from the Son he was sent, and he also himself, the Holy Ghost, gave and sent himself.

Of the first saith St. John, *Johannis xiv.:* The Holy Ghost which is said *paraclitus,* whom God the Father shall send in my name, this is he that shall teach us all.

Of the second saith St. John: If I go, saith Jesus, I shall send him to you.

2. IN HOW MANY MANNERS HE WAS SENT

A) THREE MANNERS ACCORDING TO THE SENDER

Now it is to wit that the sending is compared in three manners to the sender. First, as he that giveth being in his substance, and in this manner the sun giveth his rays or beams. Secondly, as in giving virtue or strength, and so is the dart given by the virtue and strength of him that casteth it. Thirdly, to him that giveth his jurisdiction to another, and thus the messenger is sent from him of whom he hath the commandment.

And after these three manners the Holy Ghost may be said to be sent, for it is said: sent of the Father and of the Son as having virtue and authority in his operation, notwithstanding himself giveth and sendeth him. The which thing seemed to be veritable after this that the gospel of John saith, *Johannis decimo sexto, Cum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, etc:* â□□When the spirit of truth shall come, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall bear witness of me that he cometh from me.â□□

Now saith St. Leo in a sermon of the Pentecost: â□□The incommutable deity of the Blessed Trinity is without any changing, one in substance, not divided in operation, all one in will, like in omnipotence, equal in glory, and in his mercy. He hath taken to himself the work of our redemption, that the Father be to us merciful, the Son to us profitable, and God the Holy Ghost inflame us. And because that the Holy Ghost is God, therefore he giveth himself.â□□

And that this is true, St. Ambrose in the book of the Holy Ghost sayeth thus: â□□The glory of the Divinity is approved by four reasons, or for that he is without sin, or for that he leaveth the sins, or for that he is creator and not creature, or for that he worshipped none but he is worshipped. And in that is showed to us that the Blessed Trinity was all given to us, for the Father hath offered all that he had.â□□

As saith St. Austin: â□□He hath sent to us his Son in price of our redemption, and the Holy Ghost in sign of our adoption. Semblably

the Son of God hath given himself unto us.â□□

For thus saith St. Bernard: â□□He is our pastor, he is our pasture, and he is our redemption, for he gave his soul in price of our redemption, his blood in to drink, his flesh in to meat, and his divinity in to final reward.â□□

Semblably the Holy Ghost gave himself all to us; like as the apostle saith: â□□By the Holy Ghost is given the word of sapience to one, to another of science; and thus of all graces particular is given by the same Holy Ghost.â□□

And hereof saith St. Leo the Pope: â□□The Holy Ghost is the inspirer of the faith, giver of Science, teacher of chastity, and cause of all health.â□□

B) THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE WAYS THE SPIRIT IS SENT

As to the second, he is sent in four manners, that is to wit, that the Holy Ghost is sent in two manners, visibly and invisibly. As touching into the hearts pure and chaste he descended visibly, when by some sign visible he is showed.

The Invisible Ways the Spirit is Sent

Of the sending invisible saith St. John, *Johannis iii.: Spiritus ubi vult spirat.* â□□The Holy Ghost where he will he inspireth the hearts, but thou knowest not whence he cometh nor whither he will go.â□□ And it is no marvel, for as St. Bernard saith of this word invisible:

> He is not entered by the eyes, for he is not coloured, ne by the ears, for he soundeth not, ne by the nostrils, for he is not meddled with the air, ne he entereth not by the conduit of the mouth, for he may not be swallowed, ne by the feeling or attouching, for he is not maniable, ne may not be handled. Thou demandest then if he hath sought any place natural or human by which thou mightest know that he be come into thee. Know thou that of the moving of the heart I have understood by

> his presence; and by the fleeing of vices I have felt the virtue of his puissance; and by the discussion and reproving of my sins hidden, I am amarvelled of the deepness of sapience and of the amendment of my manners how little and small that they be. I have experience of the bounty of his mansuetude and of the reformation and renovation of the spirit of my heart. I have pierced the thickness and the nobleness of his beauty, and of the regard and consideration of all these things, I am abashed of the multitude of his greatness.

The Visible Ways the Spirit is Sent

The sending visible, when it is in any sign visible, it showeth. And it is to wit that in five signs visible the Holy Ghost is sent and showed. First, in sign of a dove upon Jesu Christ when he was baptized, Luke iii: â□□The Holy Ghost descended in bodily likeness of a dove upon him.â□□ Secondly, in likeness of a fair cloud and clear upon Jesu Christ at his transfiguration, Matthew xvii: â□□Lo! he yet speaking a bright cloud shadowed them.â□□ This was upon the Mount Tabor where Jesu Christ spake with St. Peter, James, and John. And thus as he spake there descended a clear cloud that covered them all, whereas the gloss saith thus: When Jesu Christ was baptized, and also when he was clarified, the mystery of the Trinity was showed. The Holy Ghost was showed at the baptism in likeness of a dove, and in the hill in the likeness of a clear mountain and cloud. Thirdly, he was showed in likeness of a blowing or a blast, as saith St. John, *Johannis vicesimo* [John 20]: â□□He breathed and blew on them and said: â□□Take ye the Holy Ghost in you; of whom ye forgive the sins, they shall be forgiven, and of whom ye retain the sins, they shall be retained.â□□â□□ Fourthly, in likeness of fire. Fifthly, in likeness of tongues. And in these two manners he appeared to us to give us to understand that the properties of the tongue and of fire he putteth in the hearts when he descendeth.

The dove hath wailing for her song, she hath no gall, she maketh her house in an hole, or in a wall of stone. And thus:

[First,] the Holy Ghost, them that he replenisheth, he maketh them to wail for their sins. Whereof saith Isaiah the prophet, Isaiah lix.: â□□We all shall roar like bears, and wail like doves, in thinking humbly and bitterly how we have erred against the Scripture.â□□ And this comforteth us the apostle St. Paul, *ad Romanos viii:* â□□The Holy Ghost ceaseth not to pray for us in moving us to wailings without number, for our sins which be without number.â□□

Secondly, the doves be without gall, and the Holy Ghost maketh them such where he descendeth, for that is his nature. Whereof saith the wise man, target *SapientiÃ¦* xii.: *O quam bonus et suavis, etc:* â□□O Lord God, how much good and sweet is this spirit in us.â□□ Item, in the same place he is called sweet, benign, and human, of that he maketh us benign and human, that is to wit, sweet in word, benign in heart, and human in work.

Thirdly, the doves dwell within the holes of walls of stone, that is to say, in the wounds of Jesu Christ he maketh them dwell. That he fulfilleth whereof it is said in the *Cantica Canticorum ii:* â□□Arise thou my spouse, my love and my dove, my spouse and love,â□□ that is a devout soul, â□□and come my dove for to nourish small pigeons in the holes of the wall,â□□ that is in the wounds of our Lord. Whereof St. Jerome saith: *Spiritus oris nostri, etc.,* thus as he would say, the Spirit that is of our mouth, that is Jesu Christ, for he is our mouth. And our flesh maketh us say to Christ, â□□In thine umber, that is, in thy passion, in which Jesu Christ was obscure, dark and despised, we shall live by continual memory.

Secondly, he was showed in likeness of a cloud. The cloud is lift up from the earth by virtue of the sun, and nourisheth and engendereth rain, and refresheth and cooleth the air and the earth. Thus

[First,] the Holy Ghost, them that he replenisheth he lifteth from the earth for to despise the earthly things, as saith the prophet Ezechiel: â□□The Holy Ghost hath lift me into the air between heaven and earth, and hath brought me into Jerusalem, in the vision of

God.â□□

Secondly, he refresheth the earth, that is the hearts, against the dryness of burning of vices. And of this was said to the Virgin Mary *Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, etc.,* â□□The Holy Ghost shall come in thee, and the virtue of him that is highest shall shadow thee,â□□ and from all ardour of vices shall cool thee. And the Holy Ghost is called water because that water hath the virtue and nature to refresh and cool. Whereof saith St. John the Evangelist: â□□From the Holy Ghost the floods of living water shall run.â□□ And that same saith he of the Holy Ghost, which the apostles received, and of them that received him, for the rivers ran through all the world upon them that believed in God.

Thirdly, he engendereth rain, the which descendeth by drops. And this is that David saith: â□□The Holy Ghost shall blow and make waters to flow,â□□ that is to say by the tears coming from the heart dropping from the eyes.

He is showed in likeness of breath, which is a spirit of the heart which is cast out by the mouth, which is light, hot, sweet, and necessary to breathe with. Thus:

[First,] the Holy Ghost is light to be shed into a man, he is most swift of anything that is movable, as the gloss saith upon this word, *Factus est repente de cÅ□lo sonus, etc.:* At the coming of the Holy Ghost he made moving as of thunder, and of wind, vehement and sudden, and fulfilled all the house where the apostles sat, which abode him in great devotion. For the grace of the Holy Ghost wrought not in his operation of space, ne of time, but he had sudden motion.

Secondly, he is hot for to enflame the hearts. Whereof Jesu Christ saith: â□□I am come to cast fire in the earth,â□□ but this is that burneth and inflameth the hearts. And is compared to wind which is hot, whereof is said in the Canticles: *Veni auster et perfla hortum meu,* â□□Come wind of the south, and blow in my garden,â□□ that

is, my soul.

Thirdly, he is sweet for to make sweet the hearts, and therefore he is named by the name of unction; the sweet unction of him teacheth us which appertaineth to our health. And it is named by name of dew whereof singeth holy Church: *Et sui roris aspersione fecundet* [â□□and let it be made fruitful by the sprinkling of his dewâ□□], where she prayeth that the aspersion and springing of the dew make our hearts to grow in virtue, and also by space of time still and calm. After the stroke of the fire, descended a sweet sound of air soft and small, and there was our Lord.

Fourthly, it is necessary to breathe in such manner that if it might not issue out of the mouth that he might not breathe, anon the man should die. And thus should we understand of the Holy Ghost, after this that David saith: *Auferes spiritum eorum et deficient et in pulverem, etc.* â□□Lord God as soon as thou shalt take away their spirit they shall fail.â□□ And therefore saith he: *Emitte spiritum tuum, etc.,* â□□Lord God send thy spirit into them and they shall be created by spiritual life and be renewed,â□□ for the Holy Ghost is he that giveth life.

Fourthly, he was showed in the likeness of fire. Fifthly, in likeness of tongues. And the cause for which he appeared in these two manners I shall hereafter say.

3. IN WHAT TIME HE WAS SENT

As to the third principal, in which time he was sent, he was on the fiftieth day sent, after Easter, for to give to us knowledge that the Holy Ghost came, and it is the perfection of the law, the remuneration perdurable, and the remission of sins.

THE PERFECTION OF THE LAW

It appeareth of the perfection of the law, for from the day that the Lamb was sacrificed in that old law, the law was delivered the fiftieth day after that, as the Church saith, in fire. And also in the New

Testament, fifty days after Easter, descended the Holy Ghost on the mount of Sion in likeness of fire. Like as the law was given in the highest of the mount of Sinai, so the Holy Ghost in the solier where the supper of Jesu Christ and of his apostles was made. In this appeareth that the Holy Ghost is the perfection of all the law, for in that is the plenitude of dilection.

PERDURABLE REMUNERATION

Secondly, the perdurable remuneration is in the Holy Ghost, whereof the gloss saith thus, that the fourty days in which our Lord conversed with his disciples signify the holy church, also the fiftieth day on which the Holy Ghost was given, expresseth the penny of the last retribution and reward perdurable.

THE REMISSION OF SINS

Thirdly, of the Holy Ghost is the remission of sins, as saith the gloss. Therefore it was given in the fiftieth day, because in the fiftieth year was the Jubilee, and all things pardoned, and by the Holy Ghost the sins be pardoned. And it followeth in the gloss: In the jubilee spiritual the prisoners be delivered, the debts be quitted, the exiled be repealed and called home, the heritages be rendered, and the bond men be rendered from their servitude and made free and the guilty of death be made quit and delivered.

Whereof saith St. Paul: â□□The law of the spirit of life in Jesu Christ hath delivered me from the law of sin and of death.â□□ After, the debts of sin be left, for charity covereth and quencheth great multitude of sins. The exiled men be called home, and the prophet saith: *Spiritus tuus bonus, etc.* â□□Lord thy good spirit hath brought me into the right land of my country,â□□ that is, into heaven.

The heritage lost is rendered, whereof saith St. Paul: â□□The Holy Ghost hath given witness to our Spirit that we be the sons of God. And if we be sons we be heirs, which were servants to sin, we be made free to God, for where the Holy Ghost is, there is franchise and liberty.â□□

4. HOW OFT HE WAS SENT TO THE APOSTLES

As touching the fourth, how oft he was sent to the apostles, after that the gloss saith: â□□He was given to them by three times, that is to wit before the passion of Jesu Christ, after the resurrection, and after the Ascension. First to do miracles. Secondly to release the sins, and thirdly to confirm the hearts.â□□

BEFORE THE PASSION OF JESU CHRIST

First, when he sent them to preach, and to cast fiends out of bodies, and to heal the sick malades, he gave to them the puissance. And these marvels did they by the Holy Ghost.

Nevertheless it is not consequent that whosoever have the Holy Ghost do miracles. For St. Gregory saith: The miracles maketh not a man holy, but show him holy, nor also every man that doth miracles hath not the Holy Ghost. For evil people avaunt them to have done miracles, saying: Lord, Lord, say they, have not we well prophesied in thy name? Thou hast given to us the spirit of prophecy.

God doth miracles by his angels, by matter amiable that they have, and the fiends by virtues natural, which be in things created naturally, and the enchanter, by help of fiends. The good Christian man by justice public, the evil Christian man by signs of justice.

AFTER THE RESURRECTION

Secondly, they had the Holy Ghost when he breathed on them saying: â□□Take ye the Holy Ghost in to you, to whom ye loose their sins they shall be loosed, and of whom ye retain, they shall be retained.â□□

Nevertheless none save God may forgive sins as to the sin that is in the soul, and which is the obligation to pain perdurable, or as to the offence of God, the which is only forgiven by the infusion of the grace of God, and by the force and virtue of contrition. Nevertheless we say that the priest assoilleth of sins, as for that he is insinued, or

showeth that the sinner is assoilled of God.

As to that, that the pain that should be perpetual, he changeth into temporal of purgatory, and also for that the pain temporal is due, he releaseth part.

AFTER THE ASCENSION

Thirdly, the Holy Ghost was given to them on this day, when he confirmed so their hearts that they dreaded no torment by the virtue of the Holy Ghost, which all overcometh. Whereof saith St. Austin: â□□Such is the grace of the Holy Ghost that if he find heaviness in the heart he breaketh it; if he find desire of evil, he destroyeth it; if he find vain dread, he casteth it out.â□□ And St. Leo the Pope saith: â□□The Holy Ghost was hoped of the apostles, not for then first he had inhabited in them, but because that the hearts to him sacred and dedicated, he more should visit them, and more abundantly by grace should abide in increasing his gifts not then begun, of which he was not newly showing his operation, for his largess passeth all abundance.â□□

5. IN WHAT WISE HE WAS SENT

As to the fifth, that is to wit, how he was sent. It is to be known that he was sent with great sound in tongues of fire, the which tongues appeared sitting. And the sound was sudden from heaven, vehement and shining. It was sudden for he had no need of space temporal. It was from heaven, for he made them celestial that he replenished. Vehement for he gave dread of love, or for that he took away the sorrow perdurable, which is malediction; or for that that he bare the heart out of carnal love.

HE FILLED THE APOSTLES COMPLETELY

Also he was replenishing, for he fulfilled all the apostles. As saith St. Luke: *Repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto.* And it is to weet that there be three signs of replenishing that were in the apostles.

The first is that the place where he is giveth no sound, like a tun of

wine that is full. To this purpose speaketh Job: â□□Shall the ox cry and roar when the racke is full?â□□ The ox shall not low nor cry when the crib shall be full, like as he would say when the heart is full of grace, him ought not grudge by impatience. This sign had the apostles, for in the tribulation that they had, they resounded not, ne grudged by impatience, but joyously went to the presence of the tyrants, to prison, and to torments.

The second sign is that he may receive no more, else he were not full. In this manner he that is all filled demandeth no more. In like wise the saints that have plenitude of grace, may receive none other liquor of earthly delectation; and because they have tasted the sweetness of heaven, they have none appetite to the earthly delectations. Whereof saith St. Austin: â□□Whoso drinketh one drop of delights of paradise, the which one drop is greater than all the sea ocean.â□□ Which ought to be understood that all the thirst of this world is in him extinct. And this sign had the apostles which would have none of the goods of this world in proper, but put it all in common.

The third sign is for to run over out, as it appeareth by a river which ariseth and runneth over his banks. As Solomon saith: â□□Which filleth as Phison wisdom.â□□ This flood, or river Phison, of his nature ariseth and springeth over, and watereth and arroseth the land about him. In like wise the apostles began to spread abroad. For after they had received the Holy Ghost they began to speak divers languages, where the gloss saith, that that was the sign of plenitude, for the vessel full sheddeth over, as it appeareth of St. Peter, for anon as he began to preach he converted three thousand.

HE CAME AS TONGUES OF FIRE

Secondly, he was sent in tongues of fire. And here be three things to be considered. First, for whom he was sent conjointly in the tongues of fire. Secondly, wherefore he was sent in tongues of fire more than in another element. Thirdly, wherefore he was sent in tongues more than in another member.

For Whom He Was Sent as Fire

As to the first, for three reasons he was sent and appeared in tongues of fire, to the end that their words should inflame the hearts. Secondly, that they should preach the fiery law of God. Thirdly, that they should know that the Holy Ghost, which is fire, spake in them, and {they were not to have any doubt about this, nor to claim the conversion of others as their own doing. Thus all who heard their words heard them as words of God.

Reasons for Sending the Spirit in the Form of Fire

{On the second point, let it be known that there are several reasons for the sending of the Spirit in the form of fire.

{The first is related to his sevenfold grace, for the Spirit, like fire, lowers the lofty by the gift of fear, softens the hard by the gift of piety, enlightens the obscure through knowledge, restrains the unsure by the gift of counsel, reinforces the weak through fortitude, refines the metals by removing dross through the gift of understanding, and mounts upward by the gift of wisdom.

{The Spirit came as fire also by reason of his dignity and excellence. Fire surpasses the other elements by its appearance, its rank, and its power; by its appearance because of the beauty of its light, in rank by the sublimity of its position, in power by its vigor in action. So too the Spirit excels in all these respects – in the first, because he is called the Holy Spirit without stain, in the second because he penetrates all intelligent spirits, in the third because he} is invincible, for he hath all strength, seeing all things from far.

The third reason is taken as to his manifold effect. And this reason assigneth Rabanus, saying that the fire hath four virtues or natures. It burneth, it purgeth, It chauffeth, it lighteth. In likewise the Holy Ghost burneth the sins, he purgeth the hearts, he casteth away all coldness and dread of the hearts, and he illumineth them that be ignorant:

Of the first saith Zachary the prophet: â□□He broileth and burneth the hearts as the fire burneth the silver.â□□ Also David saith: â□□Lord I pray thee, burn my reins and my heart, and dry them from all sin.â□□

He purgeth also the hearts after that, as saith Isaiah: â□□When our Lord hath washed away the filthes of the daughters of Sion, and hath purged the blood of Jerusalem from the middle of him in the spirit of judgment and in the spirit of burning, then shall they be in safety and surety, and kept against all tempest.â□□ And the prophet speaketh of the purgation that shall be made at the last, when all shall be purged pure and clean that shall go in to heaven.

He casteth out also all coldness and pusillanimity of the hearts, whereof the apostle saith, â□□Be ye fervent in spirit,â□□ that is of heart, the which thing the Holy Ghost maketh when He espriseth him of his love. And hereof saith St. Gregory, â□□The Holy Ghost appeared in fire for all the hearts which He replenished, and voided the coldness of fire, and inflamed them with desire of the glory perdurable.â□□

He illumined also the ignorant, whereof saith the wise man, â□□Lord God who shall know thy science, if thou give not thy sapience and send to us thine Holy Spirit from above,â□□ that is he that all enseigneth and teacheth?

The fourth reason is taken after the nature of his love. Love is signified by the fire for three causes:

The first cause is for the fire is always moving. So is it of the Holy Ghost; for them that he replenisheth he maketh them to be in continual moving of good operation. Whereof saith St. Gregory, â□□The love of God is never idle. As long as it is in the heart of a devout person it fructifieth. And it fructifieth not, it is a sign that it is not there.

The second is, for the fire among all the other elements hath but little matter, but strong virtue in operation it hath in his quality. Thus the Holy Ghost, whom he replenisheth, maketh them to have but little love to earthly things, and great to spiritual things, in so much they love not worldly things more worldlily, but spiritually. St. Bernard putteth four manners of love; that is to wit, to love the world fleshly, the spirit fleshly, the flesh spiritually, and the spirit spiritually.

The third cause is, for that the fire abasheth and meeketh the things high. He hath tended on high things despercled, to unite them, and them despercled to bring together. And by these three things be understood three virtues of love. For as saith St. Denis in the book of the names divine: The fire hath three virtues, for he inclineth the high things down, he lifteth the things low in height, he ordaineth the things equal to their ordinance. And these three things maketh the Holy Ghost in them that he replenisheth. For he inclineth them by humility, he lifteth them up by desire of high things, and ordaineth them together by unity of manners.

Why He Was Sent As Tongues

Thirdly, he appeared in likeness of a tongue more than in another member, and for three reasons. The tongue is the member that is inflamed of the fire of hell, and is of great difficulty to govern, and profitable when it is well governed. And because that the tongue was inflamed of the fire of hell, she had need that the Holy Ghost should come to inflame it. As saith St. James: It is the fire of the Holy Ghost, and because it is evil and lightly governed, she hath the more need. For after that that saith St. James in his chronicle: â□□All nature of beasts, of birds, and of serpents be mastered and ruled by man, but the tongue may not be mastered.â□□ And because it is a member profitable when it is well governed, therefore he had need of the Holy Ghost that should govern it.

He appeared also in a tongue, which is much necessary. To preachers he is necessary, for he maketh them to speak fervently without dread, and therefore he was in that likeness. As saith St.

Bernard: â□□The Holy Ghost descended upon the disciples in tongues of fire to the end that they should preach and speak the law of the tongues of fire.â□□ The Holy Ghost also maketh them to speak and preach hardily and constantly, as St. Luke saith in the Acts of the Apostles: â□□They were all replenished with the Holy Ghost and began to speak with hardiness the word of God.â□□ He maketh them also to speak in many manners for the great and diverse multitude of hearers, and therefore it is said they began to speak with divers tongues in such wise as the Holy Ghost administered to them.

He made them also to preach profitably to the edification of the people, whereof saith Isaiah: â□□The Holy Ghost is descended upon me, and hath anointed me with his grace, whereof he hath made my words pleasant and profitable to the health of creatures.â□□

THE TONGUES APPEARED SITTING UPON THE APOSTLES

Thirdly, the tongues appeared sitting, in signifying that he was necessary to presidents and judges, for he giveth authority for to pardon and to forgive sins, as saith St. John: â□□Take ye the Holy Ghost, by whom ye shall take away the sins of them that will repent them.â□□

He giveth also wisdom for to deem and judge, whereof saith Isaiah: â□□[I] shall put, saith God, my spirit upon them that shall judge and deem truly.â□□

He giveth also debonairty and sweetness for to support and mollify the judgment, as it is said, *Numeri* xi: â□□I shall give to my people of my spirit that is in thee, for to support the burden of my people.â□□ The spirit of Moses was the spirit of benignity and of sweetness that was in him for to judge the people. Moses was most meek and most debonair, and therefore God delivered to him his people for to govern.

The Holy Ghost giveth also adornment of holiness for to inform, as

saith the Scripture: â□□The Holy Ghost hath adorned the heavens, that be the hearts wherein he descendeth.â□□

6. INTO WHOM HE WAS SENT

And as to the sixth, into whom he was sent, into the apostles that were vessels clean and pure, and disposed to receive the Holy Ghost, And that for seven causes that were in them.

First, they were quiet and peaceable in heart, and this signifieth that is sung: *Dum complerentur dies pentecostes, etc.* The day of the pentecost they were all together in one place still assembled. The day of the pentecost is the day of rest, after that Isaiah saith: Upon whom shall my spirit descend, but upon an humble heart and being still.

Secondly, he was heard by dilection. And this is that the Scripture saith: *Erant omnes pariter,* they were all together, for they were all of one heart and of one will. And thus the spirit of man giveth not life to the members but that they be together; in likewise the Holy Ghost giveth not spiritual life but to the members united spiritually. And as the fire quencheth and goeth out when the brands be taken away, so the Holy Ghost goeth away when the members by discord be divided. And therefore it is sung of the apostles that the Holy Ghost found them all of one accord by love and by charity, and illumined them with clearness shining in them of the divine Deity.

Thirdly, they were in a secret place; for they were in the place where Jesu Christ made with them his â□□maundyâ□□ or supper, whereof is said, Hosea ii: â□□I shall lead man's soul into a solitary place and shall speak to it in secret.â□□

Fourthly, they were in orison and prayer continual, whereof is sung: *Orantibus apostolis deum venisse, etc,* â□□when they were in prayer then came the Holy Ghost upon them.â□□ Which prayer is necessary to receive the Holy Ghost. Like as the wise man saith: â□□I have prayed God and the Holy Ghost is come in me.â□□

Whereof saith Jesu Christ, John xiv: â□□I shall pray God my Father, and I shall send to you in my stead the Holy Ghost that shall comfort you.â□□

Fifthly, they were garnished with humility and meekness, and that is, that they were sitting when the Holy Ghost came. And hereof saith David: â□□Lord God, thou art he that sendest the fountains into the valleys,â□□ that is the Holy Ghost which is the fountain of grace, which he sendeth into the humble hearts.

Sixthly, they were in peace together. In that is to be understood that they were in Jerusalem, which is as much to say as â□□the vision of peace.â□□ And that peace is necessary to receive the Holy Ghost, our Lord showed when he came to them after his resurrection saying: *Pax vobis,* â□□Peace be with you,â□□ and after said: â□□Take ye the Holy Ghost.â□□

Seventhly, they were lift up in contemplation. And this is to understand that they received the Holy Ghost in an high place, wherof saith the gloss: Who that now desireth the Holy Ghost in his heart, let him put the house of his flesh under his feet by lifting up his heart by contemplation.

7. WHEREFORE HE WAS SENT

And as to the seventh, wherefore he was sent; it is to be noted, for seven causes he was sent, that be understood in this authority: *Paracletus autem spiritus sanctus: quem mittet pater in nomine meo ille vos docebit omnia.* ["The Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father shall send in my name, he will teach you all."]

The first cause is for to comfort the sorrowful when is said, *Paracletus,* which is as much as to say as â□□comforter,â□□ as God saith by Isaiah: â□□The spirit of God upon me, and it followeth to the end that I should comfort the weepers of Sion, that be the daughters that saw God.â□□ Whereof saith St. Gregory, â□□The Holy Ghost is said comforter to them that he findeth wailing for their

sins that they have committed. He maketh ready hope of pardon in lifting their hearts from affliction of sorrow.

The second is for to quicken the dead when he saith *Spiritus,* for the Spirit is he that quickeneth as it is said in Ezechiel: â□□Ye bones that be dry and without life, I shall send in you my Spirit and ye shall live.â□□

The third cause is for to sanctify and make clean the sinners in this that he [is] said *Sanctus.* As it is said â□□Spiritâ□□ because he giveth life, also he saith â□□Holy,â□□ because he sanctifieth and maketh clean, and it is said pure and clean. Therefore saith David: The grace of the Holy Ghost which is a flood pure and cleansing, he gladdeth the city of God, that is holy church, and by this flood our Lord hath sanctified his tabernacle.

The fourth cause is, he is sent for to confirm love among them that be in discord and hate, which is noted in this word *Pater* . He is said â□□Fatherâ□□ because that naturally he loveth us, as saith St. John in the gospel, *Johannis xiii:* â□□Jesu Christ saith: â□□My Father loveth you as his sons, and if ye be his sons, then be ye brethren each to other, and between brethren always ought to persevere love and friendship.â□□â□□

The fifth cause is for to save the just and true men. In this that he saith: *In nomine meo,* that is Jesus, that is to say, Saviour, in whose name the Father sent the Holy Ghost to show that he came to save the people.

The sixth cause is for to inform the ignorant in this that he saith: *Ille vos docebit omnia* . The Holy Ghost, when he shall come, he shall teach you all things.

As to the seventh, that he is given or sent first in the beginning of the church by prayer, as thus when he came the apostles prayed God and were in prayer, whereof is sung: *Orantibus apostolis Deum venisse,* â□□the apostles praying, the Holy Ghost came.â□□ And

Luke iii, Jesu praying the Holy Ghost descended. Secondly, he came by hearing attentively and devoutly the word of God. Acts x: â□□As St. Peter was preaching, the Holy Ghost descended upon them.â□□ Thirdly, he came by holy and busy operation, that is by this that is said: *Imponebant manus super eos et accipiebant spiritum sanctum.* The apostles put their hands on them that believed and anon they received the Holy Ghost. And this imposition of the hands signifieth the absolution of the priest; which absolution give us the Holy Ghost. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. PETER THE APOSTLE

Chapter 89 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

St. Peter the apostle among all other, and above all other, was of most fervent and burning love, for he would have known the traitor that should betray our Lord Jesu Christ, as St. Austin saith: If he had known him he would have torn him with his teeth, and therefore our Lord would not name him to him, for as Chrysostom saith: If he had named him, Peter had arisen and all to-torn him.

Peter went upon the sea; he was chosen of God to be at his transfiguration, and raised a maid from death to life; he found the stater or piece of money in the fish's mouth; he received of our Lord the keys of the kingdom of heaven; he took the charge to feed the sheep of Jesu Christ. He converted at a Whitsuntide three thousand men, he healed Claude with John, and then converted five thousand men; he said to Ananias and Saphira their death before; he healed Æneas of the palsy; he raised Tabitha; he baptized Cornelia; with the shadow of his body he healed sick men; he was put in prison by Herod, but by the angel of our Lord he was delivered.

What his meat was and his clothing, the book of St. Clement witnesseth, for he said: Bread only with olives, and seldom with worts, is mine usage, and I have such clothing as thou seest, a coat and a mantle, and when I have that, I demand no more.

It is said for certain that he bare always a sudary in his bosom with which he wiped the tears that ran from his eyes; for when he remembered the sweet presence of our Lord, for the great love that he had to him he might not forbear weeping. And also when he remembered that he had rented him, he wept abundantly great plenty of tears, in such wise that he was so accustomed to weep

that his face was burnt with tears as it seemed, like as Clement saith. And saith also that in the night when he heard the cock crow he would weep customably. And after that it is read in Historia Ecclesiastica that, when St. Peter's wife was led to her passion, he had great joy and called her by her proper name, and said to her: My wife, remember thee of our Lord.

On a time when St. Peter had sent two of his disciples for to preach the faith of Jesu Christ, and when they had gone twenty days' journey, one of them died, and that other then returned to St. Peter and told him what had happened, some say that it was St. Marcial that so died, and some say it was St. Maternus, and others say that it was St. Frank. Then St. Peter gave to him his staff and commanded that he should return to his fellow, and lay it upon him, which he so did, then he which had been forty days dead, anon arose all living.

ST. PETER'S DISPUTATION WITH SIMON MAGUS

That time Simon the enchanter was in Jerusalem, and he said he was first truth, and affirmed that who that would believe in him he would make them perpetual. And he also said that nothing to him was impossible. It is read in the book of St. Clement that he said that he should be worshipped of all men as God, and that he might do all that he would. And he said yet more: When my mother Rachel commanded me that I should go reap corn in the field, and saw the sickle ready to reap with, I commanded the sickle to reap by itself alone, and it reaped ten times more than any other.

And yet he added hereto more, after Jerome, and said: I am the Word of God, I am the Holy Ghost, I am Almighty, I am all that is of God.

He made serpents of brass to move, and made the images of iron and of stone to laugh, and dogs to sing, and as St. Linus saith, he would dispute with St. Peter and show, at a day assigned, that he was God. And Peter came to the place where the strife should be,

and said to them that were there: Peace to you brethren that love truth. To whom Simon said: We have none need of thy peace, for if peace and concord were made, we should not profit to find the truth, for thieves have peace among them. And therefore desire no peace but battle, for when two men fight and one is overcome then is it peace.

Then said Peter: Why dreadest thou to hear of peace? Of sins grow battles, where is no sin there is peace; in disputing is truth found, and in works righteousness.

Then said Simon: It is not as thou sayest but I shall show to thee the power of my dignity, that anon thou shalt adore me; I am first truth and may flee by the air; I can make new trees and turn stones into bread; endure in the fire without hurting; and all that I will I may do.

St. Peter disputed against all these, and disclosed all his malefices. Then Simon Magus, seeing that he might not resist Peter, cast all his books into the sea, lest St. Peter should prove him a magician, by his books, and went to Rome where he was had and reputed as a god.

HE TRAVELS TO ROME

And when Peter knew that, he followed and came to Rome. The fourth year of Claudius the emperor, Peter came to Rome, and sat there twenty-five years, and ordained two bishops as his helpers, Linus and Cletus, one within the walls, and that other without. He emended much to preaching of the Word of God, by which he converted much people to the faith of Christ, and healed many sick men, and in his preaching always he praised and preferred chastity. He converted four concubines of Agrippa the provost, so that they would no more come to him, wherefore the provost sought occasion against Peter.

After this, our Lord appeared to St. Peter, saying to him: Simon Magus and Nero purpose against thee, dread thee not, for I am with

thee, and shall give to thee the solace of my servant Paul, which to-morn shall come in to Rome.

Then Peter, knowing that he should not long abide here, assembled all his brethren and took Clement by the hand and ordained him a bishop, and made him to sit in his own seat. After this, as our Lord had said tofore, Paul came to Rome, and with Peter began to preach the faith of Christ.

SIMON MAGUS, BELOVED OF NERO, ENGAGES PETER AND PAUL IN DISPUTATIONS

Simon Magus was so much beloved of Nero that he weened that he had been the keeper of his life, of his health, and of all the city. On a day, as Leo the pope saith, as he stood tofore Nero, suddenly his visage changed, now old and now young, which, when Nero saw, he supposed that he had been the son of God. Then said Simon Magus to Nero: Because that thou shalt know me to be the very son of God, command my head to be smitten off and I shall arise again the third day.

Then Nero commanded to his brother to smite off his head, and when he supposed to have beheaded Simon, he beheaded a ram. Simon, by his art magic went away unhurt, gathered together the members of the ram, and hid him three days. The blood of the ram abode and congealed. The third day he came and showed him to Nero, saying: Command my blood to be washed away, for lo I am he that was beheaded, and as I promised I have risen again the third day.

Whom Nero seeing, was abashed and trowed verily that he had been the son of God. All this saith Leo.

Sometime also, when he was with Nero secretly within his conclave, the devil in his likeness spake without to the people. Then the Romans had him in such worship that they made to him an image, and wrote above, this title: To Simon the holy God.

Peter and Paul entered to Nero and discovered all the enchantments and malefices of Simon Magus, and Peter added thereto, seeing that like as in Christ be two substances that is of God and man, so are in this magician two substances, that is of man and of the devil. Then said Simon Magus, as St. Marcelle and Leo witness, lest I should suffer any longer this enemy, I shall command my angels that they shall avenge me on him.

To whom Peter said: I dread nothing thine angels, but they dread me.

Nero said: Dreadest thou not Simon, that by certain things affirmeth his godhead?

To whom Peter said: If dignity or godhead be in him let him tell now what I think or what I do, which thought I shall first tell to thee, that he shall not mow lie what I think.

To whom Nero said: Come hither and say what thou thinkest. Then Peter went to him and said to him secretly: Command some man to bring to me a barley-loaf, and deliver it to me privily.

When it was taken to him, he blessed it, and hid it under his sleeve, and then said he: Now Simon say what I think, and have said and done.

Simon answered: Let Peter say what I think.

Peter answered: What Simon thinketh that I know, I shall do it when he hath thought.

Then Simon having indignation, cried aloud: I command that dogs come and devour him.

And suddenly there appeared great dogs and made an assault against Peter. He gave to them of the bread that he had blessed,

and suddenly he made them to flee. Then said Peter to Nero: Lo! I have showed you what he thought against me, not in words but in deeds, for where he promised angels to come against me he brought dogs, thereby he showeth that he hath none angels but dogs.

Then said Simon: Hear ye, Peter and Paul; if I may not grieve you here, ye shall come where me it shall behove to judge you. I shall spare you here. Hæc Leo.

Then Simon Magus, as Hegesippus and Linus say, elate in pride avaunted him that he can raise dead men to life. And it happed that there was a young man dead, and then Nero let call Peter and Simon, and all gave sentence by the will of Simon that he should be slain that might not arise the dead man to life. Simon then, as he made his incantations upon the dead body, he was seen move his head of them that stood by; then all they cried for to stone Peter.

Peter unnethe getting silence said: If the dead body live, let him arise, walk and speak, else know ye that it is a fantasy that the head of the dead man moveth. Let Simon be taken from the bed.

And the body abode immovable. Peter standing afar making his prayer cried to the dead body, saying: Young man, arise in the name of Jesu Christ of Nazareth crucified.

And anon, he arose living, and walked.

Then, when the people would have stoned Simon Magus, Peter said: He is in pain enough, knowing him to be overcome in his heart; our master hath taught us for to do good for evil.

Then said Simon to Peter and Paul: Yet is it not come to you that ye desire, for ye be not worthy to have martyrdom, the which answered: That is, that we desire to have, to thee shall never be well, for thou liest all that thou sayest.

Then as Marcel saith: Simon went to the house of Marcel and bound there a great black dog at the door of the house, and said: Now I shall see if Peter, which is accustomed to come hither, shall come, and if he come this dog shall strangle him.

And a little after that, Peter and Paul went thither, and anon Peter made the sign of the cross and unbound the hound, and the hound was as tame and meek as a lamb, and pursued none but Simon, and went to him and took and cast him to the ground under him, and would have strangled him. And then ran Peter to him and cried upon the hound that he should not do him any harm. And anon the hound left and touched not his body, but he all torent and tare his gown in such wise that he was almost naked.

Then all the people, and especially children, ran with the hound upon him and hunted and chased him out of the town as he had been a wolf. Then for the reproof and shame he durst not come in to the town of all a whole year after. Then Marcel that was disciple of Simon Magus, seeing these great miracles, came to Peter, and was from then forthon his disciple.

THE DEATH OF SIMON MAGUS

And after, at the end of the year, Simon returned and was received again into the amity of Nero. And then, as Leo saith, this Simon Magus assembled the people and showed to them how he had been angered of the Galileans, and therefore he said that he would leave the city which he was wont to defend and keep, and set a day in which he would ascend into heaven, for he deigned no more to dwell in the earth. Then on the day that he had stablished, like as he had said, he went up to an high tower, which was on the capitol, and there being crowned with laurel, threw himself out from place to place, and began to fly in the air.

Then said St. Paul to St. Peter: It appertaineth to me to pray, and to thee for to command.

Then said Nero: This man is very God, and ye be two traitors.

Then said St. Peter to St. Paul: Paul, brother, lift up thine head and see how Simon flyeth.

Then St. Paul said to St. Peter when he saw him fly so high: Peter, why tarriest thou? perform that thou hast begun, God now calleth us.

Then said Peter: I charge and conjure you angels of Sathanas, which bear him in the air, by the name of our Lord Jesu Christ, that ye bear ne sustain him no more, but let him fall to the earth.

And anon they let him fall to the ground and brake his neck and head, and he died there forthwith.

And when Nero heard say that Simon was dead, and that he had lost such a man, he was sorrowful, and said to the apostles: Ye have done this in despite of me, and therefore I shall destroy you by right evil example. Hæc Leo.

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL ARE PERSECUTED AND MARTYRED

Then he delivered them to Paulin, which was a much noble man, and Paulin delivered them to Mamertin under the keeping of two knights, Processe and Martinian, whom St. Peter converted to the faith. And they then opened the prison and let them all go out that would go, wherefore, after the passion of the apostles, Paulin, when he knew that they were Christian, beheaded both Processe and Martinian.

The brethren then, when the prison was opened, prayed Peter to go thence, and he would not, but at the last he being overcome by their prayers went away. And when he came to the gate, as Leo witnesseth, which is called *Sancta Maria ad Passus* , he met Jesu Christ coming against him, and Peter said to him: Lord, whither goest thou?

And he said to him: I go to Rome for to be crucified again.

And Peter demanded him: Lord, shalt thou be crucified again?

And he said: Yea.

And Peter said then: Lord, I shall return again then for to be crucified with thee.

This said, our Lord ascended into heaven, Peter beholding it, which wept sore. And when Peter understood that our Lord had said to him of his passion, he returned, and when he came to his brethren, he told to them what our Lord had said. And anon he was taken of the ministers of Nero and was delivered to the provost Agrippa, then was his face as clear as the sun, as it is said.

Then Agrippa said to him: Thou art he that glorifiest in the people, and in women, that thou departest from the bed of their husbands.

Whom the apostle blamed, and said to him that he glorified in the cross of our Lord Jesu Christ. Then Peter was commanded to be crucified as a stranger, and because that Paul was a citizen of Rome it was commanded that his head should be smitten off.

And of this sentence given against them, St. Dionysius in an epistle to Timothy saith in this wise:

> O my brother Timothy, if thou hadst seen the agonies of the end of them thou shouldst have failed for heaviness and sorrow. Who should not weep that hour when the commandment of the sentence was given against them, that Peter should be crucified and Paul be beheaded? Thou shouldst then have seen the turbes of the Jews and of the paynims that smote them and spit in their visages. And when the horrible time came of their end that they were departed that one from that other, they bound the pillars of the world, but that was not without

> wailing and weeping of the brethren. Then said St. Paul to St. Peter: "Peace be with thee that art foundement of the church and pastor of the sheep and lambs of our Lord." Peter then said to Paul: "Go thou in peace, preacher of good manners, mediator, leader, and solace of rightful people." And when they were withdrawn far from other I followed my master. They were not both slain in one street.

This saith St. Dionysius.

And as Leo the pope and Marcel witness, when Peter came to the cross, he said: When my Lord descended from heaven to the earth he was put on the cross right up, but me whom it pleaseth him to call from the earth to heaven, my cross shall show my head to the earth and address my feet to heaven, for I am not worthy to be put on the cross like as my Lord was, therefore turn my cross and crucify me my head downward.

Then they turned the cross, and fastened his feet upward and the head downward. Then the people were angry against Nero and the provost, and would have slain them because they made St. Peter so to die; but he required them that they should not let his passion, and as Leo witnesseth, our Lord opened the eyes of them that were there, and wept so that, they saw the angels with crowns of roses and of lilies standing by Peter that was on the cross with the angels.

And then Peter received a book of our Lord, wherein he learned the words that he said. Then as Hegesippus saith: Peter said thus: Lord, I have desired much to follow thee, but to be crucified upright I have not usurped, thou art always rightful, high and sovereign, and we be sons of the first man which have the head inclined to the earth, of whom the fall signifieth the form of the generation human. Also we be born that we be seen inclined to the earth by effect, and the condition is changed for the world weeneth that such thing is good, which is evil and bad. Lord, thou art all things to me, and nothing is to me but thou only, I yield to thee thankings with all the spirit of which I live, by which I understand, and by whom I call thee.

And when St. Peter saw that the good Christian men saw his glory, in yielding thankings to God and commending good people to him, he rendered up his spirit. Then Marcel and Apuleius his brother, that were his disciples, took off the body from the cross when he was dead, and anointed it with much precious ointment, and buried him honourably.

Isidore saith in the book of the nativity and death of saints thus: Peter, after that he had governed Antioch, he founded a church under Claudius the emperor, he went to Rome against Simon Magus, there he preached the gospel twenty-five years and held the bishopric, and thirty-six years after the passion of our Lord he was crucified by Nero turned the head downward, for he would be so crucified: Hæc Isidorus.

That same day Peter and Paul appeared to St. Dionysius, as he saith in his foresaid epistle in these words: Understand the miracle and see the prodigy, my brother Timothy, of the day of the martyrdom of them, for I was ready in the time of departing of them. After their death I saw them together, hand in hand, entering the gates of the city, and clad with clothes of light, and arrayed with crowns of clearness and light. Hæc Dionysius [Thus wrote Dionysius].

THE TYRANNIES AND DEATH OF NERO

Nero was not unpunished for their death and other great sins and tyrannies that he committed, for he slew himself with his own hand, which tyrannies were overlong to tell, but shortly I shall rehearse here some.

He slew his master Seneca because he was afraid of him when he went to school.

Also Nero slew his mother and slit her belly for to see the place where he lay in. The physicians and masters blamed him, and said

the son should not slay his mother that had borne him with sorrow and pain.

Then said he, "Make me with child, and after to be delivered, that I may know what pain my mother suffered." Which by craft they gave to him a young frog to drink, and grew in his belly, and then he said, "But if ye make me to be delivered I shall slay you all." And so they gave him such a drink that he had a vomit and cast out the frog, and bare him on hand that because that he abode not his time it was misshapen, which yet he made to be kept.

Then for his pleasure he set Rome afire, which burned seven days and seven nights, and was in a high tower and enjoyed him to see so great a flame of fire, and sang merrily.

He slew the senators of Rome to see what sorrow and lamentation their wives would make.

He wedded a man for his wife. He fished with nets of gold thread, and the garment that he had worn one day he would never wear it ne see it after.

Then the Romans seeing his woodness assailed him and pursued him unto without the city, and when he saw he might not escape them, he took a stake and sharped it with his teeth, and therewith stuck himself through the body and so slew himself. In another place it is read that he was devoured of wolves. Then the Romans returned and found the frog, and threw it out of the city and there burnt it.

THE RELICS OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

In the time of St. Cornelius the pope, Greeks stole away the bodies of the apostles Peter and Paul, but the devils that were in the idols were constrained by the divine virtue of God, and cried and said: Ye men of Rome, succour hastily your gods which be stolen from you!

For which thing the good Christian people understood that they were the bodies of Peter and Paul. And the paynims had supposed that it had been their gods. Then assembled great number of Christian men and of paynims also, and pursued so long the Greeks that they doubted to have been slain, and threw the bodies in a pit at the catacombs, but afterward they were drawn out by Christian men.

St. Gregory saith that the great force of thunder and lightning that came from heaven made them so afraid that they departed each from other, and so left the bodies of the apostles at the catacombs in a pit, but they doubted which bones were Peter's and which Paul's, wherefore the good Christian men put them to prayers and fastings, and it was answered them from heaven that the great bones longed to the preacher, and the less to the fisher, and so were departed, and the bones were put in the church of him that it was dedicate of.

And others say that Silvester the pope would hallow the churches and took all the bones together, and departed them by weight, great and small, and put that one-half in one church, and that other half in that other.

MIRACLES OF ST. PETER

The Crippled Woman

And St. Gregory recounteth in his dialogues that, in the church of St. Peter, where his bones rest, was a man of great holiness and of meekness named Gentian, and there came a maid into the church which was cripple, and drew her body and legs after her with her hands, and when she had long required and prayed St. Peter for health, he appeared to her in a vision, and said to her: Go to Gentian, my servant, and he shall restore thy health.

Then began she to creep here and there through the church, and enquired who was Gentian, and suddenly it happed that he came to

her that him sought, and she said to him: The holy apostle St. Peter sent me to thee that thou shouldest make me whole and deliver me from my disease.

And he answered: If thou be sent to me from him, arise thou anon and go on thy feet. And he took her by the hand and anon she was all whole, in such wise as she felt nothing of her grief nor malady, and then she thanked God and St. Peter.

A Vision of Saints Peter and Paul

And in the same book St. Gregory saith when that a holy priest was come to the end of his life, he began to cry in great gladness: Ye be welcome, my lords, ye be welcome that ye vouchsafe to come to so little and poor a servant, and he said: I shall come and thank you.

Then they that stood by demanded who they were that he spake to, and he said to them wondering: Have ye not seen the blessed apostles Peter and Paul and as he cried again, his blessed soul departed from the flesh.

THE TIME AND PLACE OF THEIR DEATHS

Some have doubt whether Peter and Paul suffered death in one day, for some say it was the same one day, but one a year after the other. And Jerome and all the Saints that treat of this matter accord that it was on one day and one year, and so is it contained in an epistle of Denis, and Leo the pope saith the same in a sermon, saying: We suppose but that it was not done without cause that they suffered in one day and in one place the sentence of the tyrant, and they suffered death in one time, to the end that they should go together to Jesu Christ, and both under one persecutor to the end that equal cruelty should strain that one and that other. The day for their merit, the place for their glory, and the persecution overcome by virtue. Hæc Leo.

Though they suffered both death in one day and in one hour, yet it was not in one place but in diverse within Rome, and hereof saith a

versifier in this wise: *Ense coronatus Paulus, cruce Petrus, eodem-Sub duce, luce, loco, dux Nero, Roma locus* . That is to say, "Paul crowned with the sword, and Peter had the cross reversed, the place was the city of Rome." And howbeit that they suffered death in one day, yet St. Gregory ordained that that day specially should be the solemnity of St. Peter, and the next day commemoration of St. Paul, for the church of St. Peter was hallowed that same day, and also forasmuch as he was more in dignity, and first in conversion, and held the principality at Rome.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE FEAST OF ST. PETER AD VINCULA, AT LAMMAS

Chapter 110 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

The feast of St. Peter the apostle that is called *ad Vincula* was established for four causes. That is to wit, in remembrance of the deliverance of St. Peter, and in mind of deliverance of Alexander, for to destroy the customs of the paynims, and for to get absolution of spiritual bonds.

THE DELIVERANCE OF ST. PETER

And the first cause which is in remembrance of St. Peter. For as it is said in the *History Scholastic* that Herod Agrippa went to Rome, and was right familiar with Gaius, nephew of Tiberius emperor. And on a day as Herod was in a chariot brought with Gaius, he lifted up his hands unto heaven and said: I would gladly see the death of this old fellow Peter, and the Lord of all the world.

And the chariot man heard this word said of Herod, and anon told it to Tiberius. Wherefore Tiberius set Herod in prison. And as he was there he beheld on a day by him a tree, and saw upon the branches of this tree an owl which sat thereon, and another prisoner which was with him, that understood well divinations, said to him: Thou shalt be anon delivered, and shalt be enhanced to be a king, in such wise that thy friends shall have envy at thee, and thou die in that prosperity. And know thou for truth, that when thou shalt see the owl over thee, at the end of five days after thou shalt die for certain.

And anon after Tiberius died, and Gaius was emperor. Which delivered Herod out of prison and enhanced him gloriously, and sent him as king into Judea, and anon as he came he sent his

puissance, and set hand to for to put some of the church to affliction, and did do slay James, brother of St. John the Evangelist, with a sword, before the day of Easter. And because it was a thing agreeable, and pleased the Jews, he took Peter on Easter-day, and enclosed him fast in prison, and would after Easter bring him forth and show him to the people and slay him, but the angel came marvellously, and unbound him and loosed his chains, and sent him forth all quit to the service of preaching the Word of God.

And the felony of this king suffered not to abide any dilation of vengeance, for the next day following, he made to come the keepers for to begin to torment them with divers pains for the fleeing of Peter, but he was let to do that, that the deliverance grieved them not. For he went hastily to CÃ¦sarea and there was smitten of an angel and died. Thus rehearseth Josephus in the Book of *Antiquity* . For when he came into CÃ¦sarea, all the men and women of that province came to him, and when the day came that he should go in judgment and take possession of the country, he went and clad him with a vestment of tissue marvellously shining of gold and silver, and when the sun smote and shone on it, it was more shining than the sun. For it was so bright that no man might behold it, and the brightness was like red metal, and gave fear and dread to them that looked thereon, and therefore the pride of him was so great that, he better seemed a man made by craft than by nature human.

And then the people began to cry and say: We have seen thee till now like a man, but now we confess that thou art above nature human.

And thus as he was flattered with honours, and refused not divine worship, he being there set, he saw above his head an owl sitting, which was messenger of his hasty death. And when he had apperceived the owl, and beheld the people that were there assembled and come at his commandment, he said to them: Certainly, I that am your lord shall die within five days.

For he knew it well, because the diviner had told him that he should

die within five days that he had seen the owl sitting above him. And incontinent, after this thing thus accomplished, he was smitten suddenly in such wise that worms ate his bowels, and on the fifth day he died. And this saith Josephus.

And because then in remembrance of the deliverance of St. Peter prince of the apostles from the cruel vengeance of the cruel tyrant, which as soon as he was enhanced to be king went to pursue and destroy the church, therefore the church halloweth the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula* . And the epistle is sung in the mass in which this deliverance is witnessed here to be done.

THE DELIVERANCE OF ALEXANDER

The second cause of the establishing of this feast was because Alexander the pope, which was the sixth after Peter, and Hermes, provost of Rome, which was converted to the faith by the same Alexander, were holden in divers places in the prison of Quirinus the judge. Which judge said to Hermes the provost: I marvel of thee that art so wise a man, that thou wilt leave the great worldly honours that thou hast, and the great riches that thou receivest of thy provostry, and wilt thou leave all these things for dreaming of another life.

To whom Hermes said: Tofore this time I despised and scorned, and weened there had been none other life than this.

Quirinus answered: Make proof to me that there is another life, and anon I shall apply me to thy faith.

To whom Hermes said: Alexander, whom thou holdest in thy prison, shall inform thee better than I.

Then Quirinus cursed Alexander, and said to him: I will that thou shalt make proof of this thing to me, and thou sendest me to Alexander, whom I hold bounden in chains for his evil deeds. Truly I shall double the prison upon thee and Alexander, and I shall set watch upon you. And if I find thee with him or him with thee, I shall

verily give faith to thine and his words.

And then he doubled their keepers and showed this to Alexander, and then Alexander prayed to God, and an angel came to him and brought him into the prison to Hermes. And when Quirinus came to the prison he found them both together, whereof he was much amarvelled. And then Hermes recounted to Quirinus how Alexander had healed his son and raised him from death. And Quirinus then said to Alexander: I have a daughter named Balbina which is sick of the gout, if thou mayst heal her, I promise thee that I shall receive thy faith if thou mayst get for her health.

To whom Alexander said: Go anon, and bring her to me into my prison.

And Quirinus said to him: How may I find thee in thy prison and art here?

And Alexander said: Go thy way anon, for he that brought me hither shall soon bring me thither.

And Quirinus went then and fetched his daughter, and brought her into the prison where Alexander was and found him there, and then kneeled down to his feet. And his daughter began to kiss the chains with which St. Alexander was bounden, hoping thereby to receive her health. And St. Alexander said to her: Daughter, kiss not my chains, but seek the chains of St. Peter and kiss them with devotion, and thou shalt receive thy health.

And anon, Quirinus did do seek the chains of Peter and they were found. And Alexander did the daughter do kiss them, and anon as she had kissed them she received her health and was all whole. Then Quirinus demanded pardon and forgiveness, and delivered Alexander out of prison, and received the holy baptism, he and all his meiny and many others.

Then Alexander established this feast to be hallowed alway the first

day of August, and did do make a church in the honour of St. Peter, whereas he set the chains and named it St. Peter *ad vincula* . And to that church come much people at that solemnity, and the people kiss there the bonds and chains of St. Peter.

FOR TO DESTROY THE CUSTOMS OF THE PAYNIMS

The third cause of this establishment, after Bede, is this: Antony and Octavius were so conjoined together by affinity, that they departed between them two the empire of the world. Octavius had in the occident Italy, France, and Spain, and Antony had in the east, Asia, Pontus, and Africa. Antony was wild, jolly, and ribald, and had the sister of Octavius to his wife, and left her, and took Cleopatra, which was Queen of Egypt; and for this cause Octavius had him in great despite, and went with force of arms against Antony in Asia, and overcame him in all things.

Then Antony and Cleopatra fled as vanquished, and slew themselves by great sorrow, and Octavius destroyed entirely the realm of Egypt, and made it to be under the Romans. And from thence he went in all the haste he might into Alexandria, and despoiled it of all riches and brought them to Rome, and increased so the common profit of Rome that there was given for one penny that which tofore was sold for four. And because the battles of the people had wasted and destroyed the city of Rome, he renewed it, saying: I found it covered with tiles, and I shall leave it now covered with marble.

And for these causes he was made emperor, and the first that ever was called Augustus. And of him been all other that come after him called Augustus. Like as after his uncle Julius CÃ¦sar they be called CÃ¦sarians. Also this month of August which tofore was called Sextilis, the people entitled it to his name and called it Augustus, in the honour and remembrance of the victory of the emperor that he had the first day of this month. In so much that all the Romans made that day great solemnity unto the time of Theodosius the emperor, which began to reign the year of our Lord four hundred

and twenty-six.

Then Eudosia, daughter of the said Theodosius the emperor, and wife of Valens, went by a vow to Jerusalem, and there a Jew gave to her for great love a great gift. And they were the bonds, that is to wit the two chains, with which St. Peter under Herod was bounden with. Whereof she was much joyous.

And when she returned to Rome she saw that the Romans hallowed the first day of August in the honour of an emperor paynim which was dead. Then was she much sorrowful because they did so much honour to a man damned, and thought that they might not lightly be withdrawn from this custom. But if she might so much do, she would not leave it thus, but that it should be made in the honour of St. Peter, and that all the people should name that day the day of St. Peter ad vincula.

And hereof she had collation with St. Pelagius the pope, and brought them with fair words to that, that the remembrance of the prince of paynims was forgotten, and the memory of the prince of the apostles was hallowed. And it pleased right well to all the people. Then she brought forth the chains which she had brought from Jerusalem, and showed them to all the people.

And the pope brought forth the chain with which he had been bound under Nero, and as soon as that chain touched that other, all three by miracle were but one, like as they had been never but one.

Then the pope and the queen established that the foolish religion of the people, making solemnity of a paynim, were changed into better, and was made of St. Peter, prince of the apostles. And the pope and the queen set the chains in the church of St. Peter *ad vincula* . And were given of the queen to the said church right great gifts and right fair privileges, and it was established that day to be hallowed over all. And this is that Bede saith, and Sigbert also saith the same of this thing.

Miracles of St. Peterâ□□s Chains

And of what great virtue this chain is, it appeareth well in the year of our Lord four hundred and fortyfour: There was an earl which was nigh to the emperor Otto, that was so cruelly vexed and tormented with the devil tofore all the people that, with his own teeth he bit and tare himself. And by the commandment of the emperor he was led to pope John, for to put the chain about his neck, and there was another put about the neck of this wood man and demoniac. And it did him none allegement because it had no virtue. And at last the very chain of St. Peter was brought and put about the neck of the said man demoniac. But it was of such virtue that the devil might not bear it, but departed and went out crying, tofore them all.

Then Theodoric, bishop of Metz, took that chain, and said he would not depart from it in no manner but if his hand were cut off, and for this cause was great discord between the pope and the bishop and the other clerks. And at the last the emperor appeased the noise and gat of the pope that he had a link of the chain. And he kept it much worthily in great devotion.

Miletus also recounteth in his chronicle, and it is written in the *History Tripartite* , that in that time there was a great horrible dragon which appeared at Epirus. And the bishop Donatus spit in his mouth and killed him forthwith. But that bishop made tofore the sign of the cross with his fingers upon the dragon, for he was so great that there behoved seven couple oxen to draw him thence out of the town in to a place where he was burnt, for because the stench of him should not corrupt the air.

Yet saith the same Miletus, and also it is said in the *History Tripartite* , that the devil appeared in a town named Crete in the semblance of Moses, and this Crete is nigh to a mountain which is nigh to the sea, and assembled a great multitude of Jews of all places and brought them to the top and highest of all the mountain, and promised them to lead them and to go dry foot with them upon the sea in to the land of promise. And there he assembled people without number.

And some believe that the devil had despite of the Jew that had given this chain to the queen by which the feast of Octavius ceased to be made. And when the devil saw that he had there of the Jews without number, about that great mountain, he made many fall down from the top to the ground beneath, and made of them without number to be drowned in the sea; and thus the devil avenged him on them.

And many of them that escaped became Christian. For when they would have gone up on the mountain with the others, they might not go up so sharp rocks, in such wise that they that went up were all tocut with the stones, and the others were drowned in the sea, and were all dead. And when the others would have done the same, and tarried because they wist not what was happed of the others, certain fishers going by them told what was fallen of the others, and thus they that might escape returned, and went not after the others. And all these things be contained in the said History.

FOR TO GET ABSOLUTION OF SPIRITUAL BONDS

The fourth cause of the institution of this feast may be assigned here in this wise. For our Lord delivered St. Peter out of his chains by miracle, and gave him power to bind and to unbind. For we be holden and bounden unto the bond of sin and have need to be assoiled. Therefore we worship the solemnity of the chains aforesaid. For as he deserved to be unbound of the bonds of his chains, so received he power of our Lord Jesu Christ to assoil us.

And this last reason may be lightly apperceived, for thou seest that the epistle accordeth the absolution and loosing of the chains made to the apostle. And the gospel recordeth the power that was given to him for to assoil. And the orison of the death requireth that absolution be made to us, and this, that sometime he giveth absolution, and assoileth the damned otherwhile, by the power of the keys which he received; it appeareth in a miracle of the blessed Virgin Mary:

On a time there was a monk, a scholar, which was in the city of Cologne in the monastery of St. Peter, which monk was sinful; and when this monk was surprised with sudden death, the devils accused him and cried on him that he had done all manner sins.

That one said: I am Covetise, which so oft thou hast coveted against the commandment of God.

And another said: I am Vain Glory, of which thou hast enjoyed thee, in making a vaunt among men.

And another said: I am thy Leasing, in which thou oft sinnedst in lying, and other in like wise.

And contrary to them, some good works that he had done excused him, saying: I am Obedience, which thou didst to thine elders and sovereigns.

Another said: I am the Song of Psalms, which thou hast sung to God much ardently.

And St. Peter, to whom he was a monk, went to God for to pray for him. And our Lord answered to him: Hath not the prophet said, by my inspiration, â□□ *Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo?* Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest in thy holy mountain? He that shall be without spot of sin.â□□ How may this man then be saved which is not entered without spot, ne hath done no righteousness?

And yet Peter prayed for him with the blessed Virgin, mother of God. Then our Lord gave upon him this sentence: that the soul should return again to the body and that he should do penance. And then St. Peter, with the key that he held in his hand, feared the devils and made them to flee, and after delivered the soul to a monk of the same monastery, and commanded him that he should bring it to the body.

And he bare it to him and required of him for his reward that he had brought it again, that he should say every day for him the psalm *Miserere mei deus* [â□□Have mercy on me, O Lordâ□□], and that he should oft sweep his sepulture and keep it clean. And thus he revived from the death and came again to the world, and did his penance, and recounted to all the people this that had happed to him.

Then let us pray this glorious apostle St. Peter to be our advocate to our Lord Jesu Christ, that we may by the power of the keys given to him have very absolution of our sins, that after the accomplishment of this short and transitory life we may come to everlasting life in heaven. Amen.

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OF THE CHAIRING OF ST. PETER THE APOSTLE

Chapter 44 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. 1 This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

The chair is said in three manners, that is, the chair royal, as it is said in the book of Kings: David sitting in a chair. And there is a chair of priests, as *Regum primo* , Eli, the priest sitting upon a chair. And the third is the chair for a master as is said, Matt. xxiii: Upon the chair of Moses, etc. Then St. Peter sat in a chair royal, for he was prince of the apostles, and he sat in the chair of priests, for he was lord of all the priests, and in the chair of the master, for he was a great doctor of Christian men. The first was of equity, the second of quantity, and the third of truth and of virtue.

CAUSES WHEREFORE THIS FEAST IS HALLOWED AND ESTABLISHED

Holy church halloweth the feast of St. Peter the apostle, and this day was St. Peter honorably enhanced in the city of Antioch, and set in the chair as a bishop. Many causes there be wherefore this feast is hallowed and established.

St. Peterâ□□s Chair in Antioch

Of whom the first is, as is said in a sermon of this feast, that when St. Peter went for to preach the word of God and founded holy church by his predication, Niceta and Aquila showed unto the city of Antioch that Peter the apostle of God came thither, wherefore the people and also the nobles of the city came against him, and knowledged themselves culpable of that they had holden of the predication of Simon Magus, which was an enchanter. After, they did to be brought tofore him all such people as were vexed with

divers maladies and sicknesses, of whom there were so many that they might not be numbered.

St. Peter beheld their repentance, and also that they believed firmly in the name of God, and anon lift up his hands unto heaven, and made his prayer to God saying: O God, Father Almighty, I yield to thee thankings in this that thou hast worthily fulfilled the promises of thy blessed Son, by which all creatures may know that thou art one only God in heaven and in earth.

And after, he ascended up into an high place, and all the multitude of sick men were brought tofore him, and he said to them in this manner: Ye that see me a mortal man as ye be, ween ne suppose not ye that by me ye may be healed, but by him that is descended from heaven to earth, which giveth to all them that believe in him full health of body and of soul. This ought ye to believe to the end that all may know that ye that thus believe entirely with all your heart in Jesu Christ may be made whole and guerished by him.

And anon all they that were sick cried with a high voice: We believe that Jesu Christ is very God.

Suddenly a light appeared there, and all the sick people were guerished and healed of whatsomever malady they had. And that same day the Holy Ghost showed so greatly his grace, that from the least unto the most, all believed in our Lord Jesu Christ. And there were baptized in seven days more than ten thousand persons of men, women, and children, and also Theophilus, the lord and provost of the city, to whom St. Peter had raised his son which had been fourteen years dead.

And some say that of his palace he made a church in the which all the people set up a chair for St. Peter to sit in more higher, for to preach the doctrine of Jesu Christ, and the better to be heard and seen. And of the exalting thus of St. Peter into this chair, this feast taketh the name of the chairing of St. Peter. And in this church was

St. Peter seven years, and from thence he went to Rome and governed the church of Rome twenty-five years.

St. Peterâ□□s Tonsure

That other reason why this feast was established was for the reverence of the crown or tonsure of his head, which yet clerks bear and have, for like as some say, at this journey was first found the crown of the clerks. For when St. Peter preached at the first time in the city of Antioch, the paynims sheared him upon his head above, like a fool, in despising Christian law. And because this was done to St. Peter to do him despite and shame, it was sith stablished that the clergy should have his crown shaven in sign of right great honour and authority.

And it is to wit that in the crown be three things:

First, the head is discovered and bare above and the hair cut away, and the crown is round. There be three reasons why the head is bare, of which St. Denis assigneth the twain, and saith the rasure and cutting off of the hair signifieth pure life and clean without any arraying withoutforth; for like as hairs be naturally for to adorn the head, right so deform they the head when they be cut off by mockery or otherwise. Also good manners which ought to adorn the clean life, deform the holy conversation when they be left and taken away by habits covetous and proud. Also the rasure or shaving which is on the overmost part of the head signifieth that between God and them ought to be nothing ne mean that should displease God, but their love should be in God without any letting and empeshment and should address in him their thoughts.

The second thing that is in the crown is that the hairs be shaven clean away. By that is signified that the clerks ought to take away from their hearts all vain thoughts which might let and empesh the service divine, and also ought to be withdrawn from all temporal business, and only to have their necessities.

The third thing that is in the crown is that it is round, and this figure seemeth good by many reasons. The first is that a round figure hath neither beginning nor end. The second is, in a round crown be no corners, and as St. Bernard saith whereas be corners there is gladly filth, and that is to be understood that the clerks ought not to have in their hearts no corners where the filth of sins might assemble, but ought to have a clean conscience, and also they ought to have truth in their mouths. For as saith St. Jerome: Truth seeketh no corners. The third reason is, for like as the figure of a crown is most fair among all other, so the conversation of clerks or priests ought to be best adorned of good manners among all other lay people. The fourth reason is, for like as a crown hath but one way round and no figure, like as St. Austin saith: There is none so simple a figure as that which hath but one way, also the clerks ought to be simple in their conversation, without fiction and pride.

CONCLUSION

And it is to wit that holy church halloweth of St. Peter three feasts in the year for three gifts that he hath power to give to the people. The first is the chair, for he giveth absolution of sins. The second feast is called *advincula* , that is the first day of the August, for he by his power transumeth the pain perpetual due for sins mortal into pain temporal. The third feast is of his martyrdom, for he hath power to release some pains of penance enjoined for the sins confessed, and for these three causes he is digne and worthy honorably to be served and worshipped.

Let us then pray to him that he may impetre and get to us remission of all our sins, and after this short transitory life we may come to everlasting joy and glory in heaven. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. QUINTIN

Chapter 160 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

Quintin was of noble lineage of the city of Rome, and came into the city of Amiens, showing many miracles. And was taken there of the provost of the city by commandment of Maximian, and was beaten until they that beat him were weary, and after was put in prison. But he was unbound of an angel, and he went into the city and there preached to the people.

Then he was taken again, and was strained on the eculee, an instrument to torment saints on, unto the breaking of his veins, and beaten with raw sinews right long, and afterwards he was boiled in burning pitch and oil, and yet for all that he mocked the judge.

Then the judge did do put into his mouth quicklime, vinegar, and mustard, and yet always he abode constant and unmovable. And then he was brought into Vermandos, and fixed in him two nails from his head unto his knees, and ten nails between his nails and the flesh of his nails and the flesh on his hands. And at the last the provost made him to be beheaded, and threw the body into the water.

Which body was hid there fifty-five years, and then founden there by a noble woman of Rome. For as she was continually in prayer, she was in a night warned by an angel that she should go hastily unto the castle of Vermandos, and it was commanded to her that she should fetch the body of St. Quintin in such a place and bury it honourably.

And when she came to the said place with a great company, and as

she made her prayers, the body of St. Quintin appeared above the water, sweetly smelling and without corruption, which body she took and buried it worshipfully. And for the sepulture that she made honourably, she that tofore was blind, received her sight again for a reward.

And then there she edified a fair church, and returned home to her own place again. In which church now is a fair monastery of monks and a good town called St. Quintins in Vermandos, where daily be showed many great miracles, especially for the dropsy, etc., and swelling of great bellies for over great superfluity of water. For this sickness in especial he is sought, and many men have been cured and made whole by the merits of this blessed saint and martyr St. Quintin.

To whom pray we that we may be delivered from all infirmities, as far as it shall please God, and necessary for us. Amen.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF S. PETER THE EXORCIST OR DEACON

Chapter 79 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483. This "reader's version" of the text provides section headings, paragraph breaks, and explanatory notes.

S Peter the deacon was bound with chains of iron in prison of one Archemius whose daughter was vexed of a fiend, wherefore he was much sorrowful. Then said S. Peter to him that Jesu Christ should well heal her if he would believe in him.

To whom Archemius answered: I marvel much of thee because thou sufferest so much for thy God and I see that he may not deliver thee.

S. Peter said: He will well that I suffer for to deserve the glory that alway shall endure, but he can well deliver me if he would, and heal also thy daughter.

To whom Archemius said: I shall double thy chains, and if then thy God may deliver thee, and also make my daughter whole, I shall believe in him.

And when that was done, S. Peter, clad in white clothes, holding the sign of the cross, appeared to him, and then anon Archemius fell down to his feet and his daughter was made all whole. He then with all his house received baptism and he let out of prison all the christian men and all them that would be christian, and he with many other that believed were baptized of S. Marcellin priest.

When the provost of Rome heard this he made all the christian men come tofore him, whom Archemius gathered together, kissing their hands, and said that who would come to be martyred should come hardily without dread, and he that dare not come, let him go in

peace where he will. And when the provost knew for certain that S. Peter and S. Marcellin had baptized them, he made them come tofore him, and departed that one from that other, and put them so in prison. And S. Marcellin was laid naked upon broken glass, without light or water and S. Peter was imprisoned in a strait place wherein he was strained. Then came an angel from heaven and unbound S. Marcellin, and clad him, and brought him with Peter into the house of Archemius, because they should seven days comfort the people busily.

After, when he found not Marcellin in prison whereas he had set him, he sent for Archemius and commanded him and his household to do sacrifice, and they would not obey to him. He put then him and his wife into a pit in the earth.

Then when S. Marcellin and S. Peter heard tell the adventure of Archemius, they came to him and sung mass in the same pit with seven christian men that defended them, and after, they said to the paynims: We might well, if we would, deliver Archemius and hide ourselves, but we will do neither.

Then the paynims smote Archemius with a sword through the body and killed him, and after, stoned to death his wife and his daughter. Then brought they S. Marcellin and S. Peter to the black isle and there beheaded them, which place is called now Candia, for their martyrdom, and thus they suffered martyrdom the year of grace seven hundred and eighty-seven, and they that smote off their heads saw their souls, adorned with roses and precious stones, borne up to heaven by angels. One Dorotheus, that was one of them that beheaded them, saw it, wherefore he became christian and lived after a holy life and after rested in our Lord.

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HERE FOLLOWETH THE LIFE OF ST. PETER OF MILAN

This chapter in Caxton's translation of the Golden Legend departs significantly from the corresponding chapter in Graesse's 1846 edition, which continues to be the accepted text. It presents only a selection of the saint's miracles found in Graesse, and these are greatly reduced in length and detail. Also, it identifies what Graesse's edition calls "heretics" as "Arians," a serious anachronism. It lacks the device, common in most of Caxton's other chapters, of doubling an anglicized French word with a native English one, so it is probably based on the earlier English translation that Caxton used along with the French and the Latin original, for which see Ryan I, 254-266 (chapter 63).

This "reader's version" of Caxton's text adds section headings, paragraph breaks, glosses, and explanatory notes.

St. Peter the new martyr, of the Order of the Friars Preachers, was born in the city of Verona in Lombardy. His father and mother were of the sect of the Arians. 1 Then he descended of these people like as the rose that cometh of the thorn, and as the light that cometh of the smoke.

HIS CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

At the age of seven years, when he learned at the school his credo, one, his eme, which was a heretic, demanded of him his lesson, and the child said to him: *Credo* , till to *creatorem cÅ□li et terrÃ¦* [(God), the creator of Heaven and Earth]. His uncle said to him that he should no more say so, for God hath not made temporal things. The child affirmed that he ought to say none otherwise, but so as he had learned, and that other began to show him by authority his purpose. But the child, which was full of the Holy Ghost, answered so well and wisely that his uncle departed all confused, and all achauffed said to the father that he should take away his son from

school, for he doubted when he shall be great that he should turn against their law and faith, and that he should confound them.

And so it happed, and so he prophesied like as Caiaphas did, but God, against whom none may do, would not suffer it for the great profit that he attended of him. Then after, when he came to more age, he saw that it was no sure thing to dwell with the scorpions. He had in despite father and mother and left the world whiles he was a clear and a pure virgin.

He entered into the order of the friars preachers there, whereas he lived much holily the space of thirty years or thereabout, full of all virtues and especial in defending the faith, for love of which he burnt. He did much abstinence for to bring his flesh low. He fasted, he entended to wake by night in studying and in prayer when he should have slept and rested, and by day he entended to the profit of the souls, in preaching, in confessing, and in counselling, in disputing against the heretics and Arians. And in that he had a special grace of Jesu Christ, for he was right sore founded in humilty.

He was marvellously piteous and debonair, full of compassion, of great patience, of great charity, and of steadfastness. So ripe and so well ordained in fair manner that every man might behold as in a mirror, in his continence and in his conversation. He was wise and discreet, and so emprinted in his heart that all his words were firm and stable. Then he prayed many times to our Lord that he would not let him die but by sufferance of martyrdom for him and for his faith. And thus as he prayed God accomplished in the end.

MIRACLES HE PERFORMED

The Cooling Cloud

He did many miracles in his life, for in the city of Milan, on a time when he examined a bishop of the Arians that the Christian men had taken, and many bishops, religious, and great plenty of other

people of the city were there assembled, and was then right hot, this Arian said to St. Peter tofore them all: O thou Peter perverse, if thou art so holy as this people holdeth thee for, wherefore sufferest thou this foolish people to die for heat, and prayest not God that he would shadow them.

Then St. Peter answered and said: If thou wilt promise that thou shalt hold the very faith and thou wilt leave thine heresy, I shall pray therefor to our Lord. Then all they that were on the party of the Arians cried that he should promise him, for they supposed that he should not get it specially, because the air was so clear and no cloud was seen, and the Christian men doubted that their faith might thereby come to confusion. But the bishop, the heretic, would not bind him thereto. St. Peter had good faith and trust in God, and made his prayer openly that he would convey over them a cloud, and he made the sign of the cross, and anon the cloud came and overspread them like a pavilion that there were assembled, and abode as long as the sermon endured, and it stretched no further but there.

The Lame Man

There was a lame man which had been so lame five years and might not go, but was drawn in a wheelbarrow, and brought to St. Peter at Milan, and as St. Peter had blessed him with the sign of the cross, anon he was whole and arose.

The Miraculous Cope

Yet other miracles God showed for him by his life. It happed that the son of a gentleman had such a horrible disease in his throat that he might neither speak ne draw his breath, but St. Peter made on him the sign of the cross, and laid his cope on the place where the sore was, and anon he was all whole.

The same gentleman had afterwards a grievous malady and supposed to have died, and made bring to him the said cope, which with great devotion laid it on his breast, and anon he cast out a

worm with two heads which was rough, and after he was brought in good health and anon all whole.

The Dumb Man

It happed that a young man was dumb and might not speak a word, wherefore he came to St. Peter, and he put his finger in his mouth and his speech came to him again.

PETER IS APPOINTED INQUISITOR IN LOMBARDY

Now it happed that time that an heresy began much in Lombardy, and that there were much people that were fallen in this error, and the pope sent divers inquisitors thither of the Order of the Friars Preachers, and because that at Milan there were many in number of great power and engine, he sent thither St. Peter as a man wise, constant, and religious, which doubted nothing. And by his virtue he reproved them, and by his wit he understood their malice, and when he had enterprised the office of Inquisition, then began he, as a lion, to seek the heretics over all, and left them not in peace, but in all places, times, and all the manners that he might, he overcame and confounded them.

HIS MARTYRDOM

He is Assassinated by Heretics

When the heretics saw that they might not withstand the Holy Ghost that spake in him, they began to treat how they might bring him to death. Then it happed on a time, as he went from Cumea to Milan for to seek the heretics, he said openly in a predication that the money was delivered for to slay him. And when he approached nigh the city a man of the heretics, which was hired thereto, ran upon him and smote him with his falchion on the head, and gave and made to him many cruel wounds, and he that murmured not ne grudged not, suffered patiently the cruelty of the tyrants, and abandoned or gave himself over to suffer the martyrdom, and said his *credo* , and *in manus tuas* commending his spirit unto the hands

of our Lord.

And so the tyrant left him in the place for dead, and thus told the tyrant that slew him, and friar Dominic which was his fellow was slain with him.

And after, when the tyrant saw that he removed yet his lips, the cursed and cruel tyrant came again and smote him with his knife to the heart, and anon his spirit mounted in to heaven. Then was it well known that he was a very prophet, for the prophecy of his death that he had pronounced was accomplished.

After, he had the crown of virginity, for as his confessors witness that in all his life he had never done deadly sin. After, he had the crown of a doctor, because he had been a good fast firm preacher and doctor of holy church. After, he had the crown of martyrdom, as it appeared when he was slain.

The renown thereof came into the city of Milan, and the friars, the clergy, and the people, came with procession with so great company of people, that the press was so great that they might not enter into the town, and therefore they left the body in the abbey of St. Simplician, and there it abode all that night, and so he said the day tofore to his fellow.

How His Passion Resembles the Lordâ□□s

The passion of St. Peter ensued much like the passion of our Lord in many manners, for like as our Lord suffered for the truth of the faith that he preached, so St. Peter suffered for the truth of the faith that he defended; and like as Christ suffered of the Jews, so St. Peter suffered of the people of his own country, and of the heretics; Christ suffered in the time of Easter, so did St. Peter. Jesu Christ was sold for thirty pence, and St. Peter was sold for forty pounds. Jesu Christ showed his death to his disciples, and St. Peter showed it in plain predication. Jesu Christ said at his death: Lord God, into thy hands I commend my spirit; right so St. Peter did the same.

MIRACLES OF ST. PETER MARTYR

The Nun Cured of the Gout

There was a nun of Almaine, of the abbey of Oetenbach, which had a grievous gout in her knee, which had holden her a year long and more, and there was no master ne physician that might make her whole. She had great devotion to St. Peter, but she might not go thither because of her obedience, and because her malady was so grievous. Then demanded she how many days' journey was from thence to Milan, and she found that there were fourteen journeys. Then purposed she to make these journeys by her heart and good thoughts, and she said for every journey one hundred paternosters. And always as she went forth by her mind in her journeys, she felt herself more eased, and when she came to the last journey in her mind she found herself all guerished. Then she said that day all the Psalter, and after returned all the journeys like as she had gone by her thoughts in her heart, and after that day she felt never the gout.

The Man Who Voided Blood Continually

There was a man that had a villainous malady beneath, in such wise that he voided blood six days continually; he cried to St. Peter devoutly, and as he had ended his prayer he felt himself all whole; and after he fell asleep, and he saw in his sleep a friar preacher which had a face great and brown, and him seemed that he had been fellow to St. Peter, and verily he was of the same form. This friar gave to him a box of ointment and said to him: Have good hope in St. Peter which late hath shed his blood for the faith, for he hath healed thee of the blood that ran from thee.

And when he awoke he purposed to visit the sepulchre of St. Peter.

The Candles That Would Not Go Out

There was a countess of the castle Massino, which had special devotion to St. Peter and fasted alway his vigil; now it happed that she offered a candle to the altar of St. Peter, and anon the priest for

his covetise quenched the candle, but anon after the candle was light again by himself, and he quenched it again once or twice, and always as soon as he was gone, it lighted anon again; then he left that and put out another candle which a knight had offered in the honour of St. Peter, which knight fasted also his even, and the priest assayed two times if he might put it out, but he might not. Then said the knight unto the priest: What, devil, seest thou not well the miracle, that St. Peter will not that they be quenched?

Then was the priest abashed and all the clerks that were there with him, in so much that they fled out of the church and told the miracle overall.

The Exorcism

There was a man called Roba which had lost at play his gown and all the money that he had. When he came into his house and saw himself in so great poverty, he called the devils and gave himself to them; then came to him three devils which cast down Roba upon the soler and after took him by the neck, and it seemed that they would have estrangled him, in such wise that he unnethe might speak.

When they that were in the house beneath heard him cry, they went to him, but the devils said to them that they should return, and they had supposed that Roba had said so, and returned, and after anon he began to cry again; then apperceived they well that they were the devils, and fetched the priest, which conjured in the name of St. Peter, the devils, that they should go their way. Then two of them went away and the third abode, and his friends brought him on the morn to the church of the friars.

Then there came a friar named Guillaume of Vercelli, and this friar Guillaume demanded what was his name, and the fiend answered, â□□I am called Balcefas.â□□ Then the friar commanded that he should go out, and anon the fiend called him by his name as he had known him, and said: Guillaume, Guillaume, I shall not go out for

thee, for he is ours and hath given himself to us. Then he conjured him in the name of St. Peter the martyr, and then anon he went his way and the man was all whole, and took penance for his trespass, and was after a good man.

The Speechless Heretic

St. Peter whiles he lived, it happed that he disputed with a heretic, but this heretic was sharp, aigre, and so full of words that St. Peter might have of him none audience. When he saw that, he departed from the disputation and went and prayed our Lord that he would give to him place and time to sustain the faith, and that the other might be still and speak not; and when he came again he found this heretic in such case that he might not speak. Then the other heretics fled all confused, and the good Christian men thanked our Lord.

The Nunâ□□s Vision of the Assumption

The day that St. Peter was martyred, a nun that was of the city of Florence saw in a vision our Lady that styed up to heaven, and with her two persons, one on the right side and that other on the left, in the habit of friars, which were by her, and when she demanded who it was, a voice said to her that it was the soul of St. Peter, and was found certainly that same day he suffered death, and therefore this nun, which was grievously sick, prayed to St. Peter for to recover her health, and he gat it for her entirely.

The Scholar with the Broken Leg

There was a scholar that went from Maloigne unto Montpellier, and in leaping he was broken that he might not go. Then he remembered of a woman that was healed of a cancer by a little of the earth of the sepulchre of St. Peter, and anon he had trust in God, and cried to St. Peter in such manner as she had done, and anon he was whole.

The Man with Swollen Legs

In the city of Compostella there was a man that had great legs swollen like a barrel, and his womb like a woman with child, and his face foul and horrible, so that he seemed a monster to look on. And it happed that he went with a staff begging his bread, and in a place where he demanded on a time alms of a good woman, she saw him so swollen that she said that it were better for him to have a pit to be buried in than any other thing, for he was no better than dead, yet nevertheless, said she, I counsel thee that thou go into the church of the friars preachers, and pray St. Peter that he make thee whole, and have in him very faith and I hope he shall make thee all whole.

This sick man went in the morn to the church, but he found it shut and closed. Then he slept at the door, and he saw in his sleep that a man in the habit of a friar brought him into the church, and covered him with his cope, and when he awoke he found himself in the church and was perfectly whole, whereof much people marvelled because they had seen so short time tofore, him like as he should have died forthwith.

There be many more miracles which were over great a labour to write all, for they would occupy a great book.

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1 "Arians" were a heterodox sect from long before Peter's time. His problem was with the "Cathars," who promoted the kind of dualistic beliefs here expressed by his uncle.

HERE FOLLOWETH OF ST. PHILIP THE APOSTLE

Chapter 65 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

ST. PHILIP AND THE DRAGON

St. Philip, when he had preached in Scythia by the space of twenty years, he was taken of the paynims, which would constrain him to make sacrifice to an idol which was called Mars, their God. And anon under the idol issued out a right great dragon, which forthwith slew the bishop's son that appointed the fire for to make the sacrifice, and the two provosts also, whose servants held St. Philip in iron bonds. And the dragon corrupted the people with his breath that they all were sick, and St. Philip said: Believe ye me and break this idol and set in his place the cross of Jesu Christ and after, worship ye it, and they that be here dead shall revive, and all the sick people shall be made whole.

And they that were sick cried to St. Philip, and said: If thou mayst do so much that we may be guerished and whole, we shall gladly do it.

And anon St. Philip commanded the dragon that he should go in to desert without grieving or doing any harm to any person, and anon he departed without appearing after; and forthwith St. Philip healed all them that were sick, and raised the three that were dead, and were all baptized, and preached to them the space of a year the faith of Jesu Christ.

HE CONFUTES THE HEBRONITES

And when he had ordained priests and deacons, after he departed and came into the city of Hierapolin in Asia, where he destroyed the heresy of the Hebronites, which said and preached that Jesu Christ had not taken very flesh human, but only the semblance of the body

human. In this city were his two daughters, by whom our Lord had converted much people to the Christian faith.

HIS MARTYRDOM

St. Philip tofore his death made to come tofore him all the bishops, seven days tofore his death, and also all the priests, and said to them: These seven days hath our Lord given to me respite for to warn you to do well. And he was of the age of eighty-seven years. And after this the paynims took and held him, and fastened him to the cross, like unto his master, and so he yielded up his soul and died. And his body was worshipfully buried there, and his two daughters died long after him and were also buried, that one on the right side, and that other on the left side of the body of their father.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON ST. PHILIP

Isidore writeth in the book of the life and death of saints, and saith that Philip preached to the Frenchmen, and to men that were in darkness, he enlightened them in the faith. After, he was taken in the city of Hierapolin of the paynims, and of them stoned and crucified, of whom the martyrology of holy church speaketh not.

ST. PHILIP OF CÆSAREA

But of another Philip, which was one of the seven deacons, St. Jerome saith in the martyrology that he was buried in the city of Cæsarea, where God showed many fair miracles for him, beside whom three of his daughters be buried, and the fourth daughter lieth at Ephesus. The first Philip differenceth from this Philip, for he was an apostle and this was a deacon. The apostle resteth at Hierapolin, and the deacon at Cæsarea; he had two daughters, and this four. Though Historia Ecclesiastica saith that Philip the apostle had four daughters prophetesses, but it is herein more to believe St. Jerome.

Then let us pray to the holy St. Philip that he pray for us to our Lord that we may come to his bliss. Amen.

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HERE BEGIN THE LIVES OF SS. PROTHUS AND JACINCTUS AND EUGENIA

Chapter 136 of the Golden Legend by Jacobus Voragine (1275), translated by William Caxton, 1483

THE CONVERSION OF THE THREE YOUNG NOBLES

P rothus and Jacinctus were gentlemen of noble lineage and were fellows in the study of philosophy with Eugenia, daughter of Philip, of the most noble lineage of the Romans. Which Philip had taken of the senate the provostry of Alexandria, and had led with him Claudia his wife, his sons Avitus and Sergius, and his daughter Eugenia. And Eugenia was perfect in all the liberal arts and letters. Prothus and Jacinctus had studied with her, and were come to perfection of those sciences.

And Eugenia, in the fifteenth year of her age, was required to be married of one Aquilinus, son of the consul Aquilinus, and she answered that her behoved to be married and choose a husband full of good manners and not of high lineage. And then came to her hand the doctrine of St. Paul, and she began in her courage to be made Christian by good manners.

And then at that time the Christian men were well suffered to dwell beside the city of Alexandria. And as she went playing and walking by the town, she heard Christian men sing a verse of the psalter which saith: All the gods of the miscreants be devils, our Lord certainly made the heavens.

Then said she to Prothus and Jacinctus, that had studied with her in the arts liberal: We have overpassed the arguments and syllogisms of the philosophers by study corruptible, the arguments of Aristotle, and ideas of Plato, and the enseignments of Socrates, and shortly all that the poet sang and made, or the philosopher thought, it is all closed by his sentence; let us then be brethren and follow we our

Lord Jesu Christ.

And this counsel pleased them.

EUGENIA ENTERS A MONASTERY AS A MAN

And then she took the habit of a man, and came to the monastery where Helenus was abbot, which would in no wise suffer that any woman should come to him. And this Helenus had on a time disputed against a heresy, and when that he saw that he might not sustain the force of the arguments, he did do burn a great fire for to prove his faith, and said: We shall see now which is the right faith, and he himself entered first into the fire and came out again without hurt or grief, but the heretic would not enter into the fire, and was confused and put away.

And when Eugenia was gone to him, and had said that she was a man, he said to her: Thou sayest truly and well that thou art a man, for thou workest virtuously. And the condition of her was showed to him then of God, and she received the habit with Prothus and Jacinctus, and did her to be called of all brother Eugene. And when her father and mother saw her chair come home empty and void, then they did do seek their daughter over all, but she might not be found.

And then went they to diviners and soothsayers and demanded them where their daughter was become. And they answered that she was ravished of the gods among the stars, and therefore her father made an image of his daughter and commanded that all the people should worship her. And she dwelled among the company of brethren in the dread of God; and when the provost of the church was dead, she was made provost.

SHE IS PROPOSITIONED BY A NOBLEWOMAN

And then in Alexandria was a lady noble and rich which was named Melancia, whom St. Eugenia anointed with oil and delivered her of a quartan, in the name of God, and she sent to her many gifts which

she would not receive. And the said lady supposed that Eugenia had been a man, and visited her oft and beheld the greatness and beauty of her body, in such wise that she was strongly esprised and chauffed in her love, and was greatly troubled how she might do to make Eugene to have to do with her. And then she feigned her to be sick and sent for this brother Eugene to come and have pity on her, and when she was come she told to her in what manner she was taken in his love, and how she burned in desiring him, and prayed her that she would lie by her and have to do carnally, and embraced her and kissed her and exhorted her to do sin.

And Eugenia had great horror and abomination of her, and said: Thou art by right called Melancia, for it is an evil name and fulfilled of treason, thou art said black and dark, daughter of darkness, friend of the devil, light of pollution, nourishing of lechery, anguishing daughter of sempiternal death.

And when she saw her deceived of that she coveted, she doubted that Eugenia should discover her felony, and began first to cry that Eugenia would there have enforced her, and then she went to the provost Philip and complained, saying that "a young man, a false Christian, was come to me because of medicine, and took me and would have enforced me by strength for to have sinned with him, if I had not been holpen and delivered by a chamberer which was in my chamber."

HER TRIAL AND VINDICATION

And when the provost heard this he was greatly moved, and sent for a multitude of people, and made Eugenia to be brought with the other servants of Jesu Christ bound in iron, and established a day when they all should be delivered to beasts for to be devoured, and then were they called tofore the provost, which said to Eugenia: Say to me, thou right cursed wretch, if your God hath taught you to do such works as for to corrupt and defile the women forcibly against their will?

And then Eugenia, which had the head inclined because she would not be known, said that our Lord had taught and enseigned chastity entirely, and promised to them that kept it the life perdurable. "And we may well show that Melancia is false and lieth, but it is better to us to suffer than she should be vanquished and punished, and that the fruit of our patience perish not. But notwithstanding, let her chamberer be brought forth here. She is the witness of our felony, so that the leasings of her may be reproved."

And when she was come, she being learned of her lady, opposed against Eugenia, and said that he would have taken her by force, and also all the other of the meiny, corrupted by the lady, witnessed that it was so.

And Eugenia said: The time is passed of silence, and the time to speak is now. I will no longer suffer that this shameless creature put more blame guiltless on the servant of Jesu Christ, ne that she glorify not in her malice ne in her falsity. And because that truth surmounteth her leasing, and that wisdom surmounteth her malice, I shall show the truth, for none advantage but for the glory of our Lord.

And then she took her coat and rent it unto her girdle above, and said that she was a woman, as it appeared, and also said to the provost: Thou art my father and Claudia is my mother, and the twain that sit with thee, Avitus and Sergius, be my brethren, and I am Eugenia, thy daughter, and these twain be Prothus and Jacinctus.

And when the father heard that, he knew well his daughter, and then he and her mother embraced her and wept tenderly for joy. And then they clothed Eugenia with clothes of gold and enhanced her on high. And after this came a fire from heaven and burnt Melancia and all her meiny. Then Eugenia converted to the faith her father, mother, brethren, and all the meiny, and therefore left the father the provostry, and was ordained bishop of the Christian people. And as he was in prayer and orison he was slain of the miscreants and paynims.

HER MARTYRDOM

Then Claudia, with her sons and Eugenia, returned to Rome, and there converted much people unto the faith of Jesu Christ.

Then by the commandment of the emperor there was a great stone bound to the neck of Eugenia, and she was thrown into Tiber, but the stone brake and she went without harm upon the water. Then she was thrown into a burning furnace, but the furnace was quenched by miracle and became cold. And then she was put into a dark prison, but a great shining light made it all clear and light.

And when she had been there ten days without meat, our Lord Jesu Christ appeared to her, and brought to her a right white loaf and said to her: Take this meat of my hand. I am thy saviour whom thou hast loved with all thy thought. And on that day that I descend into the earth I shall receive thee.

Then on the day of the nativity of our Lord, the tormentor was sent to her and he smote off her head.

And after that she appeared to her mother, and said to her that she should follow her on the Sunday after. And when the Sunday came Claudia put herself to prayer and gave her spirit to God, and then Prothus and Jacinctus were drawn to the temple for to do sacrifice, and they by their prayers all to-brake the idol; and when they would in no wise do sacrifice, they accomplished their martyrdom in suffering their heads to be smitten off. And suffered death under Valerianus and Gallus about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-seven, by whose merits let us pray Almighty God to have mercy on us and bring us to his bliss. Amen.

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